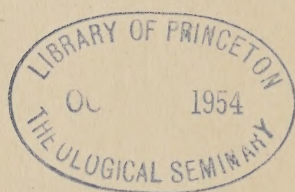


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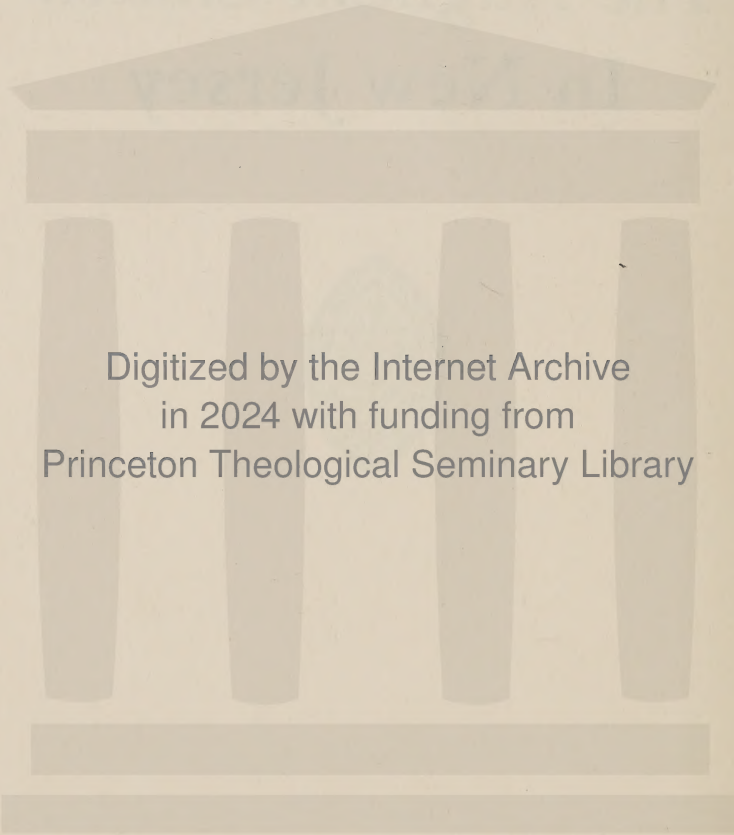
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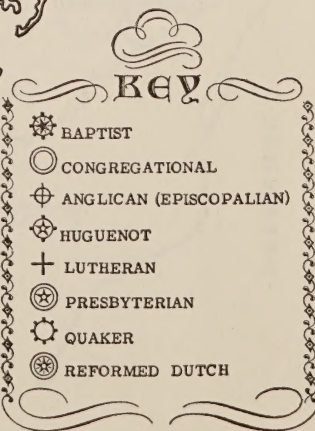
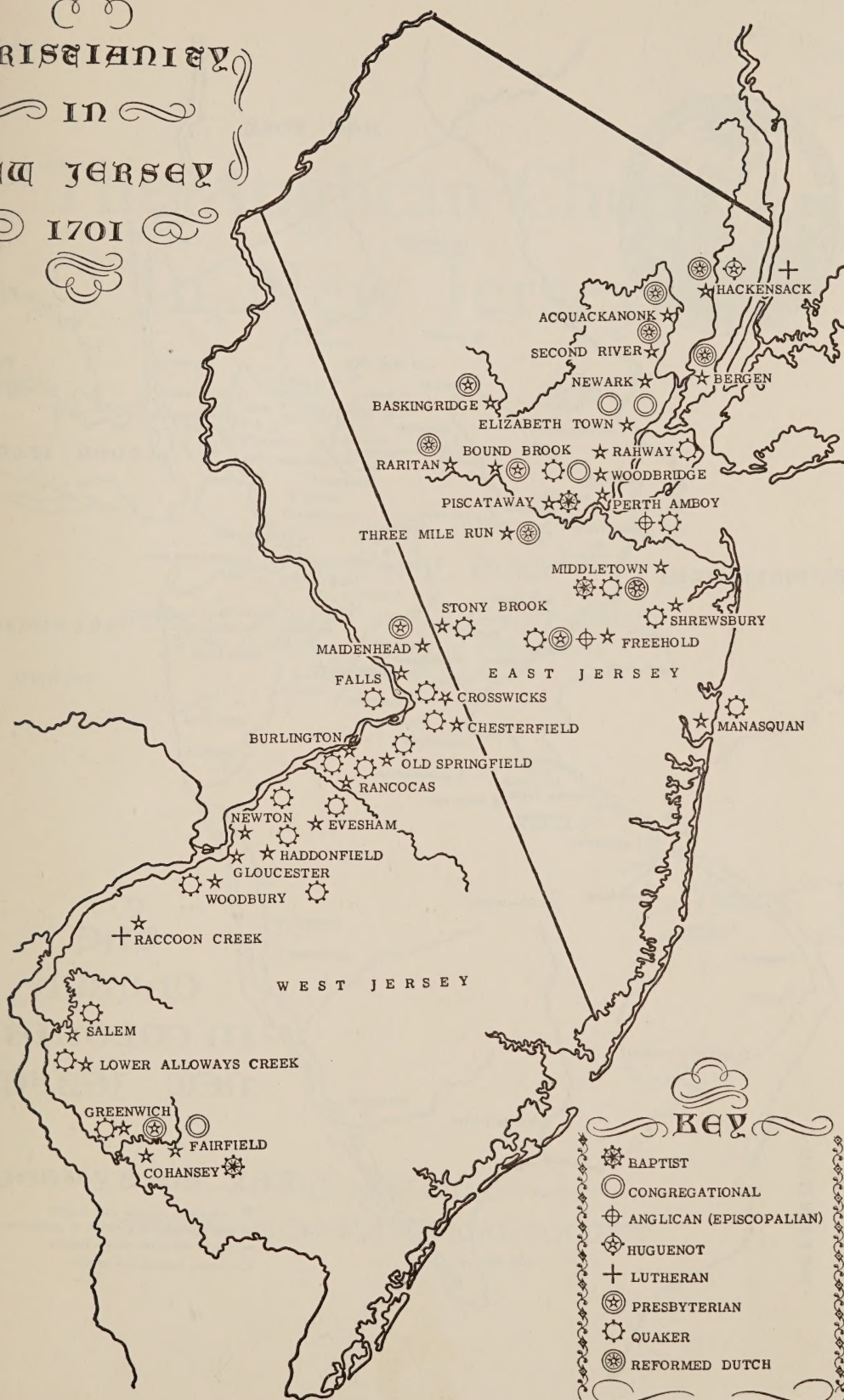
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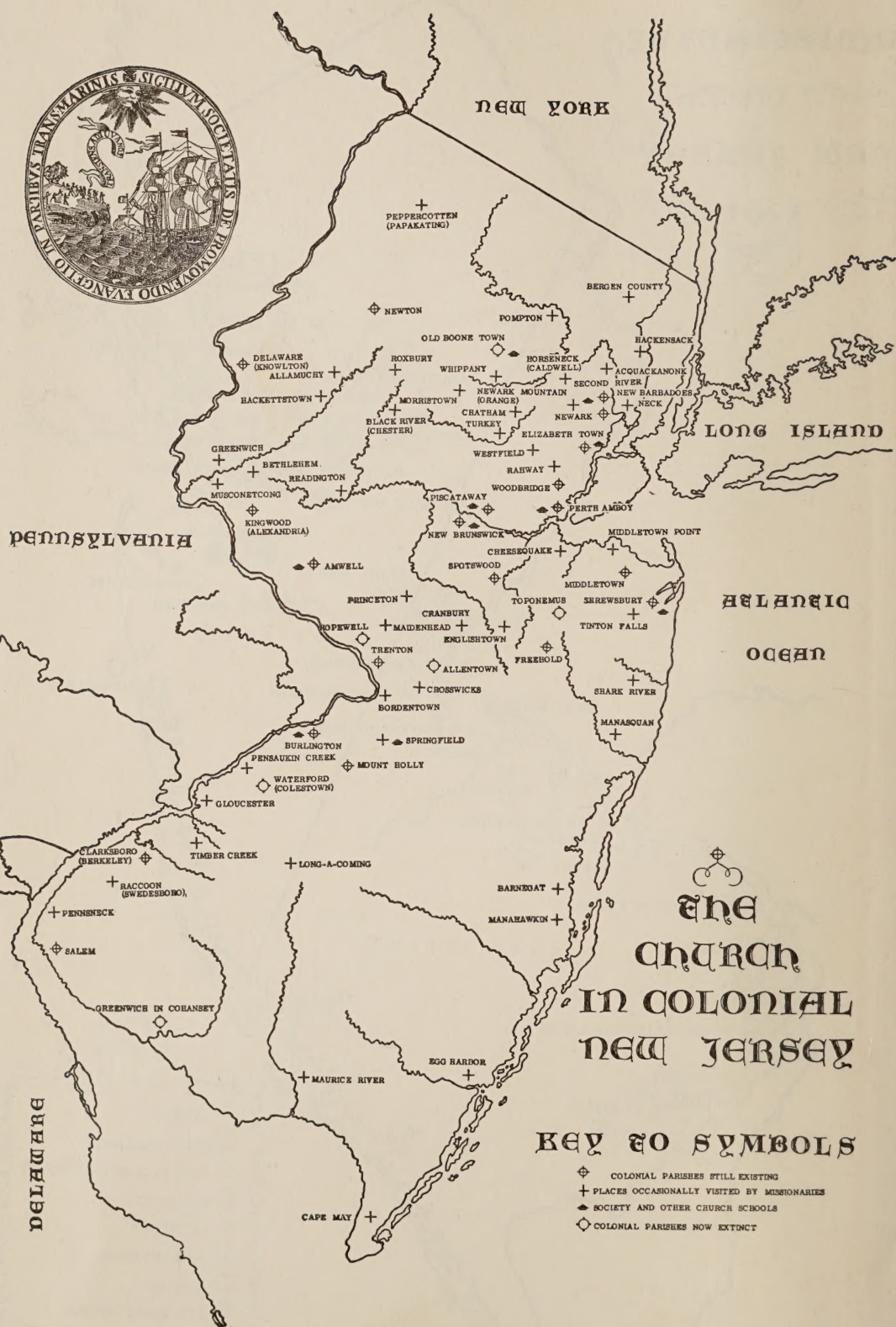


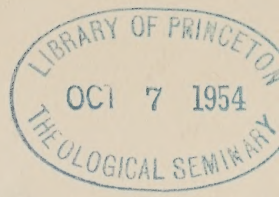


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CHRISTIANITY
IN
NEW JERSEY
1701







The Anglican Church In New Jersey

By NELSON R. BURR

*Author of "Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871,"
in the Princeton "History of New Jersey,"
and Other Works*

PHILADELPHIA

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

General Editor:

WALTER H. STOWE

PUBLICATION NUMBER 40

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CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
4205 Spruce Street
Philadelphia
1954

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY TWIN CITY PRESS, NORTH PLAINFIELD, N. J.

TO
WALLACE JOHN GARDNER
SIXTH BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY

UNDER WHOSE LEADERSHIP THE DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY
HAS GONE FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH
AND WHOSE SUSTAINED INTEREST AND ENCOURAGEMENT
HAVE MADE POSSIBLE THE HISTORIOGRAPHY HERE REPRESENTED
THIS BOOK IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

FOREWORD

By the Historiographer of the Diocese of New Jersey

THE Annual Report of the Historiographer of the Diocese of New Jersey to the Diocesan Convention of 1948 reads in part as follows:

“For several years past your historiographer has been collecting materials concerning the history of the Church in New Jersey, and, in particular, concerning that era which we call the ‘Colonial Period.’ The principal sources are to be found in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S.P.G., to which Society, under God, The Episcopal Church in New Jersey ‘is indebted for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection’; and in the archives of Fulham Palace, the home of the Bishop of London.

Fortunately, the Library of Congress has transcripts of practically all of those sources abroad which deal with colonial America. Down through the years I have obtained photostatic or photofilm copies of many of the letters of the S.P.G. missionaries who served in New Jersey, and they have been typed for easier use.

For some time it has been apparent to me that, because of parochial and diocesan duties, and obligations related to my connection with the Church Historical Society and the *Historical Magazine* of the Church, I could not myself complete the research necessary to an early publication of the project.

I consider it a matter of great good fortune to historical scholarship in general, and to the Diocese in particular, that Dr. Nelson R. Burr, a staunch Churchman and a thoroughly competent historian,

FOREWORD

now on the staff of the Library of Congress, has agreed to write the initial volume of the series on the history of our Church in New Jersey—a volume of great importance and interest.

Dr. Burr's doctoral thesis at Princeton University was *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (Princeton University Press, 1942) pp. 355, which is the fourth volume in the Princeton *History of New Jersey*. He is, therefore, already familiar with the background of the period. I have turned over to him the materials I have collected; and what I have been unable to supply, he can readily obtain in the Library of Congress.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks the sustained interest of our Bishop*, of the Finance Committee of the Diocese, and of the Convention itself . . . ”

A special word of appreciation is due the Treasurer of the Diocese of New Jersey, Mr. Allen B. McGowan, whose genuine interest in Church history has been manifested by warm and never-wavering cooperation through the long years of preparation.

Although the Diocese of New Jersey has borne cheerfully most of the heavy expenses of research and all of the cost of publication, the Bishop of Newark, the Right Reverend Benjamin M. Washburn, S.T.D., made a generous grant for research, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Church history, especially diocesan and regional history, has suffered too long from the notion that its exposition can safely be left to clergymen *after* they have retired. In 1950, in my annual report, I stated:

“It must be remembered that in historical research and writing, the goal is more likely to be reached by the turtle than by the hare.”

The time it has taken to complete what should be, at the very least, only the first of two volumes dealing with the history of The Episcopal Church in New Jersey should utterly explode that notion.

*See *above*, the Dedication.

FOREWORD

In 1935, I was asked to write a sketch of the history of our Church in New Jersey for inclusion in the cornerstone of Trinity Cathedral, Trenton. This was done. That was nineteen years ago. It has taken as long to produce this volume, counting the time consumed in gathering materials, as it has taken to complete the Cathedral building, dedicated on January 24, 1954. Of this period, Dr. Burr has himself worked steadily and untiringly for six years.

The result is eminently worth while. This volume is not only a major contribution to ecclesiastical history; it is an important contribution to the history of the "making of New Jersey," and thus to the "making of America." It is a needed corrective of that secularization of history which has been too long with us, as evidenced by secondary school and college text books, wherein the part played by religion and the churches in the making of New Jersey and of America is almost entirely ignored.

I venture to prophesy that this book will stand for a hundred years as the definitive treatment of the subject. It is a thoroughly honest work, as was to be expected from Dr. Burr. There is no glossing over the faults or failures of either men or measures. It is proof, if proof be needed, that ecclesiastical history can be written as fairly and as objectively as secular history.

Our profound thanks to Dr. Burr for a much needed
contribution to historiography, and for one
that is exceedingly well done!

WALTER H. STOWE.

Ascension Day,
May 27, 1954.

PREFACE

WHEN I was a graduate student at Princeton University in 1932, the late Bishop Paul Matthews discussed with me his plan for a history of the Church in New Jersey. My interest had already been awakened by research in the records of the S. P. G. schools, while writing a doctoral thesis on the history of education in New Jersey. It was increased by helping to supervise the Historical Record Survey's inventory of ecclesiastical archives in the State of New Jersey. But for several years this interest was suspended by travel and editorial work for the Survey in Connecticut, and by wartime duties on the staff of the Library of Congress.

In the meantime, the project of a history had been taken up by the Reverend Doctor Walter H. Stowe, upon his appointment in 1935 as the Historiographer of the Diocese of New Jersey. In 1948, he requested me to assume the task, and in May announced my happy compliance to the annual Convention of the Diocese.

To Doctor Stowe and to me, this volume appears as the fulfillment of an obligation to explore a long neglected area in the historiography of the American Church. General histories usually do not suggest that New Jersey played an influential and sometimes vital part in the founding, growth, and organization of The Episcopal Church in these United States. Yet it was there that George Keith labored hardest during his far-flung missionary tour of the American Colonies in 1702-1704. It was there that Keith's companion, John Talbot, elected to remain for twenty-five years until his death, earning for himself the unofficial but well-deserved appellation, "Apostle of New Jersey." There lived Thomas Bradbury Chandler, the most eminent champion of an American episcopate and the Church's ablest literary defender. In New Jersey's cosmopolitan environment, the Church proved its ability to survive without public support, and to preserve its traditions against the freshets of emotional revivalism.

At Christ Church in New Brunswick, Samuel Seabury Junior, the first American bishop, obtained his earliest experience as a pastor. And there, in May of 1784, met the first interstate gathering of clergymen and laymen, looking towards the union of the congeries of Episcopal churches, which inspired the first General Convention in the following year. That Convention benefitted by the experience of New Jersey leaders

PREFACE

in colonial clergy conventions, where they had learned the art of ecclesiastical government, and prepared the way for the time when the Church in America would have to stand upon its own feet. Two Jerseymen, Thomas Bradbury Chandler and Abraham Beach, mediated between the Northern Churchmen who battled successfully for a pure liturgy and an unfettered episcopate, and their Southern brethren who wanted and obtained a republican constitution guarding the rights of the laity. These facts show clearly that justice to the Church in New Jersey has been long overdue.

After reviewing the background of the State's ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, the story describes the Church's planting late in the seventeenth century, its growth and contacts with other religious groups, its ordeal during the Revolution, and its revival and reorganization from 1784 to 1790. The primary sources were hundreds of documents in the archives of the S. P. G. and of Fulham and Lambeth Palaces; also journals and other personal records; and printed and unpublished parochial histories.

To preserve continuity in the narrative, biographies of the clergy and detailed parish histories have been placed in appendices. The special bibliography of writings by the colonial clergy has been made as complete and accurate as possible, and is believed to be the first such list ever published in a history of the Church in an American state or diocese.

William Warren Sweet has often said that too much American Church history has been written by clergymen and for clergymen, and as if churches had grown in a social vacuum. This volume attempts to meet that criticism by including chapters on both clerical and lay religious life, and on the Church's relations with people in their environment. This is no history merely of an ecclesiastical machine, but rather of the Church as "the blessed company of all faithful *people*," as a social organism conditioned both by its traditions and by its surroundings.

The author and the editor make no apology for refusing to set the Church, together with its ministers and its people, upon a pedestal of perfection. We set down here not only their gains, successes, and virtues, but also their losses, failures, and sins, their weaknesses as well as their courage and strength. The Church in New Jersey knew political corruption, the

PREFACE

tragedy of mistakenly judging the people, the testing of revolution in which some members were on the losing side, the valley of dry bones and despair, and resurrection almost from death.

We present here the Church as we speak of it in that wonderfully humble prayer:

“Where it is corrupt, purify it; where it is in error, direct it; where it is right, strengthen it; where it is fallen, raise it up.”

We shall be satisfied if our effort has revealed the Church in its real character: always struggling to transcend its human limitations, always surviving because it is divine and eternal.

Washington, D. C.
May 31, 1954.

NELSON R. BURR

Acknowledgments

I OWE a great debt to the Reverend Doctor Walter Herbert Stowe, Historiographer of the Diocese of New Jersey, for his patience through six years of work on this volume, and for his many suggestions and careful editing and proof-reading.

The author and the editor are grateful to Elizabeth R. (Mrs. William M.) Boyd, of the staff of Rutgers University Library, and to Dorothy H. (Mrs. Ralph) Voorhees, Parish Secretary of Christ Church, New Brunswick, for help in proof-reading in their none-too-plentiful free time.

Several rectors of parishes founded in colonial times have been most obliging and helpful in sending published and manuscript histories and photographs of their churches: the Reverend Messrs. Harcourt Johnson of St. Andrew's, Lambertville; Victor G. Lewis of St. John's, Boonton; Harold C. Whitmarsh of St. John's, Elizabeth; Bernard McK. Garlick of St. Peter's, Freehold; Frederick J. Warnecke, Dean (now Bishop Coadjutor of Bethlehem), and Benjamin F. Axleroad of Trinity Cathedral, Newark; Leonard F. Nichols of Christ Church, Newton; Henry G. Raps of St. James', Piscataway; Thomas V. Wingate of St. John's, Salem; Herbert R. Denton of St. Peter's, Spotswood; Carroll M. Burck of Christ Church, Shrewsbury; Samuel Steinmetz of St. Michael's, Trenton; and William H. Schmaus of Trinity Church, Woodbridge.

Members of the staffs of New Jersey libraries, historical societies, and universities also merit notice for their cooperation in checking historical data and place names. I should mention especially Frances L. Norton, Salem

PREFACE

Free Public Library; E. L. Jordan, Rutgers University; Donald A. Sinclair, Rutgers University Library; Marion B. S. Weatherill, Gloucester County Historical Society; Edgar H. Havens, Camden County Historical Society; Laura M. Flanders, Monmouth County Historical Society; Maud S. Green, New Jersey Historical Society; and Henry L. Savage, Archivist, Princeton University Library, for information about Princeton graduates.

Mr. J. W. Naylor, proprietor of the *Allentown Messenger*, kindly sent me information and an article published in his paper many years ago, on Christ Church, Allentown. Mr. William E. Townley furnished facts and dates on the records of St. John's, Elizabeth.

For detailed information respecting manuscript or printed writings of clergymen, and for biographical notes, I am obligated to R. W. G. Vail, New York Historical Society; Emerson Greenaway, Free Library of Philadelphia; Eleanor Este Campion, Philadelphia Bibliographical Center; R. N. Williams, 2nd, and George H. Fairchild, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Georgia Haugh, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; M. Halsey Thomas, Columbia University Library; Dorothy W. Bridgwater, and Mrs. Zara Jones Powers, Yale University Library; Professor Adolph B. Benson, Yale University; Niels H. Sonne, General Theological Seminary Library, New York City; Lawrence F. London, Historiographer of the Diocese of North Carolina; and the Rev. G. MacLaren Brydon, Historiographer, Diocese of Virginia, for details about New Jersey clergymen who moved to the Old Dominion.

For tracing biographical details and publications of British priests, I must mention the aid of R. P. Wilson of the British Museum; the Rev. Canon J. Bullough of Glasgow, Scotland; H. J. Butchart of Marischal College, Aberdeen; C. P. Finlayson of the University of Aberdeen; George P. Richardson, University of Glasgow; J. B. Salmond, St. Salvator's Hall, the University, St. Andrews, Scotland.

For detailed information concerning the Rev. Dr. Thomas Wood of New Jersey and Nova Scotia, I am indebted to Burns Martin, University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia; Barbara Murray, Dalhousie University, Halifax; Phyllis R. Blakeley and C. B. Fergusson at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Thanks are due to Mr. John Deporry of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, for his patience in isolating hundreds of transcripts concerning New Jersey, in the copies of American documents from the archives of the S. P. G., of Fulham Palace, and of Lambeth Palace. This saved a vast amount of physical labor on my part, and will enable future researchers to use the photocopies at the Rutgers University Library, where they will be deposited.

N. R. B.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Background

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH came late to New Jersey, because the region was not a separate English political community until 1664. The Dutch and the Swedes on the Hudson and the Delaware had then been occupying the soil for more than a quarter of a century. An English fleet compelled Governor Peter Stuyvesant to surrender New Netherland, after *he* had appropriated New Sweden on the Delaware; and King Charles II gave the whole region to his brother James, Duke of York, later King James II.

The duke sought to simplify the problem of governing his remote possession by granting New Jersey on June 23, 1664, to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Later the territory was carved into East and West Jersey, which were distantly governed by Carteret and Berkeley respectively. In 1674-77 West Jersey and in 1682 East Jersey were sold to Quaker proprietors, but in 1702 the proprietary governments were abolished and New Jersey became one royal province under the auspices of "Good Queen Anne." She was a faithful and generous daughter of the Church, which in New Jersey owed much to her kindness.

The Quaker proprietors were good advertisers and people flowed into the Jerseys, attracted partly by the unusually liberal provisions for religious liberty. The Grants and Concessions of Berkeley and Carteret imposed no restrictions, and their ideal was not violated until 1698, when the people's representatives in the Law of Rights decreed intolerance of Roman Catholicism. Not until the constitution of 1844 did New Jersey revive the spirit of proprietary times by restoring "the fearless spirit of complete religious liberty."¹

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

The Concessions and Agreement of 1664 granted the General Assembly power to appoint ministers and establish their maintenance. That authority was allowed to rust unused, as the Assembly preferred to act in the spirit of the grant, "giving liberty beside to any person or persons to keep and maintain what preachers or ministers they please." The proprietors generously granted convenient portions of land for churches, and "to each parish for the use of their ministers two hundred acres." The towns settled from New England took advantage of the gift and followed the custom of granting in every township a "glebe" (land endowment) for the ministry.

Beyond their concessions the proprietors gave slight consideration to promoting religion, but under the strong influence of New England and Scottish elements, in the spirit of the time, East Jersey laws supported Christian morality. Acts forbade unlawful marriages, cursing and swearing as early as 1668, and in 1675 the Assembly resolved to punish violations of the Sabbath and prevent disturbance of ministers during divine service. The latter act was aimed at the "Ranters" and other ecstatic sectarians, who were beginning to annoy the Quakers and other groups in East Jersey. The General Assembly in 1675 passed severe laws relating to social order, with a pronounced leaning toward capital punishment. The October session of 1677 enacted more penalties against Sabbath violation, which was becoming a nuisance. In March, 1682, a "Bill for the General Laws of the Province of East New Jersey" regulated marriage, protected the sanctity of the Sabbath, and punished "prophane" swearing and gross offences against Christian morality. In the same year the proprietors relieved the Quakers from penalties for not performing or contributing to military service.²

Following the spirit of its charter, West Jersey's legislation respecting religion reflected the comparative mildness and liberality of the Quaker leaders. The Charter of Fundamental Laws, March 3, 1676, decreed that "no men, nor number of

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men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters," and therefore ordained complete religious liberty. The pledge was renewed by the legislature in November, 1681, by a further declaration that none of the free people should be rendered incapable of holding office because of their faith or worship. In 1683 the law of liberty of conscience was declared inviolable. Eleven years later, non-Quakers were suffered to bear arms if they wished, for although the Quaker majority had conscientious objections against it, they did not insist upon binding the consciences of others.³

West Jersey was not behind its sister province in defending the standards of Christian morality. In May, 1682, the legislature passed an act to prevent clandestine and unlawful marriages, and in 1683 forbade cursing, swearing, reviling speeches, and various immoralities. The session of October, 1693, was not behind the eastern province in defending the Lord's Day from profanation by rather stringent penalties, for it was as sacred to the Quaker as to the Calvinist. Religion was made no bar to political preferment, and a law of May, 1696, allowed qualification for office by those who were "not free to take an oath." The usual requirement would have disqualified a majority of the most respectable citizens.

In May, 1694, West Jersey passed a law that seems perfectly to express the religious nature of many pioneers of New Jersey. It endeavored to suppress sexual immorality on the *religious* ground that "the sin of uncleanness is one of the greatest in the eyes of a pure God." The moral legislation of the Quakers, although "liberal" for that age, always sought a higher sanction for restraint than a purely wordly desire for social order.⁴

In all those laws there was nothing of special benefit to the Episcopal Church of England. There was no established church, as in England and other parts of the British Isles. There could not have been, because of the peculiarly cosmopolitan character of the Jerseys. Before the end of the seventeenth century,

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these two provinces displayed a variety of nationalities and religious beliefs hardly rivalled by any other colony in America. New Jersey was an early sample of the present American religious diversity. Here were found the pacifism and acute social conscience of the Friends; the civic pride and educational zeal of the New England Puritan, the Scottish Presbyterian, and the Dutch Calvinist; the Baptist's ardent tolerationism and opposition to a state church; the Anglican's devotion to the Prayer Book; the sound liturgical and doctrinal traditions of the Swedish Lutherans; and the prophetic and emotional warmth of the minor sects, the forerunners of our modern Pentecostal and similar denominations.⁵

By 1700, East Jersey probably contained about 12,000 souls, West Jersey had around 8,000, all divided into an almost bewildering variety of religions. Bergen, generally called the "Dutch" county, was a mixture of Calvinists or Reformed people from the Low Countries, Lutherans of German and Scandinavian origin, and exiled French Protestants ("Huguenots") who migrated up the Hackensack and Passaic Valleys.

The English counties were even more diversified. Essex, consisting of the townships of Newark and Elizabeth Town, was settled mainly from New England, particularly from the New Haven Colony in Connecticut. The people were predominantly Independents (Congregationalists) and Presbyterians. Elizabeth was less unified than Newark, having more Episcopalians, Baptists and Quakers. Middlesex County was a patchwork quilt of denominations. Woodbridge, the largest town, was a mixture of New England Congregationalists, Scottish Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Quakers from New England and Long Island. The tiny "city" of Perth Amboy, capital of East Jersey, contained many settlers directly from Britain, including a strong infusion of Scottish Presbyterians, and Quakers from Middletown, Monmouth County. The latter was perhaps the most varied of all the counties, containing Baptists from New York and New England at Middletown, New England and

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Long Island Quakers in Middletown and Shrewsbury, Scottish Presbyterians and Quakers around Freehold, and a few ardent Episcopalians in Shrewsbury.⁶

West Jersey also was a checkerboard of denominations, with the Quakers socially and politically predominant. The Quaker proprietors encouraged a large migration from the meetings in England and Ireland, and by 1700 there was a broad band of Quakers along the Delaware River and its creeks. They found there little colonies of Swedish Lutherans, planted many years before by the promoters of New Sweden. Scattered throughout the province were a few Presbyterians and Huguenots, particularly at Salem. Cohansey was a stronghold of Baptists, including Welsh and Irish, and there was a Puritan settlement at Fairfield, where a village is still called "New England Town."⁷

Upon their regions those religious pioneers stamped characteristics that lasted throughout the colonial period and may be discerned even today. The early strength of the dissenting groups largely explains the slow progress of the Episcopal Church before the Revolution. The dominance of Dutch Calvinism in the northeastern corner accounts for the absence of Episcopal churches there until long after the Revolution. The intrenched New England Puritanism of East Jersey made that section a stronghold of political independence in Revolutionary times, and of opposition to the introduction of bishops. Calvinist influence promoted the beginnings of public education in East Jersey, and was unfavorable to Anglican parochial schools. Education in West Jersey depended largely upon Quaker care for orphans, and the "guarded" instruction in their schools prejudiced the popular mind against Anglicanism.

By 1700 the religious and moral climate of New Jersey was already becoming fixed, and it was evangelistic, not liturgical. Although it is a firmly planted tradition that the "Great Awakening" about 1740 sprang from the New England pulpit of Jonathan Edwards and the preaching of George Whitefield,

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

its leaven was at work in New Jersey by the 1690's, in the influence of the reformed Dutch pastor, William Bertholf of Hackensack. (See Chapter Six.) The social passion of the Quakers that flowered in the next century was already stirring in the West Jersey meetings. The worldwide influence of John Woolman, born at Rancocas in 1720, was the result of long and careful nurture in the first day meeting, and of reading Quaker literature that encouraged a humane spirit.

Religious differences were deep and serious, and yet from the first there were evidences of goodwill and cooperation among some of the non-Anglican groups, resulting in movements and attitudes with which the Church of England was compelled to reckon.

One of the most important was the growing collaboration between New England Independents and Scottish and English Presbyterians. The New England congregations at Woodbridge, Elizabeth and Newark were gradually infiltrated by Scottish Presbyterians and leaned more and more toward regular Presbyterian connections. Even before 1700 the barriers began to crumble, and ultimately the New Englanders joined the Presbytery (1705) and the Synod (1717) of Philadelphia. A natural outcome was the close friendship between East Jersey ministers of New England origin, such as Aaron Burr, Sr., of Newark and Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth Town, and Scots of the New Brunswick Presbytery, in the establishment of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.

A similar movement among the Reformed Dutch ministers and laymen, favoring the "Awakening" or "New Light" doctrines, founded Queen's College at New Brunswick, now Rutgers University. From these institutions, arising from movements that germinated in New Jersey, came religious and intellectual currents that swept across America, deeply affecting religious and civil life and influencing the course of the Episcopal Church.

Especially significant was the cooperation between New

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Jersey Presbyterians and New England Independents in opposition to the introduction of bishops. Their early sympathy in 1766 grew into the establishment of a series of meetings of delegates from the two groups, expressly intended to oppose the tendency of British colonial policy toward royalism and prelacy. They played a major negative role in the history of the Church in colonial New Jersey, and exerted a powerful unifying influence upon the elements determined to uphold constitutional and religious liberty. They contributed heavily to the movement that caused the Revolution, independence, and the long post-Revolutionary depression of the Church.

Another opposing element was the peculiar strength of the New Jersey Baptists. It was a powerful asset in the growth of Baptist intercolonial unity through the Philadelphia Baptist Association founded in 1709. New Jersey Baptists were active in the great revivals after 1740 that changed their small sect into a militant host and made their faith the practical religion of millions on the frontiers. Their influence was an important factor also in the campaign to found the first Baptist college. Their famous academy at Hopewell was the origin of the College of Rhode Island, now Brown University.

The swarming of denominations into the provinces was favorable to practical cooperation, and to the religious "liberalism" that later annoyed strict Episcopal laymen and zealous missionaries. That was notably the case in Monmouth County, where the differences between Independents, Presbyterians, Reformed, and Baptists soon yielded to the fluidity of the frontier and to the general poverty that forbade the erection of separate meeting houses and the support of different ministers. Meeting houses at Shrewsbury and Middletown were used by both Independents and Presbyterians, and the one in Middletown also by the Baptists. The Reformed Dutch and Scottish Presbyterians joined in worship at Freehold and Middletown, and after the death of the Scottish minister (John Boyd) in 1708, called the Independent Joseph Morgan to serve both

groups. The Rev. Dr. Alexander Innes, an Episcopal priest who lived in the county after 1700, was respected by people of all faiths and consulted by them in difficulties, because of his general religious services and intellectual attainments. His congregations were of miscellaneous origins, and his signet appears on the wills of many persons of other religious faiths.

Farther north the Hollanders and Huguenots joined in the Reformed Dutch congregations. The Lutheran communities in East and West Jersey were a mingling of Dutch, German and Scandinavian ingredients. The spirit of Quakerism often was not remarkably exclusive, and Quakers made up a large portion of the early converts to the Church, especially after George Keith forsook the Friends in the 1690's. (*See Chapter Four.*) As time passed, a large liberal group wore Quaker ways more and more easily, and the loss of that element diminished Quakerism's social and political prestige and narrowed its intellectual horizon.

Before the close of the seventeenth century there were sharp criticisms of New Jersey's religious character. The Reformed Dutch clergy of New York deplored the laxity of some New Jersey congregations, particularly those that welcomed the evangelistic William Bertholf. The gloomiest picture—probably colored by personal feeling—was drawn by that staunch patron of the Church, Colonel Lewis Morris, whose country seat was at Tinton Falls near Shrewsbury. His memorial of 1700, "Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys," admitted that the Dutch Calvinists and Lutherans and the New England Independents were "sober" folk, who provided well for religion. He was annoyed, however, by the general swarming of sects, and commented acidly upon the many people who seemed to have no religion, particularly in Piscataway, Middletown, Freehold, and Shrewsbury. He was appalled by the drinking and carousing, fighting, running races and neglect of church on Sunday throughout East Jersey, and by the "Debaucht and ignorant" youth of both provinces.⁸

Morris was a hearty Churchman, whose remarks ought to be taken with a pinch of salt. The religious and moral laws passed by the people's representatives could not have been intended as mere pious gestures. And the very existence of more than 40 religious communities in the Jerseys by 1702, for a population probably not over 20,000, does not indicate a general indifference. (*See map.*) Favorable evidence appears also in the surprising quantity of Bibles and other religious books mentioned in wills and inventories of the seventeenth century.⁹ The wills show that the settlers did not forget to make bequests to support religion. Quakers especially were mindful of that duty, and their many gifts illustrate their noble tradition of generosity to education and charity.

There are almost numberless examples of local attachment to religion and its ministers. The Dutch parishioners of William Bertholf underwrote the heavy cost of his journey to Holland for ordination and supported his household. Alexander Innes, the lone priest in Monmouth County, had no stated parish and no settlement or tithe, but lived well on his estate and maintained a respectable position in the community. The New England towns provided generously for their parsons; Newark's town records include annual votes to maintain the ministry. Jabez Wakeman, the fourth pastor (1699-1704), left considerable property in Newark and at Fairfield, Connecticut; also a library to a scion of the family to be educated for the ministry. The Independents of Fairfield in West Jersey provided for their pastor's settlement in the customary New England way. And John Allen, pastor of the Puritan church in Woodbridge, was fairly rich, leaving an estate of over £148, including three gold rings, considerable silver, a library of 252 volumes, and debts due from fifty persons, probably for his salary.¹⁰

The clergy do not seem to have been starving, but how the stout Colonel Morris longed for general public support of the ministry, particularly the Anglican! In 1697, it had been

proposed to settle a maintenance for ministers in East Jersey, and Morris asserted that

“the greatest part of the house of Comons there were for it, but one Richard Hartshorne a Quaker, and Andrew Broun (Bowne) an Anabaptist found means to defeat it that Session, and before the Assembly could sit again, arriv’d one Jeremiah Bass an Anabaptist Preacher with a Comission from the Proprietors of East Jersey to be their Governour, and with Instructions and Orders from them not to Consent to any act to raise a Maintenance for any Minister of what Perswasion soever, so that there is no hope of doing any thing of that kind till that Governm’t is in other hands.”¹¹

The colonel had his own neat remedy and proposed “some measures w’ch may conduce to ye bringing over to the Church the People in those Countreys.” No man, he declared, should be appointed as a colonial governor unless he were a loyal Churchman, and if possible the members of his Council and all the magistrates should be Episcopalians. Colonial Churchmen should have “some peculiar privileges above others,” even by act of Parliament if practicable. The Church and the government in England should devise some means to induce ministers to serve without pay in the colonies until there were enough converts to support them. It could be done, he believed, if the King and the hierarchy would for a time admit no man to any great benefice in the Church, unless he would promise to preach for three years in America without pay. Part of his living could sustain a curate until he returned from his mission, and the other would support him.

“By this means,” reasoned Morris, “we shall have the greatest & best men & in human probability such men must in a short time make a wonderful progress in the Conversion of those Countries, especially when its p’ceived the good of Souls is the only motive to this undertaking.”¹²

THE BACKGROUND

Anyone who knows the natural craving for good berths in any established national church, and especially in the English Church of that period, cannot suppress a smile at such naive confidence. Had his starry ideal been adopted, the academic dovecotes at Oxford and Cambridge and the closes of cathedrals would have set up an outraged fluttering. One should be thankful that the provinces never even discussed his plan or adopted a legal establishment. And when the missionary impulse came in the really Christian way of private benevolence, the good colonel was among the first to welcome it.

Before the Jerseys were merged into a royal province, they contained a peculiar type of Anglicanism, without establishment and without its disadvantages. It was a missionary and not a static religion, and showed an ardent desire to transplant the episcopate to America, in that respect being scarcely exceeded in later times by the most zealous Connecticut Churchman. Episcopalians who more clearly discerned the practical difficulties even wished that the Jerseymen would be more moderate in their heat for purely spiritual prelates. But the American Church owes them a great debt of gratitude for keeping alive the impulse that inspired the Connecticut clergy after the Revolution, in sending Samuel Seabury to Great Britain for that blessing. It was altogether fitting that he received it in Scotland, the birthplace of two priests who will figure in the following chapters as apostles of the Church in New Jersey—Alexander Innes and George Keith.¹³

CHAPTER TWO

The Day of Small Things

THE ZEAL of Colonel Morris probably reflected an uneasy consciousness that he belonged to a tiny minority, surrounded by suspicion. The vast majority of the pioneers were either indifferent or hostile, and many harbored bitter memories of persecution by those who regarded the Anglican establishment merely as a political advantage. They shunned the Church even when it enjoyed no legal privileges and appeared as a purely spiritual body. New Englanders had dreaded episcopacy ever since the hated Archbishop Laud of Canterbury had tried to transplant it to America. They sheltered the fugitive judges who had sent King Charles I to the block, and the restoration of his son Charles II in 1660 rekindled their enmity. The Scots of Monmouth County could not forget or forgive the dragoons and the prisons of political episcopacy. To Dutch Calvinists, Episcopal traditions were completely exotic, and to Quakers and Baptists they meant the detested tithe to support the "rotten priest" and the "steeple house." The literary beauty of the Prayer Book was lost on the ears of many who associated it only with royal waste and tyranny, lace-collared courtiers, bishops' courts, and heavy taxes—the whole royal and feudal system they had tried to escape!'

Most Jerseymen considered the Church as the private chapel of a few alien aristocrats, like Governor Phillip Carteret, who attended services in a makeshift church in the fort at New York. The chaplain to the British troops obtained the privilege of using the old Reformed church on Sunday after the Dutch domine had held his service. Among the early chaplains were Charles Wolley, John Gordon, and Josias Clarke, who attempted to be pastors to Episcopalians for many miles

'For the text of this and other numbers, see *below*, "Notes."

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around. The handful of Churchmen in East Jersey later were grateful for occasional services by the Rev. William Vesey, who in 1697 became the first settled rector of Trinity Church.²

Among the New York clergy who helped to plant the sacred vine in East Jersey, none is more important and interesting than the apostolic Alexander Innes. (*See* biography, Appendix B.) He is believed to have been the first Anglican priest to make his home in New Jersey, and tradition says that he visited Middletown in the 1680's, reading services in dwellings while the people were erecting a meeting house which he could use as a church.³

Innes was commissioned on April 20, 1686, as chaplain to the fort in New York. He was reputed to be an ardent supporter of King James II, who was dethroned and exiled in 1688 because of his adherence to Roman Catholicism and his flagrant disregard of the laws. James was welcomed by England's mortal enemy, Louis XIV of France, and England and the American colonies soon dreaded a French invasion. New York flew into a panic, and a popular Protestant demagogue, Jacob Leisler, seized control and began to persecute all suspected of loyalty to the Stuarts. His suspicious eye singled out Dr. Innes as "by outward pretence a Protestant but in effect a meere papist, who deceitfully has provided him with a certificate of the Dutch and France (*sic*!) Church as if he was a true Protestant." Innes left the city about August, 1689, to escape the attentions of Leisler, who informed the new sovereigns, William III and Queen Mary II (a daughter of James II), that he had "testimony in good forme" that Innes was hostile to the Protestant cause. Innes sent to England his submission to the new King and Queen, and even sailed for "home" to clear himself.

David Humphreys, historian of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, paid a handsome and well-deserved tribute to the brave old priest for his years of toilsome care for the scattered Churchmen. His zeal gathered the congregations that

later became the parishes of Saint Peter's in Freehold, Christ at Shrewsbury, and Christ Church, Middletown.⁴

Innes died in 1713, sincerely lamented by his congregations, including many who were not Episcopalians. In 1717, the justices of the peace, the high sheriff and the grand jury informed the Society that he

"By unwearied Pains and Industry, gathered three Congregations in this County, tho' much scattered in their Habitations; yet did he visit them, teach them, and instruct them all, once at least in three Weeks, in order to their eternal Happiness."

The people's affection was amply repaid by the faithful doctor when he made his will on July 17, 1713. Some of the books he left for future priests in Monmouth County were his own, and others had been a present from Viscount Weymouth "for his use during Liffe provyded he Continoued in the West Indies at his death or Removall to establish a Library where he should think Convenient." The volumes comprised 179 titles, mostly religious, controversial and classical.⁵

The Society disregarded his known political sentiments in paying tribute to his services—verbally, for it never gave him an appointment as a missionary and its annual reports do not mention any gratuity. He bore the burden alone, for in 1703 Colonel Lewis Morris vainly importuned Bishop William Beveridge of Saint Asaph, a member of the Society, to recommend a missionary for Monmouth, because a large congregation promised "all the help their narrow circumstances could afford their Minister." The Society was then too burdened by other calls for help and had to let Innes carry on by himself.⁶

Sometimes he was the only Anglican priest in New Jersey, his nearest brethren being in New York and Philadelphia. For a short time the Rev. Edward Portlock served in Perth Amboy, but after he departed for Philadelphia and Virginia, Innes was alone again until the mission of George Keith and John Talbot. Year after year he traversed the woods and fields of Monmouth,

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riding over the execrable "roads," to comfort and teach, argue and advise, and preach in all seasons and weathers. The Church's present strength and prosperity there date from the campaigns of that valiant soldier of Christ.

While he pursued his solitary way, proprietary influence slowly began to lay the foundations of a parish in Perth Amboy. The proprietors had agents choose the site and announced that they intended,

if the Lord permit with all convenient speed to erect and build one principal town which by reason of situation must in all probability be the most considerable for merchandise, trade, and fishing in those parts. It is designed to be placed on a neck or point of rich land called Ambo Point lying on Raritan River and pointing to Sandy Hook Bay and near adjacent to the place where ships in that great harbor commonly ride at anchor."

William Penn was charmed by the sylvan point, and Governor Carteret probably selected the "sweet, wholesome and delightful place." The proprietors named the town *Perth* in compliment to one of their associates, the Scottish Earl of Perth.

The town was laid out by Samuel Groome, one of the proprietors who served as surveyor general. He envisioned a thriving emporium, and while it fell far short of his dreams, Perth Amboy did become important, because the deputy governor lived there, and in 1684 it became East Jersey's capital. Although completely eclipsed by New York, the miniature city retained its prestige throughout the colonial age, sending two delegates to the General Assembly and sharing honors with Burlington as capital of New Jersey.⁷

The small population became a mixture of Scottish Presbyterians and Episcopalians and English Dissenters, including a few Quakers. Although Churchmen at first were few, they were men of influence and authority and attracted friendly Quakers who wanted to join the Church. For many years there

were no regular religious services in the neighborhood, and the Episcopalians were occasionally reminded of their duty by venturesome priests, especially the New York chaplains, who read services and administered the sacraments.⁸

By 1695 the longing for regular Church ministrations had become so strong that a petition was sent to Bishop Henry Compton of London, nominal diocesan of the American colonies, by several proprietors living in London—William Dockwra, George Willocks, Thomas Gordon, and David Lyell. They selected a clergyman named Edward Portlock, whom his lordship must have remembered, because he had ordained him as a deacon at Fulham on May 11, 1691. He presented a letter, dated March 29, 1698, and signed by the four proprietors, certifying that after due examination they wanted him to serve them as minister in East Jersey, promising to give him adequate support, and desiring the bishop to qualify him. (*See biography, Appendix B.*)

Compton, always a warm friend of the Church in America, speedily ordained Portlock to the priesthood on April 3, 1698. The pertinent documents, still preserved in the massive archives at Fulham Palace, include Portlock's subscription to the oaths required of a priest in the Church of England, and suggest that he was not a university graduate. On March 3, the proprietors agreed that George Willocks should pay for his voyage "out of the Proprietors first effects according to agreement and order of ye Proprietors in England testified by Mr. Willocks and Thomas Gordon (who) were then present there, at ye Committee of Proprietors."

East Jersey's little "metropolis" at last had a pastor and did its best to give him a decent church. He must have arrived in the autumn, for on December 10, 1698, the proprietors held a council to consider the matter, attended by Governor Basse, Thomas Warne, George Willocks, John Barclay, John Reid, and Thomas Gordon. They

"Aggreed and ordered that one of (the) old houses on ye point and ye lot on which it stands be given and allowed by ye proprs to be a church etc. for ye use of ye Town of Perth Amboy . . ."

The order was signed by Willocks, a Churchman whose family became a pillar of the parish in Perth Amboy.

The "old house" was one of the four stone buildings erected by the proprietors in 1685 on the property called the "Long Ferry" lot. It was so named because from that site, at the foot of High Street, a ferry used to run to South Amboy—the long crossing as compared with that of the ferry to Tottenville on Staten Island. The building had originally been used as a court house by the proprietors, who on May 15, 1695, had ordered Thomas Gordon to fit it for that purpose. In 1700 Lewis Morris wrote somewhat scornfully: "We have made a shift to patch up an old ruinous court house and make a church of it." But it probably looked better than he implied. Governor Basse stated that it was the town's only church building, and that several pious and generous people had given the means to cover and glaze it and provide seats and a pulpit.¹⁰

While the carpenters and the glaziers were still at work, Portlock sometimes read services and preached in the governor's house, and sometimes in a house that belonged to the London merchant and proprietor, William Dockwra. He also ministered occasionally to small and churchless congregations at Woodbridge, Elizabeth Town, and Piscataway. When official duties called the governor to Burlington, Portlock accompanied him as a chaplain and read services in the Public Town House. The importance and semiofficial character of his position appears in his being invited to preach to the legislature. On February 23, 1698 (1699 New Style), Governor Basse and the Council of East Jersey "returned the thanks of their Board to the Rev. Mr. Edward Portlock, authorized pastor of the Jerseys, for the sermon he preached before the General Assembly, yesterday afternoon."¹¹

Portlock described himself as "Rector Temple Christi de New Jersey," meaning either that he was pastor of the Church all over the province, or rector of a parish and church known as Christ Church. The somewhat cryptic designation is attached to his signature on a Latin testimonial, June 21, 1699, in behalf of the Rev. Godfridus (Godfrey) Dellius, pastor of the Reformed Dutch church at Albany. The domine had been ousted from his parish, and several Reformed and Anglican ministers interceded for his reinstatement.¹²

Portlock remained in Perth Amboy less than two years, and early in 1700 was living in Philadelphia, ministering in Christ Church after the death of the first settled pastor, the Rev. Thomas Clayton. His stay there was brief, for late in the year the Bishop of London sent Evan Evans as rector. While in the Quaker City, Portlock wrote a brief letter to the bishop, describing the parish's condition and expressing confidence in its future growth and prosperity. He was there as late as March 26, 1700, but before long moved to Virginia and became minister of Stratton Major Parish. He attended a convention of the Virginia clergy at Williamsburg, August 29, 1705, to support Governor Nicholson against the attacks of Commissary James Blair, and made a speech against Blair in Bruton Parish Church. He must have died before 1719, as he did not attend that year's clerical convention and was not designated as absent.¹³

Portlock's visits to Burlington speeded the movement that finally made that town an Anglican stronghold. Thomas Clayton and Evan Evans of Philadelphia now and then visited the town and its neighborhood. As early as July, 1695, land was bought for a cemetery by a group of prominent families, led by the Westlands, the Tathams, and the Hunlokes. Several of the names are found later among the patrons of Saint Mary's Church. The group was reputed to be tinged by loyalty to the fallen Stuart dynasty, and John Tatham in particular was accused of being a "Jacobite"—a partisan of James (Latin,

Jacobus) II. The imputation of disloyalty to the government stuck like a burr and later caused the parish much trouble.¹⁴

While Innes, Portlock, and other priests were planting the seeds, one greater than they, who was destined to water the vine, was leading a defection from the Quakers that contributed more than anything else to prepare the way for the Church's rapid growth in New Jersey early in the eighteenth century. That was the famous and formidable George Keith. (See Chapter Four, *and* biography, Appendix B.) He and his hundreds of personal friends and followers became religiously uprooted, and earnestly engaged in a quest for certainty. Some of the "Keithians" became Baptists and contributed much to the steadily growing strength of that sect in the Middle Colonies. The majority could only follow the dynamic and attractive leader wherever he might go, and he led them eventually into the Church of England. His admirers were numerous, particularly around Crosswicks, Shrewsbury, and Freehold, and in the Quaker meeting at Toponemus, now in the township of Marlborough. Keith's schism favored the slow drift of opinion toward Anglicanism, especially in Monmouth County. Hundreds were fairly on tiptoe to leap into the arms of the Church, when he appeared among them as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹⁵

When the Society began its work in New Jersey in 1702, Anglicanism was already widely diffused in the province, but as a friendly tendency rather than as an organized body. The number of actual communicants was very tiny—according to Colonel Morris, only twelve in East Jersey in 1700. Baptized members and sympathizers probably numbered hundreds, and there were unorganized congregations at Shrewsbury, Middletown, Toponemus, Perth Amboy, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Elizabeth Town, Crosswicks, Burlington, and Salem. In most of these places later missionaries planted churches that still flourish. The Church's latent strength appeared, to the astonishment and displeasure of Dissenters, when the Society started to work and

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parishes began to spring up like crocuses at the first thaw.¹⁶ The Society itself was a result of long active influences that melted the established Church of England out of its frozen insularity.

CHAPTER THREE

Come Over and Help Us! The Founding of the "Venerable Society"

THE LATENESS of the Church's entrance into New Jersey and other northern colonies would, at first glance, appear to justify those who severely criticized its hierarchy for indifference to the faithful overseas. It is astounding that as late as 1675, more than half a century after the landing of the Pilgrims, there was no parish in New England. The sole minister in New York was the chaplain at the fort, and there was not one from there to Maryland! Twenty-five years later, the situation was little better, for north of Maryland the only congregations with ministers were King's Chapel in Boston, Trinity Church in New York, Saint Peter's at Perth Amboy, and Christ Church, Philadelphia.¹

For that scandalous condition, the Church of England was not entirely to blame. During the Commonwealth, that Church had been virtually proscribed in England. Its restoration to power under Charles II in 1660 was again endangered by James II, 1685-1688, and only with the accession of William and Mary in 1689 was it relieved from being on the defensive and able to undertake a more aggressive strategy.

Again, the circumstances of settlement did not favor legal establishment, as they were controlled by private companies of speculators operating under charters with largely commercial motives. As they regarded their colonies as investments, the proprietors naturally did not want to scare away settlers by imposing religious conditions or restraints. Even the Society admitted the difficulties, expenses, and uncertainties of the ad-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

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ventures as a reason if not a good excuse for failure to consider the Church.²

The character of most of the settlers was unfriendly to the Church. Those from the British Isles were largely dissenters from the Church and from each other, and the diversity of beliefs and opinions was aggravated by the influx of many people from Continental Europe. The Church could hardly have expected even a friendly gesture, much less a legal establishment, from the mixed multitude that poured into the Jerseys.³

Another obstacle was the religious illiteracy of the American-born, whose parents had brought at least a nominal attachment to some church. Weeks and months separated newcomers from old associations, and it was most difficult to establish parochial schools and obtain religious books. Overworked parents often became careless about imparting traditional religious instruction, and as in all frontier communities, the sense of divine things began to grow dim. Literally tens of thousands of Anglicans drifted away into the babel of sectarians. A saving remnant read the Prayer Book services at home, and they were the cornerstone of the Church's rebuilding, when the Society's missionaries came at last.⁴

They were the latest proofs of the Church's intermittent effort to care for her overseas children, ever since the English Reformation. Chaplains came on the ships of early English explorers. On his voyage in 1578 to search for the Northwest Passage to India, Martin Frobisher had a chaplain—Master Wolfall, the first priest of the English Church to minister on American shores. When Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland in 1583, one of his objects was to promote Christian colonization. The first group of colonists sent to North Carolina by Sir Walter Raleigh included a priest, Thomas Heriot, an eminent scientist and philosopher, called the first English missionary in America. During the brief life of the Roanoke colony, 1585-87, he ministered to the English, tried to convert

the Indians, and baptized Manteo, the first recorded baptism of an Indian by a priest of the Church of England. From that time missions remained at least a formal object of English colonization.⁵

Good intentions were one thing and action was another. Although Virginia began as a Church of England province, no organization but the Company was responsible for a regular supply of ministers. Worse still, there was no bishop in America. Not until 1633 did an order of Charles I and his Council commit to the Bishop of London "the care and pastoral charge of sending over Ministers into our British Foreign Plantations, and having the jurisdiction of them." It remained practically a dead letter. In 1675, Bishop Compton found that "little or no good had come of it," because outside Virginia there were "scarce four Ministers of the Church of England . . . and not above one or two of them, at most, regularly sent over."⁶

Compton, the best friend of the colonial Church, was appalled by its destitution and determined to do something about it. He successfully urged the sending of chaplains and other ministers to the colonies, and persuaded Charles II to give £20 (the "Royal Bounty") to every minister or schoolmaster for his voyage. Through his influence, the King granted to the bishops of London all strictly ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the American colonial churches, and gave about £1200 for parish libraries. Instructions to governors forbade them to allow anybody to serve a parish or teach school without the bishop's license, and ordered every parochial minister to be a member of the vestry. Compton appointed commissaries to introduce orderly administration. The result of all these measures was a revival of the Church in the island colonies and in New York.⁷

Such halfway government was not enough. There was still no American bishop and no regular provision for sending and paying clergymen, outside the legal establishments in the West Indies, Virginia, and Maryland. New Jersey received no benefit,

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and the Church remained almost negligible in the northern colonies.⁸

The remedy was destined to come not so much from the Church and the government, as from individuals and the religious societies that arose in the seventeenth century. The missionary passion first broke out among the Puritans, who became intensely interested in converting the New England Indians. The Rev. John Eliot, who headed that adventure from 1646 until his death in 1690, by his writings inflamed the missionary spirit in England and in 1649 inspired the Puritan "Long Parliament" to establish the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, ordered a collection throughout England and Wales, that brought in nearly £12000 for an endowment fund and revealed an unsuspected interest in foreign missions. The society became a model for others, including the "S. P. G." It lapsed at the royal restoration in 1660, but was revived by a charter from Charles II in 1662, as the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts adjacent in America.⁹

That society's rebirth was due chiefly to the Honorable Robert Boyle, a famous scholar of noble family and deep religious devotion, whom the King named as its first governor. The example was not lost upon observant Anglicans, and the forty-five incorporators included Churchmen as well as Dissenters. Boyle promoted the cause of foreign missions by a bequest for an annual salary to a preacher who should aid all companies engaged in carrying Christianity to foreign parts.¹⁰

The Restoration period, 1660-85, has usually been regarded as one of general irreligion, gross corruption, and deep depression of the Church of England. But a look below the surface discovers deep currents flowing toward greater missionary effort at home and abroad. Churchmen began to defend their faith against Deism, Unitarianism and atheism, by forming pious societies. Their efforts received official encouragement

from the bishops, and the favor of Queen Anne (1702-14), who was a good Church woman. The societies promoted the revival of religious life, especially by encouraging daily prayers, Communions on every Sunday and holy day, and sermons in preparation for Communion.¹¹

The new missionary spirit appeared strongly in many laymen, like Sir Leolyne Jenkins. His will in 1685 noted that the Church had too few ministers in the fleets and the colonies, and bequeathed money to endow two fellowships in Jesus College, Oxford, on condition that the incumbents should take holy orders and serve either at sea or in the colonies, while retaining their full salaries and receiving an additional bounty of £20 a year while on duty.¹² The suggestion was not lost upon many young collegians who during the following century crossed the Atlantic to minister in America. Among them was the Rev. Thomas Thompson, a missionary of the S.P.G. in Monmouth County, New Jersey. (*See* biography, Appendix B.)

One of the strongest champions of the missionary campaign was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, whose great passion in life was to send priests and parish libraries to the "plantations," especially after Bishop Compton appointed him in 1696 as his commissary to Maryland. Having fruitlessly tried to interest Parliament, Bray conceived the idea of getting a royal charter to incorporate a society to spread Christian knowledge at home and abroad. In 1697, he proposed the suggestion to Compton, and two years later saw the fulfilment of his desire in the incorporated Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, familiarly called the "S. P. C. K."¹³

Bray's persistence and contagious enthusiasm enlisted generous help in high quarters, and promoted the idea of exporting missionaries as well as books. Upon his appointment as commissary, Queen Mary gave £200 a year during her life to support colonial missionaries, and other generous gifts came from Princess Anne (soon to be Queen), from noblemen, and from many of the clergy and gentry. Dr. Bray secured support for several

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new ministers in Maryland and for some parish libraries and schoolmasters.¹⁴

Bray practiced what he preached by selling his property and borrowing money to pay for his voyage to Maryland. Having organized the Church there, he returned to England in the summer of 1700 to secure King William III's consent to a law for its more orderly government. His abundant energy aroused public interest in missions, which Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury said would be "of the greatest consequence imaginable" in establishing the Church in America.¹⁵

Bray was not satisfied and was restlessly thinking about some organization of more official character and of wider scope. While he brooded on the problem, the need was vividly illustrated by an experience of Dr. Stanley, then archdeacon of London. As a zealous contributor to Bray's work, he one day recommended it to the wife of Bishop Burnet of Salisbury. The bishop said that the cause of colonial missions was a worthy one, but that he didn't believe that Bray's way of conducting it was legal, and suggested a charter to secure its proceedings and funds. Stanley repeated the objection to Bishop Compton, also to Archbishop Tenison, who exclaimed emphatically "*Then we must have a charter!*" For the rest of his life the archbishop promoted and guided the "S.P.G.," contributed £50 a year to its funds, and bequeathed it £1000 to support the first resident bishop in America.¹⁶

The Church welcomed the idea of a missionary society with surprising enthusiasm. On March 13, 1701, at the suggestion of Dr. Isham, the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee "to enquire into Ways and Means for promoting Christian Religion in our Foreign Plantations," and to consult Bishop Compton. The committee held its first meeting on March 15, and within three weeks a petition was addressed to King William III by Dr. Bray, who naturally was a member. He reviewed the lack of Anglican clergymen in the colonies and the people's inability to support them, and de-

clared that many persons would support a corporation to send missionaries, and closed by requesting his majesty to grant a charter.

The King having promised to refer the matter to his legal advisers, the S. P. C. K. got busy, and on May 5 heard a draft of a charter for a corporation "for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts." After further reading, discussion, and reference to a committee, the society adopted several amendments and agreed upon officers, and Archbishop Tenison promised the first subscription, 20 guineas for the cost of passing the charter. The new society was intended to include most of the members of the S. P. C. K. Dr. Bray's day of triumph came on June 23, when he laid before the society a charter granted by the King, and with Tenison received a vote of thanks for his toil in getting it.¹⁷

The precious parchment, dated at Westminster on June 16, 1701, incorporated the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The incorporators included Archbishop Tenison and 93 other Churchmen, from the Archbishop of York down to comparatively humble clerks. The charter empowered the Society to hold real and personal estate for income, to use a common seal, and to hold an annual meeting in February to elect officers. Archbishop Tenison was the inevitable choice for the first president. Other provisions included special meetings to fill vacancies in offices, monthly business meetings that might elect new members, quarterly meetings to make by-laws and execute leases of property, appointment of solicitors to get funds, and a yearly account of income and expenses.¹⁸

Archbishop Tenison called the first meeting for June 27 at Lambeth Palace, and 30 members appeared, including the Bishops of London, Bangor, Chichester and Gloucester, Dean Sherlock of Saint Paul's in London, Dr. Stanley, archdeacon of London, the faithful Dr. Bray, and 15 laymen. They elected officers and more members, ordered the drafting of by-laws and standing orders, printed copies of the charter, and the

preparation of a seal. The second meeting, July 8, adopted the "Seal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." For a device they chose

"A ship under sail, making towards a point of Land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his hand, People standing on the shore in a Posture of Expectation, and using these words: *Transiens Adjuva Nos.*" (Latin: Come over and help us!)¹⁹

That design became a symbol of hope to thousands of pastorless Churchmen in America. The parson and his book—big enough to sink the ship!—foretold more than 350 missionaries, including over 40 in New Jersey, and millions of books and tracts sent to America before the Revolution. The plea "Come over and help us!" was repeated in many appeals for aid, and was quoted—inaccurately—in one from Salem, New Jersey, in 1722.

The second meeting adopted by-laws, and standing orders, including one requiring an annual sermon to the members. The members raised nearly £200 among themselves to pay for passing the charter, making the seal and other charges, had 500 copies of the charter printed and distributed to stir up interest and secure gifts, and set a good example by drawing up a subscription form and pledging annual gifts. The result of the public campaign for funds was perfectly astounding, and enabled the Society to begin its work. Gifts fairly poured in from prominent clergymen and laymen, from palaces and gentlemen's country houses, from the universities, from rural rectors and rich city merchants, and from many pious societies. Some gifts, including some of the largest, were anonymous, like one for £1000 brought by Dr. Mapletoft, who later revealed the donor as Dame Jane Holman, widow of Sir John Holman of Weston, Northamptonshire.²⁰

The fountain of charity flowed throughout the colonial age, often amounting to thousands of pounds annually in gifts, annual subscriptions, and bequests. The funds were invested

in real estate, bonds, and blocks of stock, and the income rendered the Society independent of aid from the Church or the government.

The Society's success was far beyond the fondest hopes of its founders, for its influence inspired the Church's legal establishment in some provinces and founded hundreds of parishes. By 1728 the colonists had built over 60 churches, the missionaries had reclaimed and instructed innumerable lapsed members, and the Society's schools had taught the three R's and the catechism to thousands of children, apprentices, and slaves. The Society had sent to America over 8,000 volumes and more than 100,000 small devotional and teaching tracts for the poor.²¹

Reviewing the Society's accomplishment in his annual sermon in 1741, Bishop Secker of London said:

"In less than forty Years, under many Discouragements, and with an income very disproportionate to the Vastness of the Undertaking, a great deal hath been done . . . Near a Hundred Churches have been built; above ten thousand Bibles and Common-Prayers, above a hundred thousand other pious Tracts distributed; great Multitudes, upon the whole, of Negroes and *Indians* brought over to the Christian Faith; many numerous Congregations have been set up, which now support the Worship of God at their own Expence, where it was not known before; and Seventy Persons are constantly employed, at the Expence of the Society, in the farther Service of the Gospel."²²

New Jersey received a large slice of the bounty. The mere expense for salaries there, from 1702 until the Revolution, amounted to nearly £23,000, which today would be equal to hundreds of thousands. The people exerted themselves to deserve the help, for not only the eminent and wealthy but even poor frontiersmen, who had scarcely built houses, gave what they could to erect churches. An early historian of the Society prophetically wrote:

"They have been liberal in their Poverty; and that Providence which hath in so early a Season disposed them to be

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a religious People, seems by that to design them hereafter to be a great and flourishing People.²³

Behind the far-flung activity worked a very efficient organization. The members were truly interested men, for none was admitted unless he became a benefactor or made an annual subscription. All were summoned to every meeting, and all business was transacted according to strict and detailed by-laws. Year after year, amid the dull roar of vast London, the group of faithful men regularly met to direct their vast enterprise. For many years meetings were usually held in Archbishop Tenison's library at the Church of Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields. Although the hour was frequently eight or nine in the morning—pretty early for "gentlemen of figure"—several bishops usually came. Between meetings business was transacted by the Standing Committee, first appointed on March 6, 1702, to consider "all proposals that may be offered to them for the Promoting the designs of this Society, and to prepare matters for the consideration of the Society." As years passed, the correspondence swelled to huge size, and the secretaries toiled hard to keep abreast of it. The extant letters from the New Jersey missions alone number over 600!²⁴

The Society closely watched the character of its missionaries, having no illusions that they would receive a hearty welcome from everybody, and being well aware that "many Gainsayers" would jealously scrutinize their every movement. Bishops who were members were requested to give public notice that all clergymen who wanted to serve in the missions should send their names to the bishops or their archdeacons, to be transmitted to the Society, which would take the Bishop of London's advice regarding where they would do the most good. People were urged to

"recommend no Man out of Favour or Affection, or any other worldly Consideration; but with a sincere Regard to the Honour of Almighty God, and our Blessed Saviour,

as they tender the Interest of the Christian Religion, and the Good of Mens Souls.’’²⁵

All persons recommending missionaries had to certify their age, condition of life, temper and prudence, sober conversation, zeal for Christianity, loyalty to the government, and conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The Society received no testimonials unless signed by the diocesan bishop or by other reliable persons, including at least three of the Church of England, and unless the Society previously consulted the signers. If, after all that, the candidate acceptably read prayers and preached before some of the members, he would be engaged as a missionary.²⁶

The Society gave every departing missionary strict instructions regarding his behavior while performing his duties. He should not offend the civil government by meddling in matters outside his ministry, and should deal with Dissenters and opponents in “a Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness only.” He must preach to occasional congregations in distant places, even on ordinary days, and stress fundamental Christian doctrines and “the Duties of a sober, righteous, and godly Life.” No missionary should ever neglect to emphasize the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion, as *peculiar Institutions of Christ, Pledges of Communion with him, and Means instituted of deriving Grace from him*. All missionaries should pay special attention to the qualifications of adult candidates for baptism and Communion, and lay a solid foundation by teaching the catechism to children and “other ignorant Persons,” explaining it in the simplest way. The Society also expected them to be diligent in converting non-Christians and in visiting their parishioners frequently. They must keep in constant touch with the Society through the secretary and make parochial reports every six months, so that the Society could review their progress and help them in difficulties.²⁷

While a missionary had to remember and keep many strict

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rules, he also received some substantial encouragements, including an advance of half a year's salary when departing, a year's salary in case of dismissal without misdemeanor, and a half to be paid to his estate in case of death. The Society gave him a library worth £10 if the mission did not have one, and £5 worth of tracts to give away to the poor. He also bore letters of recommendation to the governor and to his parishioners to smooth his way, and if he fell into distress on account of war or other calamity, the Society gave him a considerable gratuity. If he died leaving a widow and children unprovided, the Society saw that they did not suffer, and several such instances occurred in New Jersey.²⁸

One of a missionary's chief duties was to convert Indians and Negroes, and in fact the Society soon decided to make that its principal object. Such a narrow policy happily was not permanently adopted, for the Society quickly discovered that the British colonists had the best claim upon its services, especially the multitude of lapsed or merely nominal Episcopalians. The dean of Lincoln stressed this point in the first anniversary sermon in 1702. Sermons and essays by bishops encouraged Negro missions from time to time, and Bishop Edmund Gibson of London in 1727 addressed a discourse and two letters on the subject to English Christians, owners of slaves, and missionaries.²⁹

The unchurched colonists pressed heavily upon the Society's conscience, and the result was a questionnaire sent to colonial governors, merchants, congregations and various eminent persons, to discover the religious condition of the English and the places that most needed missionaries. The Society foresaw the future greatness of Anglo-America, and resolved that it must be a great Christian power and not fall an easy prey to the indifference and Deism that menaced religion at home.³⁰

The enemy, it appeared, had already made alarming progress, for the reports that soon began to pour into the office brought "a more melancholy Account than any their Fears

could suggest." The practical paganism of the English was quite as challenging as the Indians and Negroes, and demanded more work than the Society could afford. Governor Joseph Dudley of New England wrote a long account of religion in all the colonies, Colonel Caleb Heathcote of New York presented a memorial on the state of the Church, Bishop Compton furnished a list of all the parishes, the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations supplied a letter on conversion of the Indians, and Colonel Lewis Morris reported on conditions in Philadelphia and New Jersey.³¹

Those reports revealed the shocking fact that the provinces north of Maryland contained about 185,000 people, but only 3,400 "frequenters" of Episcopal churches and 1,135 communicants! Less than two per cent of the people were really faithful to the Church, and in New Jersey only about 600 persons (about four per cent of the population) attended Anglican services, and only one and seven-tenths per cent received the Holy Communion—about 250 among 15,000 people!

But there was comfort in the latent loyalty to the Church and the eager desire for missionaries, appearing in petitions that streamed into the office during the next few years, especially from the Carolinas and the provinces north of Maryland. Among them were urgent pleas for help from Burlington, Monmouth County and Salem in the Jerseys.³²

Deeply moved by the popular awakening, the Society tried to comply with all the requests, as soon as its means would permit. It occurred to the members that the best way to determine the plan of campaign would be to send a traveling minister through the colonies, to survey the situation and make a general report. The result was such a religious awakening and such a revival in the Episcopal Church, as New Jersey had never known.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Apostles: Keith and Talbot

THE NEW ZEAL was due largely to the man whom the Society selected—the Rev. George Keith, a Scot. (*See biography, Appendix B.*) They wanted a highly educated man, an adept debater and convincing preacher, well acquainted with American religious conditions, especially in the Middle Colonies. Keith fully satisfied all requirements. He had sharpened his wits by many controversies while traveling as a Quaker minister in Great Britain, Holland, Germany, and America. He had enlarged his experience as a teacher of the Friends School in Philadelphia, and by disputes in 1688-90 with the shrewd Puritan ministers of New England.¹

On his return to Philadelphia, Keith proposed changes in the Quaker discipline, and upon meeting a cold reception, denounced what he considered unsound doctrines, and caused the secession of a group who became known as “Christian Quakers” or “Keithians.” The Philadelphia yearly meeting cast him out, and when he went to England in 1694 to appeal to the yearly meeting in London, he met the same fate. Denounced by Quakers as an apostate, he denounced *them* in sermons, lectures, and pamphlets. After several years in the uneasy bed of all seceders, in 1700 he laid his head upon the bosom of the Church of England, and was ordained as deacon by Bishop Compton of London. The hierarchy and the S.P.G. welcomed him with open arms, and regarded him as the logical man to undertake a tour of the colonies.²

New Jersey he knew better than any other province, having been closely associated with it from 1685 until 1691. Tiring of surveying in Scotland and teaching in England, and weary of intermittent imprisonment, he longed to share in colonizing

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see *below*, “Notes.”

the New World, hoping to find religious freedom and an outlet for his restless energies. The chance came when a group of Quakers purchased East Jersey. He knew the proprietors, who were Scots or London Quakers; and the governor was an old friend, Robert Barclay. Having secured an appointment in August, 1684, as surveyor-general of East Jersey, he sailed for America with his wife, two daughters, an apprentice, and two servants. In February, 1685, they arrived in Perth Amboy, where they found many Scots and Quakers and were welcomed by the Quaker deputy governor, Gawen Lawrie. Keith found himself no longer a hounded Dissenter but an important person with a large library, a respected preacher, scholar, surveyor, and mathematician. The proprietors gave him an attractive house, and he plunged into a free life of traveling, preaching, and surveying with John Reid of Freehold, a fellow Quaker who followed him into the Episcopal Church.³

While he surveyed for the Dutch town of Bergen and ran the bounds of large estates, Keith developed his own property, including 700 acres in Monmouth County, 300 in Middlesex County, and 500 in Pennsylvania given to him by William Penn. He had a home in Freehold, and called the estate "Well-spring," possibly from a favorite verse, Proverbs 18:4: "The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters, and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook."⁴

While his wordly affairs prospered, Keith improved his gift as a preacher, but was disturbed by religious conditions. Having been trained as a Presbyterian, he really believed in logically expressed doctrine and a formal creed. His well-educated English and Scottish friends also had come to Quakerism after formal religious education. In America he found another type of Quaker, who had cast off such restraints and trusted the guidance of his "inner light." He discovered also "Ranters" and other sectarians, "Airy Notionists," likely to overthrow the fundamentals of Christianity, especially among the younger people, who had never known formal religious instruction.

Keith reverted to his earlier religious character, and began to stress orthodox Christian doctrine and order. In taking his work so seriously he emphasized the preacher as one set apart, which was utterly contrary to the Quaker idea of the priesthood of all believers.⁵

In his clash with the New England Congregational clergy in 1688, his eagerness to vindicate the Quakers from charges of unorthodoxy and Ranterism represented them simply as another orthodox Protestant sect. Friends generally approved his well-meant efforts to defend them, but some were growing suspicious of his tendency to exalt dogma and order. The breach yawned wider after Keith became head of the Friends School and displayed more interest in preaching than in the pupils. The Philadelphia Friends resented his attempt to reform them and to turn their meetings into lectures. He lost friends and influence, and began to long for the old country so deeply that he started to sell his property in East Jersey. He had sympathizers who disliked some Quaker leaders, criticized their conduct of public affairs, and were therefore the more prone to take his part in religion. The conflict quickly descended into acrid personalities, and instead of going "home," Keith remained to argue and to be disowned.⁶

Equally disappointing was his failure to hold all the "Christian Quakers," who he said numbered "hundreds." Left leaderless by his departure for England in 1693, they began to disintegrate. Some penitently returned to the Quaker meetings, others became Baptists, and some drifted with him towards the Church of England. For some years, 1694-99, he maintained a separate meeting at Turner's Hall in London, while his writings against the Quakers attracted such favorable attention in the Church that in 1699 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S. P. C. K.) appointed him as its traveling agent. In February, 1700, he received Communion at Saint George's in Botolph's Lane, London; in May, 1700, he was made a deacon by Bishop Compton of London; and in March

of 1702 was priested by Bishop William Lloyd of Worcester. A considerable number of English Quakers followed him into the Church.⁷

While he was in England for eight years, some of his American followers cherished their affection for him and were perfectly willing to follow wherever he might lead. He had a few staunch friends in the Jerseys, particularly in Monmouth County, where lived his former pupil, the influential Colonel Lewis Morris of Tinton Falls near Shrewsbury. There also were Dr. John Johnston of Navesink, Thomas Boels and John Reid of Freehold, and Daniel Leeds, appointed surveyor-general of West Jersey in 1682. In West Jersey the sympathizers were most numerous around Burlington, Crosswicks, and Greenwich. All his friends eagerly anticipated another visit, but few probably even dreamed that he might suddenly appear as a priest and missionary of the Church of England.⁸

Keith was in contact with the S. P. G. almost from its founding. On September 19, 1701, the members listened with intense interest to his report on the Quaker schism and the establishment of about 15 "Keithian" meetings with about 500 members in the Jerseys. He had been keeping in touch with them, and many had already joined the Church. After consulting him, the Society decided to send missionaries to thirteen places in the colonies, including three in New Jersey, and to send Keith on a tour of inspection. They gave him a salary of £200 a year with all traveling expenses, £200 for his wife and children if he died, and £50 for books, particularly his reply to the Quaker apologist, Barclay, and to establish anti-Quaker libraries to help in winning converts.⁹

The dean of Lincoln made plans for Keith's voyage, arranging a recommendation to the lord high admiral for free passage as a chaplain. Such elaborate preparations naturally got to Quaker ears, and the London yearly meeting organized a counter campaign by warning American Friends of his coming and supplying them with ready-made answers to parry

his thrusts. Samuel Bownas, one of the ablest ministers, set out for America to help Thomas Story in combatting Keith's influence. As a biographer of the great missionary has written, "the stage was thus set for a mighty combat."¹⁰

The chief antagonist embarked at Cowes on April 28, 1702, on the Queen's ship *Centurion* bound for Boston, not as a chaplain but as a passenger. The congenial company included young Patrick Gordon, recently appointed missionary to Long Island; Colonel Dudley, governor of New England; Colonel Lewis Morris of East Jersey; and the ship's chaplain, John Talbot, who became Keith's faithful traveling companion and later rector of Saint Mary's, Burlington. The missionaries were guests at Governor Dudley's table, and Keith told the Society that "the great Cabin of the Ship was like a College for good Discourse both in matters theological and philosophical." When seasickness allowed, Dudley and Morris joined in the regular religious services, with other passengers and the crewmen. Gordon wrote in admiration of Keith's and his own seamanship, with the aplomb of all who can look kindly upon the wretchedness of others in their rolling berths.¹¹

Keith and Talbot quickly began a lasting friendship, being zealots for the Church and of about the same age. As Keith unfolded his plans, the younger man longed to join him, and finally offered to become his assistant. In accepting him Keith made a wise decision, for Talbot also knew much about America, having served eight years before as rector of a church on Elizabeth River, Virginia. He had gone to England on legal business, and felt free to join Keith when he discovered that in his absence the people had called another pastor. Governor Dudley, Colonel Morris, and Gordon recommended him to the Society, which eventually appointed him as Keith's assistant. When the *Centurion* reached Marblehead, he resigned his chaplaincy and went to Boston with Keith.¹²

Keith lingered in New England from June 11, 1702, until the end of the summer. He and Talbot made Boston their head-

quarters as guests of the clergy at Queen's Chapel, Samuel Miles and Christopher Bridge. Keith preached a sermon at the Chapel on June 14, the Sunday after his arrival, taking as the title the keynote of his mission: "The Doctrine of the Holy Apostles & Prophets the Foundation of the Church of Christ." To a large congregation of Anglicans and "many others" he expounded "Six Plain Brief Rules for Christian Living," clearly intended to "bring all to the Church of England who dissented from her." At the request of the clergy and the vestry, he had the discourse published.¹³

The Congregational ministers instantly flew to arms, and their leader, Dr. Increase Mather, wrote to refute Keith's arguments. Keith published his rebuttal in a pamphlet in New York, because he claimed that for terror of the ministers the Boston printer would not dare to touch it. The spat foretold the atmosphere of tension that surrounded Keith for the next two years. He was coolly welcomed at the Harvard commencement, and was distressed by the Calvinistic theology he heard in the graduates' theses, to which he replied in a Latin letter to the president.¹⁴

Keith's main interest was in his former Quaker brethren, and with Talbot he passed the summer in visiting their homes and meetings throughout New England. At that time he began writing his famous narrative of the tour, published at London in 1706 as *A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North America*. In New London, Connecticut, the companions were entertained by the Puritan minister, Gurdon Saltonstall, and preached in the meeting house. Early in September they crossed the Sound to Long Island to spend several weeks in visits, services, preaching, and conferences, and on October 1 preached in New York City.¹⁵

Keith was eager to cross swords with his opponents and to meet his friends in the Quaker strongholds of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. There he hoped to win all his "Christian Quaker" followers to the Church. He left New York as fast

as possible, and on the 2nd was in Perth Amboy, where he had landed as a Quaker minister nearly eighteen years before. How different his welcome by the Friends! Then he had come as a respected "Friend in the Ministry," but now he was the notorious traitor and apostate, the "Turner of Turners Hall." On the next day, a Sunday, he began his long mission in the Jerseys by preaching to a small congregation, including some personal acquaintances and Quakers who had come over to the Church. Among them were John Barclay, brother to the author of the famous *Apology* for the Quakers, and Miles Foster, who "kindly entertained" him and Talbot at his home.¹⁶

The companions spent a month in the Jerseys, visiting the "Keithians," debating with the Quakers, and encouraging converts and confirmed Churchmen. On Sunday, October 10, and on the following day, they attended the separate Quaker yearly meeting of the Jerseys and Pennsylvania at Toponemus in Freehold, where Keith's friends had established a meeting about 1692. Keith prayed on both days, using collects from the Prayer Book, and preached to a quiet congregation of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Quakers. He tried to win the two Quaker preachers at a meeting in the home of his already converted friend, Thomas Boels, and to dissuade them from administering baptism and Communion without ordination.¹⁷

The following Sunday found the inseparable missionaries in Middletown, where Talbot read Church prayers and Keith preached to some Anglicans, and a few Baptists, who listened "civilly" while he defended infant baptism as of Apostolic authority. On the next Sunday he preached in Shrewsbury, at a home provocatively near the meeting house where the Quakers were holding their yearly meeting, and vainly sent Talbot to them with a written invitation to debate. He lingered in his beloved Monmouth County for several days, preaching again at Shrewsbury and finding consolation for the Quaker snub in the hospitable homes of prominent people who attended his services at Shrewsbury, Middletown, Toponemus, and Nav-

esink. He met the aging and devoted Alexander Innes, with whom he doubtless compared notes and had some long, heart-to-heart talks.¹⁸

Reluctantly he left the familiar fields and woods, and with Talbot on October 29 reached Burlington. On All Saints' Day, a Sunday, they preached in the Town House to a varied congregation, including Churchmen and converts from Quakerism. They dined in state with Governor Hamilton of West Jersey, who came to hear Talbot in the morning and Keith in the afternoon. During the next two or three days, Keith threw down the gauntlet by lecturing against the Quaker leaders, George Fox and Edward Burroughs, and vainly challenged the local ministers to defend them. Then for a few days, beginning on November 5, the missionaries invaded the Quaker citadel of Philadelphia, receiving a warm welcome from the Anglicans and recent converts—and another kind of reception from the Friends! On Sunday, the 8th, they preached in the morning and evening to throngs that overflowed Christ Church.¹⁹

They had to cut short the flattering experience to attend a meeting of the clergy during the week of November 9th in New York City. There they met Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church; Alexander Innes; the military chaplain at the fort in New York; and the two priests at Trinity Church. Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia, a bountiful patron of the Church, gave £25 for the expenses and paid the way of Evans and Innes. It was not an impressive group in numbers, but it made history by reviewing the Church's condition and considering its welfare in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, and by sending to the Society a detailed *Account of the State of the Church in North America*, with suggestions for strengthening it. They especially recommended large shipments of books to combat Quaker attacks, with Prayer Books and brief doctrinal sermons or "homilies," and even grew so bold as to urge a colonial bishop.²⁰

After the meeting, the companions lingered in New York

until about the middle of December—preaching, reading services, and trying to win the Quakers in the city, Hempstead, Flushing and Oyster Bay, and on Staten Island.²¹

Keith cherished his old associates in East Jersey, and during the Christmas season preached in the home of Dr. Johnston at Navesink, also at Tinton Falls, Shrewsbury, and Freehold. He and Talbot spent the holiday at the home of Colonel Morris, who received Communion from Talbot with his wife, Keith, and others. During the first four days in January, 1703, Keith was the guest of Thomas Boels and Robert Ray of Freehold, while he and Talbot baptized 19 children and adults who had been Quakers, including some of John Reid's family, William Leeds and his sister Mary, and five children of Boels. Before the end of February, Keith visited Burlington twice, preaching and baptizing ten persons, mostly children, but including the wife of Robert Wheeler, a former Quaker and a convert, who was noted for his hospitality to ministers of the Church and entertained the two missionaries on their visits.²²

For a few months in the summer of 1703, Keith invaded Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, but by Sunday, August 22, was at Burlington to preach the first sermon in the new church, in the presence of "many Gentlemen" from New York and the Jerseys, who accompanied Lord Cornbury, the new governor. Excepting two visits to Philadelphia in September, Keith remained in the Jerseys until the middle of February, 1704. He occupied the pulpit at Burlington several times in August, September and October, and on September 15 rode to Waterford and preached in the home of William Hewlings, an occasion generally regarded as the origin of Saint Mary's Church, Colestown.²³

Sunday, October 10, found the tireless missionary among his true friends at Toponemus, preaching to a "considerable" congregation and having Innes read the prayers. On the two following Sundays, he preached again in Shrewsbury, on the second occasion with Innes, who baptized two men and a child.

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Then he struck out into new territory, and between October 30 and January 3 preached at Perth Amboy, Elizabeth Town, Rahway, Woodbridge, and Piscataway. In those five places he and Talbot baptized at least 23 persons, including 21 children, eight of them in a single family at one time! Finding no churches, they held services in homes: Andrew Craig's and Andrew Hanson's in Elizabeth Town, Governor Cornbury's at Perth Amboy, Colonel Townley's in Elizabeth Town, and Captain Bishop's at Rahway. In Woodbridge, the Independents allowed them to use their meeting house. They discovered plenty of converts from Quakerism, and were startled by the kind welcome in Elizabeth Town, where many Independents had become very friendly to the Church and even wanted a priest.²⁴

From January 9 until February 6, 1704, Keith again traveled about Monmouth County, preaching in the always open homes of Dr. Johnston, Lewis Morris, Thomas Boels, and John Reid. Sunday, February 13, was a red-letter day for New Jersey Churchmen, for then he preached a farewell sermon in the new church at Burlington, on a text appropriate to the close of his mission in New Jersey—I Corinthians, 15:58: "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord." If his hearers took that as a challenge to persevere after his departure, they did not mistake his intent.²⁵

Even as he bade farewell, he must have been happy in the knowledge that churches were springing up where he had trod. Much of the time Talbot had shared his hardships, but sometimes, especially in the winter of 1703, with his consent had labored alone in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, preaching and baptizing many persons. Keith was not left comfortless, as "very good Friends" admiringly accompanied him from place to place. As he traversed New Jersey, Talbot began to feel that he belonged there, and so found it easy to remain as pastor of

the new parish in Burlington when Keith sailed for England in June, 1704.²⁶

So ended one of the epic journeys of Christian missionary history. Although he had failed to win most of the Quakers and even many of the seceders, Keith had good reason to be happy. At the age of nearly seventy, he had traversed a largely uninhabited region about 800 miles long, containing ten provinces, most of which he visited twice. He and Talbot had been surprised and gratified by the friendliness of the people, who listened quietly to their preaching, joined in the liturgy, the prayers, and the sacraments, and sought them for private conferences about religion. Many who had known nothing about the Church had been strongly drawn to it after attending the services, which they said were "Solemn and edifying . . . far above whatever they could observe in other Ways of Worship known to them." To many lapsed members the mission had been like a refreshing shower, reviving a lost love for their Holy Mother.²⁷

The loss of many former followers was more than made up by the cordial thanks of many Jerseymen for letters he had written to them during his long stay in England, to answer objections against joining the Church. His personal attention to them, in the midst of many pressing cares, had produced a harvest of conversions, and of baptisms by the pastors of Christ Church, Philadelphia, among the English and Welsh settlers in West Jersey.²⁸

Keith's facile pen was always busy, and the presses in Philadelphia and New York issued several of his sermons and tracts answering attacks by Quakers and other Dissenters. Along with the mass of books he brought from England, they circulated widely and helped to win converts. Finally, he sat down to write for the Society a comprehensive report of his experience, to recommend places for missionaries, and to present the people's requests for help. In New Jersey he mentioned Perth

Amboy, Shrewsbury, Freehold, Elizabeth Town, Maidenhead (now Lawrenceville), and Greenwich.²⁹

After his two years of hard work, the number of new churches was already something to write home about. New Jersey alone presented a gratifying spectacle, considering how slight the prospects had seemed a few years before. Burlington had a parish with a rector and a church called "Saint Anne's," in obvious compliment to the Queen, later changed to "Saint Mary's." The congregation of two or three hundred included a "considerable Number" of communicants, with many former Quakers and unchurched people. Numerous adults had received baptism from Keith, Evans, and Talbot, including all the children of William Budd, an erstwhile eminent Quaker minister. Some of the country converts even traveled twelve miles or more to church on Sunday.³⁰

Keith and Talbot found the Church in New Jersey a sentiment; they left it an organization, with one established parish and the beginnings of others at Elizabeth Town, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Middletown, Shrewsbury, Toponemus, Hopewell, Maidenhead, Waterford, and Greenwich in Cohansey. They found only one resident clergyman, Innes of Monmouth, but shortly after the mission Talbot became the pastor at Burlington and another was on the way to Elizabeth Town. If the Society could gather the means and the men, the seed sown by those two valiant companions would spring up into a mighty harvest. Before Keith died, he knew that his labor had not been in vain.

CHAPTER FIVE

The First Harvest: 1702-1740

THE LETTERS of Keith and Talbot challenged the Society to plant a thriving Church in the Jerseys. Its reports of 1704 and 1705 noticed the want of public support for churches and schools, but saw hope in the considerable number of Quakers and other Protestant Dissenters who were disposed to join the Church, particularly in Monmouth County. Episcopalians in the Jerseys had no sooner heard of the Society than they began to call loudly and persistently for ministers, schools, and libraries. And yet they did not wait for their friends at "home" to hand them everything. Colonel Morris set a good example by proposing to build and endow a church near his home at Tinton Falls. At Perth Amboy, at Hopewell northwest of Trenton, and in Salem on the Delaware, the faithful started to erect tiny churches. Nobody knew when they would get missionaries, for the calls streamed in too thick and fast for the Society's lean purse to keep up with them. Crosswicks wanted a priest, and the recently founded parish in Burlington sought "utensils" for its new church.¹

BURLINGTON

The prospects at first seemed brightest at Burlington, the quaint little capital of West Jersey. It was then a very English village of over 200 families, with neat brick houses and a market well supplied with provisions from the nearby country. When the Assembly and the courts sat there, the town fairly bustled with provincial officialdom. It was a solid and promising place, with several eminent and substantial men who would stand by the Church, like Colonel Quarry, Colonel Mor-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

ris, Jeremiah Basse, and Colonel Daniel Coxe, a member of the Council. Their example would encourage others, particularly the recent and uncertain converts from Quakerism.²

With their church rising, the people looked for a rector and thought John Talbot would do, as they had often heard him preach during Keith's mission, and he preferred Burlington. On April 2, 1704, the vestry told the Society that they wanted him, but sought help because they could not fully support him. With the Bishop of London's consent, the Society appointed him their missionary with a salary of £60 a year and a gift of £7 for books. On June 4, 1704, at a celebration of the Holy Communion, John Talbot began his long and faithful service at the age of fifty-nine, when most clergymen begin to dream of a pleasant retirement.³

The faithful already had subscribed £200 and bought a lot. Talbot laid the foundation stone on March 25, 1703, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and the church was therefore named "Saint Mary's." Keith preached the first sermon in it on August 22, and the builders were so zealous that on Whitsunday, 1704, the first Eucharist was celebrated in the building for a packed congregation.⁴

Within a few years, English and American Churchmen generously provided a rich endowment and ornaments of worship, and the parishioners bought and fenced a cemetery. In 1708, "Good Queen Anne" sent a cover for the Communion table, a silver chalice and paten, and a pulpit cloth. Before long the parish began to think of getting a glebe, and the answer to their prayers came in the will of Dr. Robert Frampton, the deprived nonjuring Bishop of Gloucester, who bequeathed £100 to spread the Gospel in America at the direction of Bishop Compton. His friend, Dame Katherine Bovey of Flaxley Abbey, Gloucestershire, a patroness of Saint Mary's, suggested that his legacy be used to buy a house and six acres of land adjoining the church. She was a benefactor of the Society and a pioneer of Sunday schools in England, and is commemorated

by a monument in Westminster Abbey. The parish also received 250 acres of land by the will of Thomas Leicester.⁵

The parishioners sought a charter from Lord Cornbury, governor of New York and New Jersey, who on October 4, 1704, granted a warrant of incorporation to "Saint Anne's Church in Burlington." That was a pious gesture toward his more religious cousin, the Queen, but official delay prevented the grant from passing, and on January 25, 1709, the parish received a royal charter as "Saint Mary's in Burlington." Saint Mary's is recognized as the mother parish of New Jersey, because it was the first to perfect a parochial organization, the first to hold land in its own right, the first to erect a church, and the first to have a settled pastor.⁶

Until he was eighty years old, the "Apostle of New Jersey" served as rector of Saint Mary's and as the Society's missionary. The Church in New Jersey has rarely seen such a diligent pastor, for despite age and infirmities and the appalling conditions of travel, he frequently served pastorless churches, particularly Saint James' at Bristol in Pennsylvania, across the broad Delaware. The few Anglicans there, with Quakers converted by Keith, erected a church and were grateful to Talbot for his frequent visits; and when he could not come, to his friend, Thoroughgood Moore. (For biography of Moore, *see* Appendix B.) The Society ordered the Burlington missionaries to care for them, and Talbot out of his small means did more than his share, giving £5 for the church and as much more for a pulpit cloth.⁷

Sickness occasionally struck him down, but he crossed the Atlantic to England several times, while other missionaries like Robert Walker of Bristol took his place. The people sincerely missed him at such times, and once after his return the wardens and vestry assured the Society of the "inexpressible Benefit" they had received at his hands, and declared that he had "by his unfeigned Zeal for the Glory of God, and the Good of his Church, by his exemplary Piety, and sober Life and Conversa-

tion, much adorned the Gospel of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”⁸

Clouds began to gather about Talbot after he visited England in 1719 at the age of seventy-four. Persistent rumor whispered that he had been consecrated by nonjuring bishops, who refused to acknowledge any but a Stuart king. Enemies in America spread reports that he was disloyal to the Hanoverian succession, and had even slighted prayers for the King and the royal family. The stories naturally reached the Society, which after an inquiry dismissed him. In 1727, the old soldier of the Cross died in his beloved Burlington, at the age of eighty-two.⁹

The Talbot tragedy considerably injured the parish, and the damage was not repaired by his unworthy successor, Nathaniel Horwood. But the foundation had been so solidly laid that, despite Horwood’s misconduct, in 1729 the ordinary congregation was said to be very large, frequently including great numbers of nearby country people, many of them having been recently baptized by him. At one place about thirty miles away, he baptized 22 children and adults in one day! But he never earned the respect of the parishioners, who heartily welcomed his successor, Robert Weyman. (For biography of Horwood, *see* Appendix B.)

Weyman came from Oxford, Pennsylvania, because the people earnestly wanted him and he wished to come. Early in his ministry that dreaded scourge of the colonies, the smallpox, reduced the congregation to a handful. When it subsided, people flocked back from the town and the countryside, packing the church to its doors. They thronged the Communion table, and in one year presented 90 children and six adults at the font. On one Sunday in the month, Weyman continued the traditional visits to Bristol, when that mission had no pastor.¹⁰

Weyman was one of many victims of missionary hardship and fell mortally sick in 1737. As he felt death approaching, he wrote a farewell letter to the Society, then quickly sank under a complication of “Atrophy, Consumption, and Drop-

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sy," and died with his letter unsent. It was posted on the next day by Edward Vaughan, the missionary at Elizabeth Town, who informed the Society that Weyman had "left the World with an universal good Character, and was a true and faithful Labourer in God's Vineyard." His wife and six children were left in such poverty that they petitioned the Society for help and received £60, nearly a year's salary, in recognition of his long and loyal services.¹¹ (For biography of Weyman, *see* Appendix B.)

Weyman's good example was not lost upon his successor, Colin Campbell, who petitioned for the parish and was appointed after "reading Prayers and preaching with Approbation." He came to Burlington on May 10, 1738, and found the people delighted by the Society's promptness in filling the vacancy.¹² He kept Saint Mary's in a healthy condition to encounter the trials of the "Great Awakening," and the strains of the long wars between England and France.

HOPEWELL AND MAIDENHEAD

The rise of the Church around Burlington encouraged the scattered Episcopalians throughout West Jersey. Before long the Society received a plea from beyond the Falls of the Delaware, then regarded as a frontier, where many Episcopal families settled in the new townships of Hopewell and Maidenhead. At Hopewell they were so eager that in 1704, without any near prospect of getting a missionary, they raised funds for a little wooden church. The Rev. John May ministered for a short time, the tireless Talbot often rode up from Burlington, and Robert Walker occasionally came from Bristol. Other more pressing calls and lack of funds kept the Society from granting a missionary, but the faithful bore their cross patiently and loyally flocked to church whenever any pastor came their way.¹³

The years slipped away until 1720, when the Society at

last sent William Harrison as missionary to Hopewell and Maidenhead, with a library and many little popular devotional books, which the people eagerly received. Colonel Coxe underwrote the pastor's support by giving a slice of his extensive lands for the Church's use in the two townships. The people liked Harrison and praised his diligent ministry, but their happiness was brief, for he honestly admitted that the constant riding from place to place was too much for him, and asked for a less strenuous mission. In 1723, the governor of New York appointed him to Saint Andrew's Parish in the cosier confines of Staten Island.¹⁴ (For biography of Harrison, *see* Appendix B.)

The patient waiting began again, and only occasional visits from nearby clergy kept the faith alive. The little rude church fell into disrepair. In the autumn of 1733, the destitution of those faithful people touched the heart of missionary Alexander Howie at Oxford, Pennsylvania. He rode fifty miles to visit the scattered flock above the Falls in Hunterdon County, spent a week in preaching, and baptized 30 children and nine adults. The people implored him to come regularly, and he promised to visit once in three months. His report reminded the Society pointedly of its duty to new settlements, and inspired the establishment of a mission embracing the frontier region along the Delaware northwest of Trenton. The priest who got that tough assignment was William Lindsay, who had practically all outdoors for his parish, as traveling missionary in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.¹⁵ (For biography of Lindsay, *see* Appendix B.)

After a "very dangerous" voyage to Philadelphia, he settled at Bristol in May, 1735. He soon began riding ten "long" miles to Trenton, where from prolonged lack of a minister many people had practically become infidels. He visited them at least every third Sunday, and oftener in summer, and in his circuit included Amwell and neglected Hopewell, where he found the church disgracefully ruinous. Trenton was already

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becoming "a pretty large Town" and looked hopeful, and he discovered several Churchmen in the vicinity. On Mondays he rode twelve miles eastward to Allentown, where a fair congregation came to hear him preach in their little wooden church. In spring and summer he rode to Amwell, where the scattered flock met in a big house to hear him preach and to present their children for baptism. Lindsay told the Society that distance forced him to spread his ministry too thin, and hinted that only a resident pastor could save the Church in that vast region.¹⁶

He found the mission as hard as did all his successors, and had to lead the life of "a wayfaring Man," so tiring that he feared it would kill him. The harvest of baptisms was generous—97 infants and four adults in 1736-37—but people everywhere hung back from Communion and only about 19 usually came at Trenton.¹⁷

SALEM

An equally difficult mission included the Quaker and Baptist strongholds in Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May Counties. Although Salem had been settled since 1675, nearly fifty years passed before the Church began to flourish there. In 1722, some Anglicans in the town and neighborhood earnestly entreated the Society to send them a missionary, because even the name of religion had been almost lost there. They honestly expected the Society to live up to its motto, "Come Over And Help Us!" and pledged all the support they could afford for a parson, and "all due Respect and Obedience to his Office, Instructions, and Person."¹⁸

The Society could not disregard such a poignant proof of faith, and that very year sent John Holbrooke, who was joyfully welcomed. (For biography of Holbrooke, see Appendix B.) With the help of many Churchmen in Philadelphia and other places in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the people built a neat little brick church. The mission prospered modestly

from the start, with many adult baptisms, including conversions of Quakers and unchurched persons. There was evidence that many persons were trying to lead more Christian lives, and the increasing congregations manifested serious behavior in church. By 1726 the church was almost completed, and after June 24, 1728, the growing flock met regularly in "Saint John's." The only serious obstacle was a general reluctance to receive Communion, which Holbrooke attributed to deeply ingrained Quaker prejudice against the sacraments.¹⁹

Holbrooke left after less than seven years and was succeeded by John Pierson, who arrived on January 30, 1734. The delighted people showed him every mark of kindness and respect and expressed their deep gratitude to the Society. Pierson, a serious Puritan, was a good missionary and soon saw his congregation grow to anywhere from 100 to 200. Appalled by the neglect of many forsaken Churchmen farther down the Delaware, he soon began long trips to a large congregation at Greenwich in Cohansey, and to friendly English and Swedes at Maurice River. One Sunday a month was all he could spare, and the Greenwich people were so poor that they could not pay their promised support, and with difficulty finished their small brick church, Saint Stephen's, which the Society furnished with a large Bible and Prayer Book. Saint John's in Salem continued to flourish, with larger and more orderly congregations, and more communicants and adult baptisms. Pierson strove to overcome the persistent shyness regarding sacraments, by distributing tracts, particularly one on the Holy Communion, which many appeared to despise.²⁰

ELIZABETH TOWN

The Church's rise in East Jersey was even more encouraging than in Quakerish West Jersey. The first decade after Keith's tour saw the feeble congregation in Perth Amboy become one of a cluster of growing parishes with settled mission-

aries. Urged by Keith and Talbot, the Society moved quickly to secure a foothold, and before the appointment of a missionary, paid for occasional visits by Chaplain John Sharpe of New York City.

The first spurt of new life came at Elizabeth Town, which by the 1720's had some 300 families, large and substantial brick buildings, the largest trade in East Jersey, and the prestige of being the seat of government and the meeting place of the Assembly. There the Society located John Brooke, who arrived on July 15, 1705. (For biography of Brooke, *see* Appendix B.) He confronted an almost fantastic task of ministering to practically the whole province, fifty miles long and including congregations at Elizabeth Town, Rahway, Piscataway, Cheesequake, Rocky Hill, Page's, and Perth Amboy, where Governor Cornbury directed him to officiate sometimes. The Society gave him £50 a year and £15 worth of books, and with a generous but not realistic gesture added Shrewsbury and Freehold to his burdens.²¹

Mere size was not the only difficulty, for the people were mostly "Independents" or of no religious faith. By personal talks and preaching, he aroused many to a new concern for their spiritual life, and converted scoffers to a friendly view of the Church's orderly services. There was no church when he came, and Colonel Townley offered his house, but the congregation overflowed it within six months and then resorted to a barn until the weather became too cold for comfort. The people quickly grew tired of such makeshifts and decided to erect a large church named for Saint John the Baptist, on whose day, June 24, in 1706 the foundation stone was laid. It was soon ready for use and "very handsomely furnished."²²

While the parish grew rapidly by conversions among "the best of all Sorts of People," Brooke regularly rode about his almost impossible circuit, preaching, teaching the catechism, and lecturing fourteen times a month. The people responded heartily and planned a stone church in Perth Amboy, and at

Piscataway repaired an old Dissenters' meeting house and collected £100 for a stone building. The Church was just beginning to prosper when it met a disheartening check by Brooke's death in 1707 on a voyage to England with Thoroughgood Moore, whom he abetted in a contest with the arrogant Governor Cornbury. The people had begun to be fond of him and were stunned by the blow, and described him to the Society as "our worthy, and never to be forgotten Pastor, whose Labours afforded universal Satisfaction to us."²³

The Society lost no time in supplying such a valuable mission by appointing Edward Vaughan. (For biography of Vaughan, *see* Appendix B.) He arrived in 1709, and the parishioners soon felt that he was a happy choice. He served them faithfully for thirty-eight years, and became one of the most distinguished missionaries in America. The mission prospered so much that it soon became too great a burden, and he agreed with several congregations in asking the Society to divide it by appointing a missionary for Perth Amboy. Although that diminished his territory, he still had a difficult parish, for most of the flock at Elizabeth Town were recent converts who cherished some of their former religious habits and thoughts. He held their loyalty, and by house visits won many more Dissenters. Within two years he gathered a large and regular congregation with 30 communicants every month, and baptized 92, including 12 adults.

At Rahway he lectured monthly, preached to a small group, and catechized their children. He was invited to Woodbridge by several families who wanted to forsake Quaker and Baptist doctrines, and the Society helped him by sending large Bibles and Prayer Books for his churches, smaller ones for the people, and tracts for the poor.²⁴

Within a few years, Vaughan firmly planted the Church in several communities where even the most hopeful zealots probably thought that it could not live. One was the old Puritan citadel of Woodbridge, where a small congregation raised

£100 for a clapboarded church, and he officiated once in two weeks in the afternoon. He occasionally rode to Piscataway, where there was no church, but John Burroughs, "a serious Christian," opened his house for services. Piscataway was a stronghold of the Baptists, including some who kept the Seventh Day and shocked their neighbors by working on Sunday. Many young people were not prejudiced against the Church, and after hearing the Prayer Book service attended with "a great deal of Devotion."²⁵

Vaughan extended his horseback journeys to Newark, Whippany, and the mountains, preaching and administering the sacraments, and in 1731 cheerfully reported a general leaning toward the Church, evidenced by 620 baptisms in two years, including 64 adults. His extraordinary success owed much to his persistent scattering of literature, and he was always begging the Society for more and still more Prayer Books, tracts, and "Practical Pieces of Divinity" for the poor folks. The people were so eager and grateful for them that he could never keep up with the demand. The result appears in the astounding number of his baptisms and communicants, and particularly in his triumph in Puritan Newark, where the flock he gathered soon demanded a missionary. In 1736, they repeatedly requested John Beach of Newtown, Connecticut, who came on two Sundays and preached to three or four hundred people—no doubt to the wide-eyed dismay of the Dissenters.²⁶

The people at Elizabeth Town became warmly attached to their affable and witty pastor, and in 1717 cordially thanked the Society for settling him there.

"We esteem ourselves happy under his Pastoral Care, and have a thorough Persuasion of Mind, that the Church of *Christ* is now planted among us in its Purity. Mr. Vaughan hath, to the great Comfort and Edification of our Families, in these dark and distant Regions of the World, prosecuted the Duties of his holy Calling, with the utmost Application and

Diligence; adorned his Character, with an exemplary Life and Conversation; and so behaved himself, with all due Prudence and Fidelity; shewing Uncorruptness, Gravity, Sincerity, and sound Speech, that they who are of the contrary Part, have no evil Thing to say of him."

In Puritan Elizabeth Town, there could have been no higher tribute!²⁷

His flock showed their practical appreciation by generosity in providing for the Church. Colonel Townley's heir confirmed a gift of the church lot, and in 1739 the parish received nine acres of good land with a fine orchard, as a permanent glebe for the minister, by the generosity of a pious widow, Mrs. Anne Arskins. At that time the Church in Vaughan's cure was flourishing, with 84 communicants and 132 baptisms in the past year, including three adults.²⁸

PERTH AMBOY

After the departure of Edward Portlock, the parish in Perth Amboy was neglected until Brooke began to visit there frequently by order of the Society and of Governor Cornbury. Only his tragic death prevented the erection of a church. Later, Vaughan began to come often, and as usual endeared himself to the people. In 1711, they welcomed Thomas Haliday, but were deeply chagrined when he became involved in petty personal and political brawls and were relieved when he left them in 1718.²⁹

Before he fell from grace, Haliday was fairly active in promoting the Church in the "city" and some outlying places, including Piscataway. He lectured every month at Cheesecake across the Raritan, the home of Thomas Gordon, a pillar of the Church in that region, who used to attend the lectures, constantly received Communion at Perth Amboy, and set a good example to his country neighbors by having his children and slaves learn the catechism. Having not yet fallen out with

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him, Haliday lauded him to the Society as "a Gentleman of Charity and serious Goodness."³⁰ (For biography of Haliday, *see* Appendix B.)

Gordon joined with George Willocks and John Barclay in giving a lot in Perth Amboy for a church, a parsonage, a school, and a teacher's house. By 1721, the people had built a stone and brick church, the predecessor of the present Saint Peter's. Willocks and Major John Harrison gave twelve acres near the city for a permanent glebe, and Mrs. Margaret Willocks, "a pious and charitable Gentlewoman," bequeathed to the parish her house and its lot of two acres for the use of the minister. Her gift was reckoned to be worth £400 sterling.³¹

Pleased by so much zeal, the Society in 1722 sent William Skinner as missionary. (For biography of Skinner, *see* Appendix B.) The people received and treated him very kindly, and before long he reported considerably larger congregations at Perth Amboy and Piscataway. Shortly after his arrival, the latter parish built a handsome wooden chapel called "Saint James's," and the congregation seemed likely soon to be as large as any in East Jersey. Within three years Skinner had 25 communicants at Perth Amboy and sometimes 19 at Piscataway, and had performed about 90 baptisms. The prosperity continued until 1740, with growing congregations, new communicants, and many baptisms, including Negroes, and as early as 1726 the churches seemed likely to become too small. Skinner sometimes baptized over 20 adult converts in a year, and saw new faces at the rail almost every time he administered Communion.³²

MONMOUTH COUNTY

As if he did not already have his hands more than full, Skinner soon began ministering to many Anglicans in Monmouth County, who had been without a regular minister since the death of Alexander Innes. In 1728, he promised to come one Sunday a month and on weekdays when possible, until

they could get a missionary. The congregation exceeded 150, and on one visit he baptized eight children, the father of one, and the mother of another.³³

In 1717 and 1729, the Monmouth Churchmen vainly pressed the Society for a missionary, and once reported over 5,000 inhabitants with only two Quaker ministers. In the autumn of 1732, Skinner insisted upon the establishment of a mission, because he had been suffering hardship and impairing his health by ministering to the large congregations. Undismayed by the neglect of their pleas and still in hope of getting a pastor, the devout people built a brick church at Shrewsbury, the largest and best proportioned building in the region. In 1732, one of them gave the parish a well-improved farm of 200 acres near the church, with a good house, outbuildings, barn and orchard. Several other gifts seemed likely in time to be sufficient to support a minister. Inspired by such a noble display of faith, the Society at long last appointed John Forbes as missionary in Monmouth County.³⁴ (For biography of Forbes, *see* Appendix B.)

The people were fairly overjoyed at the arrival of their pastor, who found them enthusiastic for the Church's services. He found his work almost heartbreakingly hard, because of long neglect and the scattered homes of his members. He lived at Toponemus, but he had to endure the weariness and expense of visiting three other places. Within a short time, he baptized about 70 persons, including two adults and several children five and six years old. Alone he ministered to that huge parish for a few years before his untimely death, probably due to overwork, and was succeeded by John Milne, who had petitioned to be transferred there from Albany, New York.³⁵ (For biography of Milne, *see* Appendix B.)

THE PROGRESS OF FORTY YEARS

As the Church in New Jersey approached the trials of

the "Great Awakening," its members and clergy shared the Society's pleasure over the progress of forty years. When Keith and Talbot arrived in 1702, they found the flock feeble and almost despairing, not more than 600 souls in a population of 15,000 or 20,000. If one can credit Colonel Morris, there were only twelve regular communicants in 1701.³⁶ The only priest was that volunteer soldier, Alexander Innes, and the only places of worship were the old house in Perth Amboy where Portlock had preached, and the meeting house at Toponemus.

What a contrast appeared in the Society's report of 1740! There were six missionaries drawing salaries amounting to £360 a year, and since 1702 the Society had spent over £8,000 for salaries in New Jersey, besides expenses for books and utensils of worship, and its bounty for many years to a schoolmaster at Burlington. In striking contrast to the two makeshift old buildings, there were twelve churches scattered from Elizabeth Town south to Greenwich, several being of brick or stone, with notably handsome ones at Burlington, Salem, Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, and Shrewsbury. Most of the building funds had come from the people, although they were generally poor and received no public aid. They generally subscribed £20 or £30 a year for the parson's support, and the few richer members sometimes gave land and buildings for glebes, worth on the whole several thousand pounds.³⁷

Most gratifying of all was the warm welcome almost always and everywhere extended to the missionaries, which indicated in many hearts a deep love for the ancient usages of the Church.

"I prize her heavenly ways,
Her sweet Communion, solemn vows,
Her hymns of love and praise."

The people, and particularly the many poor, eagerly sought religious literature, and the clergy circulated innumerable Bibles, Prayer Books, tracts, and other devotional books.

Talbot and Brooke alone received £22 (then a large sum) for literature, and that was far surpassed by 1740.

Although the Church was still a struggling minority without one entirely self-sustaining parish, the foundation for greater growth had been firmly laid. Most of the faithful had been well trained to weather the emotional storms of the Awakening, to withstand the lure of mere emotionalism, and to bear the barbs of hostile criticism when the Church's progress began to excite jealousy and even persecution.

CHAPTER SIX

Conformity and Conversion *The Great Awakening*

JUST as the Church began to view the future with hope, it was compelled to confront a crisis—the intercolonial and international wave of religious passion known as the Great Awakening. It was a popular protest against the rational and formal religion that prevailed in the early eighteenth century and deeply colored the Anglican Church. After the English Toleration Act of 1689, the churches shunned the strenuous religion of the Reformation, and tolerated lax doctrine, indifference to emotional faith, and materialistic philosophy. The national established churches opposed the tendency only by relying upon stolid conservatism, creeds, liturgies and customs, veneration of the past, and attachment to the motherland. A few intellectually advanced clergy favored a “liberal,” purely intellectual, approach to religion. Their colonial leaders were men like Charles Chauncey of Boston, who opposed the Awakening and was at heart a Universalist, and Jonathan Mayhew, a Unitarian.¹

In such a chilly climate, the *popular* longing for primitive Christianity was natural. The revival therefore emphasized not formal church membership, not intellectual assent to a creed, but *inner conviction* resulting in conversion—a *change of heart*. The movement cut across national and denominational boundaries and fused diverse peoples in its passion. New Jersey became the dynamo of its power in the colonies, and the Anglican Church there found itself in the center of an electrical storm.

It was not a passing shower arising from the visits of Whitefield in 1739-41, but a cycle of storms lasting until the

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, “Notes.”

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Revolution. It was a religious revolution, uniting the masses in a common experience, and helping to prepare the way for a political revolution that was nearly disastrous to the Episcopal Church. Its sources were various, and each affected an element in New Jersey. They were the Pietist movement among the Pennsylvania German sects; radical evangelism among the Dutch churches; a similar movement among the Presbyterians; the revival of primitive Puritanism in New England; and, finally, the Methodist movement, originating at Oxford University.² Those currents met in New Jersey with its variety of national and religious strains, and made it the evangelistic vortex of America, the thoroughfare of popular revival preachers on their journeys between New England and the South. The Church there was truly "caught in the middle."

PIETISM

The ultimate source of the Awakening was German Pietism, the deepest religious current since the Reformation. It rose in the religious revival that brought courage to Germany after the hideous Thirty Years' War, 1618-48. Its wellsprings were the revival of the Moravian Church and a rebirth of Lutheran evangelism at Halle.

The Moravians or Bohemian Brethren originated in Bohemia in the fifteenth century, and lived as one family to support their ministry, missions, and schools. They re-lived the simplicity, equality, and charity of the bright dawn of Christianity. In the seventeenth century, fearful persecutions left them like an army scattered after many battles and holding secret encampments. In 1722, some found refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony, and formed the village of "Herrnhut"—the Lord's Watch.³ The Brethren had no formal creed, but won fame by their skillful use of catechisms to teach children. Their pious schools attracted keen interest long before they dreamed of going to America. Their educational and

religious ideals were deeply influenced by the Lutheran Pietists, Philip Spener and August Francke, who confronted hostility and ridicule to revive religious education and personal piety. Invited to the University of Halle, Francke founded famous schools and infused a new marrow into the hardening bones of official Lutheranism.

Pietism became the second Protestant Reformation, with centers at the universities of Halle, Jena, and Tübingen, where Lutherans and Brethren mingled and influenced each other. Some Pietists migrated to Pennsylvania, including Count Zinzendorf, Michael Schlatter, the Reformed apostle, and "Father" Henry M. Muhlenberg, founder of the German Lutheran Church in America. Their religious influence permeated all the German settlements, including those in western New Jersey, and inclined them to welcome the preachers of the Awakening.⁴

Pietism spread through northwestern Europe and prepared the way for Methodism. John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield were deeply affected by its fervor and vitality. From northwestern Germany and Holland, it penetrated New Jersey through the Reformed Dutch churches. Its pioneer was William Bertholf, who came from Holland in 1683 and settled at Hackensack as schoolmaster, layreader, and chorister. In 1693, the people sent him to the Classis of Middleburg in Holland to be ordained as their pastor. He was the first man formally sent for ordination by a Reformed church in America, and the first regularly installed Dutch pastor in New Jersey. For fifteen years he was the only one, and until 1724 was pastor of all Dutch churches north of the Raritan.⁵

THE RARITAN REVIVAL

Bertholf was the forerunner of an exciting outburst of evangelism in the Raritan Valley. That region was settled largely by New York Dutch, because of New Jersey's more republican government and Anglican disfavor in New York

toward the Reformed Church. In the 1690's, Bertholf founded the Raritan church, and the valley soon became the "Garden of the Dutch Church," a nursery of ministers and teachers.⁶

In 1717-18, four parishes begged the Church in Holland for a pastor, and about two years later joyfully welcomed the man who changed New Jersey's religious character. He was Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, the ancestor of a family whose services to religion and education in the state can scarcely be overestimated. He was of German birth and had absorbed the spirit of Pietism, and was deeply disgusted by the formalism he found. He preached conversion until even his deacons did not venture to receive Communion, started house meetings and schools to spread vital religion, and supported his schoolmaster who refused to teach set prayers. He began a revival that profoundly stirred and widely expanded the Dutch Church in central New Jersey.⁷

By 1728, the excitement was causing trepidation and acid comment among the Episcopal clergy. Skinner's trenchant pen described those who pretended to be

"so nicely acquainted with the Almighty's Counsels and Decrees, that first Sight they can distinguish 'tween Saint and Sinner and tell y^e Person of a Truth, whether the white Stone in the Revelations shall be his Portion or not."

Wild notions, he wrote, had so prevailed in some parts of the province that families had been broken up and ruined, as the enthusiastic teachers prohibited "Babes of grace to cohabit or have fellowship with Sons of Belial." At first the disorder seemed to be confined to Dutch churches, but a dissenting teacher from New England had spread it far and wide. Skinner vividly depicted the despair of those who thought they were damned: "Hell (say they) must be their Portion, and some of them fearing to be too late have hang'd themselves to gain time."⁸

This criticism was laid on with a feather compared with

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the bludgeoning Frelinghuysen got from the "formalists" in his own fold, who complained to the clergy in New York. The Raritan Valley was soon ablaze with a bitter church war that eventually led to schism in 1755-70. On one side were the revivalists or "radicals" who favored the Awakening, an American college, and independence from Holland. On the other hand stood conservatives who wanted ministers from Holland and dependence upon the Classis of Amsterdam. The contest agitated the New Jersey Dutch even in the remotest parishes.⁹

NEW AND OLD LIGHTS

It was further heated by Frelinghuysen's friendliness to another influence that contributed to New Jersey's reputation as a hotbed of "Enthusiasm." That was a revival among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, promoted chiefly by the amazing Tennent family, led by William, Senior, a former priest of the Anglican Church in Ireland, and pastor of the Presbyterian church at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania.¹⁰ He had a host of sympathizers in New Jersey, where religious zeal and commercial enterprise planted many Scottish colonies. Between 1731 and 1768, one-third of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians sailed to America; by 1765, one-third of the churches in New Jersey were Presbyterian; and at the Revolution there were about 80 Scottish churches and settlements.¹¹

New Jersey Presbyterians exerted vast influence, by close association with other churches in religious revival, by promoting education, by opposing the Anglican Church, and by inspiring and forming the intercolonial organization of their own group. The Awakening encouraged fellowship between their evangelical leaders and New Englanders of kindred spirit. The association planted colleges at Princeton (Presbyterian) and New Brunswick (Dutch Reformed), which drew support from the whole country and through their alumni promoted the evangelistic spirit to the far corners of the nation.¹²

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Alarmed by the lack of ministers, "enthusiastic" Presbyterians began to urge a seminary with a regular teacher. They found their man in William Tennent, who until his death in 1746 taught in his famous "Log College" at Neshaminy. He and his friends saw no reason why they should forever depend upon the Scottish universities for ministers, believing that only a native ministry could root religion in America. Their beloved little "college" became the first American seminary of their church.¹³

While it sent laborers to the harvest, its friends were in disfavor with the conservatives, who accused them of trying to pack the pulpits with half-baked ranters. The resulting "Wars of the Lord" caused a schism between the "Old Lights" and "New Lights," in which the "New Light" or revival stronghold was New Jersey. The "New Lights" threw down their challenge in 1738 by forming the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Their opponents countered by decreeing that candidates for the ministry must apply first to the Synod of Philadelphia. The evangelists publicly denounced the rule and defied it by performing an ordination. That made peace impossible, and in 1745 friends of the "Log College" and the Awakening organized the Synod of New York. They found powerful allies in the radical wings of other groups, particularly the Baptists, and the New England evangelists of Newark and Elizabeth Town, inspired by the revival of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, Massachusetts. The New Jersey blending of New England Puritan culture, Scottish zeal, and Baptist democracy kindled a blaze of "Enthusiasm" that challenged the Episcopal Church as nothing ever had before.¹⁴

As the movement gathered speed and power, Episcopalians were startled to find that one of its firmest friends was a priest of their Church, George Whitefield. He did not inspire it, but it is one of the choice ironies in American religious history that he befriended a force unfriendly to the Church's growth, and fatal to its efforts to secure colonial bishops.

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WHITEFIELD, THE SPELLBINDER

Whitefield probably was the greatest religious orator of modern times. He was certainly the greatest single religious influence in colonial America. His bewitching voice was the envy and despair even of that incomparable actor, David Garrick. He was born in the diocese of Gloucester, and was graduated from Oxford in 1736. When scarcely ordained, he jolted the Church's frigid decorum by carrying the Gospel to slums, wharves, and coal pits, as Anglo-Catholic pioneers did a century later. The Church was aghast, and his own bishop disapproved, but the masses loved it as they loved the preaching friars five centuries before and the Salvation Army one hundred and fifty years later.

His revival soon bore the abhorred name of "Enthusiasm"—a word then understood in its original Greek meaning of "madness" or "frenzy." Its friends were also called "Methodists," a word tauntingly bawled from college windows at Oxford to a group of students who took religion more seriously than was thought becoming to an educated gentleman, and governed their lives by a *methodical* piety. They were the laughing-stock of the quadrangles—the "Holy Club," headed by John Wesley. They prayed regularly, attended Communion as often as possible, and carefully observed the Prayer Book saints' and fast days.

The Church's supposed strongholds were inclined to regard religion as did the famous Dr. Keate, headmaster of Eton School—useless to discuss and criminal to doubt. Nevertheless, it was from *within* the Anglican Church and not from among the Dissenters that the Evangelical Revival in England began. The Church generally was not so smug as many of its official leaders, for the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. were supporting their missionaries, schools, and libraries, loyally backed by a solid core of faithful people who regularly attended church and received Communion.

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That did not satisfy the young "Methodists," who regarded the nation as hardly above sheer paganism. England had not entirely recovered from the revolt against twenty years of blue Puritanism preceding the royalist restoration of 1660. The Church leaned heavily upon privilege, and Protestant Dissent had lost much of its zeal. The literary leaders (even the Roman Catholic poet, Alexander Pope) made religion intellectual and "reasonable." Joseph Addison's evening hymn pictures a very rational choir of heavenly bodies: "In Reason's ear they all rejoice . . ." The Methodists thought more of "the Love which moves the sun and the other stars."¹⁵

They spoke to a nation that really thirsted for faith in the love of God, and for personal conversion through his grace. That was especially true of the toiling masses, as the magic of trade, modern finance, and mechanical invention began to make England the factory of the western world. Green England was becoming black England, where the proletariat huddled in "the smoking town with its murky cowl." A growing horde of landless agricultural and factory workers, hungry for a sympathetic religion, bitterly regarded the Church as a preserve of the rich and the well-born, and the Dissenting chapel as a narrow sectarian club. Lack of free schools left the majority to barbarous ignorance, as the good but few Church charity schools hardly dented the crust of illiteracy.

To the multitudes spoke George Whitefield, and John Wesley, who once said: "Ungodliness is our universal, our constant, our peculiar characteristic." Methodists deplored and scathingly rebuked the apathy of many Church clergy, but still regarded the Church as their Holy Mother and mostly abhorred the very idea of separation from her. But that event drew near when they defied the censure of their bishops and tried to reach the masses by field preaching. Barred from pulpits, they began to realize their power, relied entirely upon popular support, gradually ceased to be pious societies within the Church, and took their destiny into their own hands. Wes-

ley and his followers assumed authority to ordain ministers and gave the sacraments in "preaching houses" registered as dissenting chapels. Separation was a fact, although Whitefield and Wesley died as priests of the Church.

Revival in the colonies followed the same general course. Devout ministers and laymen eagerly followed Whitefield's meteoric career in England, and hoped that he would come over and help them. In 1739 he came, after the colonial newspapers for months had dwelt upon his success abroad. The people were ready for something spectacular, and he produced the miracle. Highways were jammed as towns and farms poured out their thousands to hear him. He bewitched the cool and "reasonable" Ben Franklin into emptying his pockets for the benefit of "Bethesda," the Georgia orphan house. People ordinarily cold to religion experienced conversion, or thought they did, and wept or fainted as he pictured the bliss of the saved and the nameless horror of the lost.

For many he soon wore thin, for his vivid oratory often commanded only a transient spell. He was not a pastor in the ordinary sense, and one could no more confine him to a parish than bind fire to a wall. He had none of the gifts of John Wesley as an organizer, and was a Calvinist, whereas Wesley was an Arminian. He was not a great scholar, and many a New Jersey parson could have held his ground with him in debate. His strength lay in his emotional wizardry, very dangerous to minds unused to such intense appeals. His power to make hell seem physically real showed more dramatic than common sense. The violent feelings he aroused often inspired doubts regarding the permanence and spiritual wholesomeness of his influence. The natural effects of "enthusiasm" sometimes appeared in hysteria, emotional exhaustion, "spiritual dryness," and then indifference. Yet many conversions were real and permanent, and many nominal Christians renewed their strength and became spiritual athletes. It was fine spiritual discipline for those who were tough enough to stand it.

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The clergy often were unable to control the frenzy. Many a pastor, who had sincerely prayed for a revival, did not know what to do when it actually hit his parish. Too many let the emotion get out of hand and degenerate into a frantic debauch. They could start bedlam but not stop it, or like the sorcerer's apprentice, floundered helplessly in a flood of their own making.¹⁶

Whitefield first visited America in 1738, but confined his attention to Georgia as pastor at Savannah, and New Jersey did not feel the thrill of his presence until his second coming in 1739-41. After a few weeks in Georgia, he sailed for the North and landed at Lewes in Delaware on October 30, 1739. He reached Philadelphia on November 2d and remained until the 12th. Christ Church gave him the use of the pulpit for a week, and he helped to administer Communion, engaged in private religious conversation, and read prayers and preached daily in the morning to increasing congregations. The visit was practically an ovation, his relations with the Church were generally friendly, and he dined with the wardens. But there were hints of future trouble. On the day after his arrival, he visited Commissary Archibald Cummings, who he found was already eyeing him suspiciously. On the 10th he dined with the rector, but on the same day ominously recorded in his diary a meeting with the Rev. William Tennent.¹⁷

Within a few days Whitefield began to excite opposition in the Church, by insisting upon outdoor preaching.

"The Inhabitants," he wrote in his Journal, "were very solicitous for my preaching in another Place besides the Church. For it is quite contrary here to what it is in England. There the generality of People think a Sermon cannot be preached well without; here they do not like it so well if delivered within the Church Walls."

On his second Sunday the rift widened. Emboldened by his

popularity, he launched one of his caustic and censorious attacks upon his fellow priests.

"My Power and Freedom of Speech increases daily, and this Afternoon I was carried out much in bearing my Testimony against the unchristian Principles and Practices of the generality of our Clergy. Three of my Reverend Brethren were present, I know not whether they were offended."

It does not seem likely that he greatly cared.¹⁸

His belligerent attitude toward the clergy involved him in a series of acrid controversies that prejudiced the missionaries and laity of New Jersey against him. He had a blazing quarrel with Commissary Alexander Garden of South Carolina, who barred him from the pulpit because he had not read the Prayer Book service in the meeting house when Garden had closed the church to him. When Garden summoned him to appear before an ecclesiastical court, Whitefield refused and asked the Bishop of London whether the commissary had a right to command a priest not of his province!¹⁹

Even harder to forgive were his attacks upon the missionaries, whom he denounced to the Society as "*Ungodly*, despicable Ministers," who would not establish even the form of religion! He frankly described the colonial clergy as "carnal," and implored the Society not to employ "such unhallowed hands" to keep the "tottering Ark" afloat! The Dissenters, he admitted, had lost much of the power of godliness, but still had enough to shame the Church.²⁰

In 1741, Whitefield lashed at Bishop Thomas Secker of Oxford, later Archbishop of Canterbury, for praising the missionaries in a sermon before the Society. He vowed that he could cite several instances of immorality and negligence, and declared that the Church was contemptible abroad because of the "Unworthy, Immoral, & negligent lives of the Generality of the Missionaries," adding that several had entered the Church because the Dissenters would not have them.

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He condemned the missionaries' reports as mere statistics of baptisms and communicants, impositions upon the Society, and severely criticized the Negro missions, doubting that the blacks were really believers simply because they had learned the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments. His charges struck home in New Jersey, when he violently assailed Jonathan Arnold of Staten Island, who also served at Newark and had presumed to debate with him in print.

The bishop, who was politeness itself, tried to defend the clergy, and told Whitefield that he had been too severe and too general in his charges. That only irritated the orator, and made him the more angry with the Society for not answering his letters against the missionaries. The details of that correspondence became widely known in America, and naturally did not help Whitefield to make friends among the Churchmen in New Jersey.²¹

WHITEFIELD INVADES NEW JERSEY

His first stop there on November 12 was at Burlington, where he was "importuned to preach." The following day found him at New Brunswick, preaching in the evening at Gilbert Tennent's meeting house. Passing through Elizabeth Town, he hastened to New York and called on Commissary William Vesey, who was absent. On the evening of the 18th, he set out on his return to Philadelphia, but stopped at Elizabeth Town, New Brunswick, Maidenhead, and Trenton.²²

In April and May of 1740, Whitefield preached at Salem, Greenwich, Gloucester, Amwell, New Brunswick, Elizabeth Town, Woodbridge, Perth Amboy, Freehold, Allentown, and Burlington. At New Brunswick, he boldly displayed his preference for the "New Lights," by letting Gilbert Tennent preach between his sermons, and by reporting that there were "great Meltings in the Congregations"—meaning a storm of tears and outcries. Writing from there to a friend in England,

he rejoiced in his companionship with Tennent. He preached also in the Presbyterian meeting house at Perth Amboy, and in the younger William Tennent's "new Meeting House" in Freehold. Early in November he invaded New Jersey again, preaching with his usual brilliance and success at Newark, Baskingridge, New Brunswick, and Trenton. People swarmed to hear him, and he was pleased and happy over their response. Later in that month he toured West Jersey, visiting Gloucester, Greenwich, Piles Grove, Cohansey, and Salem.²³

Those whirlwind tours, which would have worn out a man of slighter zeal and resolution, were the forerunners of four more American visits, all including New Jersey. In 1745-46, he traversed the province, paying special attention to the southern counties and preaching to "very large and affected Auditories" at Cape May, Cedar Bridge, Woodbury, and Greenwich. On another tour in the summer, autumn and early winter of 1754, he twice visited New Jersey, preaching at Trenton, Maidenhead, Crosswicks, Freehold, New Brunswick, Elizabeth Town, Rahway, Woodbridge, Princeton, and Hopewell. Considering the hardships of travel, his schedule of appointments makes one stand aghast at his endurance. Again he openly displayed his friendship for "New Lights," by attending the commencement of the College of New Jersey at Newark, and receiving the degree of M.A. from the president, Aaron Burr, Sr., pastor of the local Presbyterian church and one of his warmest friends.²⁴

In 1763-64, the great evangelist came to the Jerseys once more, preached in several places, and three times visited the college in its new home at Princeton, attending commencement in 1764 to preach and exhort the graduating class. The aging and tired old orator made his last tours of the province in 1769-70, visiting the College of New Jersey four times and praising it as a nursery of religion, and preaching in several places, including Burlington, Elizabeth Town, Freehold, Woodbridge, and Newark.²⁵

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Those repeated visits made Whitefield a legend throughout New Jersey and tore society into factions for or against him. To ignore him was literally impossible, for his name was a household word, and people either adored or disliked him, usually with an intensity proportionate to his provocative and dramatic character. By the time of his second tour, people had made up their minds about him and party lines were tightly drawn. On his side were "New Light" Presbyterians, Baptists, many people in the German and Dutch churches, and some Episcopalians. Against him were Quakers, "Old Light" Presbyterians, conservative Dutch and Germans, most Episcopalians, and (for very different reasons) many free-thinkers, rationalists, and Deists.²⁶

Whitefield became a spiritual father to many "New Light" Jerseymen, like Daniel Schuyler, a leader in the Dutch church of New Brunswick, who had been "awakened" by Frelinghuysen and the Tennents. Recalling a recent visit of Whitefield, he wrote:

"I have often thought on you. I may say not a Day have you been out of my Mind . . . May the God of all grace grant you health that I once more may See you in the Land of the Living again in this part of the World."

After describing his inner conflicts before conversion, he ended on the note of ecstasy that sounds again and again in letters to Whitefield.

"Glory to God in free grace that I was made to See that Salvation was only to be had in the Righteousness of Christ, and not in our own. Oh Ever Ever Blessed Lord Grant me a heart to Praise thee with thy chosen ones all the Days of my Life. Amen."

He also revealed the growing difference between Whitefield and the Wesleyans, deploring Wesley's sermons against the doctrines of free grace and special election. That rift eventually

led the New Jersey Wesleyans to form their own societies *within the Anglican Church*.²⁷

Like many other converts, Schuyler followed Whitefield's every move, anxiously inquired about his health, and eagerly awaited his visits. In the spring of 1747 he waited ten days to accompany him to New York, hoped to meet him in Trenton, and was concerned about a flying report of his illness.

"I can Say from my heart I love you, and if it Should be Gods blessed will to take you home & I should (not) see you again at this Side of time again, I trust in free grace to see you in heaven."

Hendrick Fisher, a friend of Frelinghuysen and a leader in the Raritan Dutch churches, also sent his love to Whitefield and longed to see him.²⁸

Others hastened to inform their absent apostle about every sign of religious awakening. In 1757 John Rodgers joyfully reported a striking revival among the students at the college and grammar school in Princeton. William Shippen of Philadelphia, a trustee of the college, also confided his pleasure at the "very hopeful appearance among the Students." A characteristic effusion of love and admiration came from Nehemiah Greenman, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Piles Grove. He wrote an affecting account of his own spiritual "darkness," and reported revivals in New Jersey, including one in his own parish, and then revealed the personal affection that bound multitudes to Whitefield:

"I receiv'd your kind letter, Just before you took your Journey to the southward;—It was short, but sweet. To this day, I feel gratitude; I thank you, and would bless God, for it . . . Oh! how I long to see you . . . I hear, you design for England, may that God who made the Sea, and the dry Land, preserve, and prosper you, and abundantly Bless you . . . Dear Sir, will you ever come to our America again.—I am at your feet, beg(g)ing with tears, for one line from you."²⁹

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Such cordial relations with "New Light" ministers determined the attitude of New Jersey Churchmen toward him. At his first visit in the autumn of 1739, many were disposed to be friendly, and, at Burlington, Colin Campbell admitted him to Saint Mary's Church. Immediately after dinner he read prayers and preached to a thronged and attentive congregation of Churchmen and Dissenters, and believed that he spoke with inspiration:

"I scarce know the Time when I have spoken with greater Simplicity and Freedom. The Holy Spirit sweetly gave me Utterance, and I perceived several much affected.—The poor People were very importunate for my staying with them all Night, and giving them another Discourse."³⁰

Campbell lived to regret his early tolerance, and in May of 1740 feared that his work would be overthrown by Whitefield, who he thought might "do more harm than ever I or any else may do good." In 1741 he complained that "Mr. Whitefield and his Commissioned Itinerants" had been disturbing him, but as the most rational of the congregation had got over it, he hoped that time would convince the others who had been misled. But in the autumn of 1751, "enthusiasm" was still raging around Burlington, and Campbell wrote that if he had not been able to do all the good he wanted, it was because he was surrounded by the worst kind of enthusiasts. In 1764, during one of Whitefield's visits, the "distemper" was raging again, and Campbell complained that "ane idle Speculative faith is So much insisted upon & preached up, by the variety of Enthusiastical dissenters of all kinds."

If the missionaries did not preach three times a day in the most parching heat of summer, or in the sharpest winter weather when their feet and noses would be ready to drop off from the cold, then in the enthusiastic dialect they were called idle drones and not painstaking, soul-saving ministers. Campbell vowed he had seen enough of that sort of thing in his youth

in Scotland to give him a dislike of it, and to incline him to a rational religion, seeking the peace, harmony, and order he found in the Church of England!³¹

Whitefield's whirlwinds in the southern counties left a long ground swell in the popular mind that annoyed the Episcopal clergy there for many years. In 1743, Pierson of Salem reported that since Whitefield's "blast of enthusiasm" and its continuance by the Dissenters, the prospect of gaining converts seemed to decline. At Penns Neck, particularly, he was "opposed by a Set of Traveling Enthusiasts who are Very Industrious in Raising disturbances and divisions in the church." He meant certain Moravian preachers, who he claimed had thrust themselves into the church against the will of the majority. Pierson bestirred himself vigorously, got the better of his adversaries, and soon had a decent and loyal congregation.³²

After his success in Burlington, Whitefield hurried to New Brunswick, and there gave great offense to Churchmen by appearing in the Presbyterian meeting house, because there was no Episcopal church. He could see nothing wrong in that, and was assured that in America it was "common . . . for the Dissenters and Conformists to worship at different Times in the same Place." At that time he made in his journal an entry that reveals the spirit alienating him from American Churchmen: "*Oh that the Partition Wall was broken down, and we all with one Heart and one Mind could glorify our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!*"³³ To the conformist of the time, that was almost blasphemy! The immediate effect of this and succeeding visits was the organization of Christ Church in New Brunswick, in which many who were not formerly Anglicans joined.

THE NEW JERSEY CLERGY REJECT "ENTHUSIASM"

When he visited Commissary Vesey in New York on November 15, 1739, Whitefield felt the growing chill in the air.

Vesey had heard of his field preaching, his criticism of the clergy, his attack against the Church's emphasis upon good works, and his friendliness toward "New Lights." The unpleasant interview, a prophecy of Whitefield's strained relations with the Church for many years, is vividly described in his journal:

"Waited upon Mr. *Vessey*, but could wish, for his own Sake, he had behaved in a more Christian Manner.—He seem'd to be full of Anger and Resentment, and before I asked him for the Use of his Pulpit, denied it."³⁴

The scene ended by Vesey's practically showing Whitefield the door.

From that time, Vesey was the orator's sworn foe and threw all his influence against him, and on the following day Whitefield learned that constables had been stationed at the door of Trinity Church to prevent his friends from breaking in. On the next Sunday, November 18, he attended the morning and evening services, but was distressed by the unevangelical preaching, which he publicly attacked that very evening.³⁵

On the next day, in New Jersey, Whitefield encountered a very different attitude from the one at Burlington a short time before. Edward Vaughan in Elizabeth Town gave him a very frosty reception, and later preached against him and declared that he would never allow him to occupy the pulpit. Writing to the Society, Vaughan assailed the evangelist as a perverter of the doctrines of regeneration and justification, a dishonor to his profession, a disturber of the Church's peace and tranquillity, "more Enthusiastical, than Divine, in his Administrations," and likely to do much more hurt than good to true Christianity. "Truth," wrote the indignant parson, "is not his talent, & . . . he makes no Scruple of calumniating & traducing, the Fathers, Bishops & clergy of our church, whether Living or Dead."³⁶

Vesey's hostile influence was soon equalled by that of

Commissary Cummings and other Churchmen in Philadelphia. While preaching in Christ Church on Sunday, Whitefield was attacked by the secretary of the proprietor of Pennsylvania, for stressing *imputed righteousness*. On April 15, 1740, the evangelist met Cummings on the street and was told that he could no longer use Christ Church, because he had mistreated the Bishop of London in his reply to the latter's recent pastoral letter condemning Whitefield's conduct. Cummings accused him of misquoting and misrepresenting Archbishop Tillotson of Canterbury, in a letter published in the last week's *Gazette*. Whitefield suggested that it would be better to publicize the matter. Cummings replied that the printers would not issue anything favorable to his side, and when Whitefield replied that it was without his knowledge, they parted in high dudgeon.³⁷

On the following Sunday, Whitefield attended the morning and evening services at Christ Church and heard Cummings preach a sermon against him, from James 2:18, upon *justification by works*. In the evening he replied to his antagonist, said Christ was not preached in the Church, and urged the people to go elsewhere! From that time the church in Philadelphia was absolutely closed to him, while Cummings lived.³⁸

Whitefield found it more and more difficult to get a hearing among the Anglicans in New Jersey, who were well aware of the commissaries' attitude. The clergy were increasingly cool, as they pointedly showed when Whitefield preached on April 28 in the Presbyterian meeting house at Elizabeth Town. The building was jam-packed with about 2,000 people, including nearly ten Dissenting ministers. Whitefield noticed two Church clergymen, who soon got up and went out. Probably they were Vaughan of Elizabeth Town and Skinner of Perth Amboy.³⁹

Skinner showed his colors a few days later, when Whitefield was hastening from New York to Philadelphia. Passing through Perth Amboy, he preached early in the evening—but

not in Saint Peter's. He sent a note to Skinner to request admission to the pulpit, but was curtly repulsed and sadly recorded in his journal that the rector was "very angry, and said he wondered at my Assurance in asking such a Thing."⁴⁰

Skinner never abated his opposition to "enthusiasm," and in 1741 thought that the steady gain of his mission showed special evidence of divine favor, "for," he wrote, "we have Tennant that Son of thunder for our neighbor, and are surrounded with the Ringleaders of the Whitefieldian Gang." He traveled considerably to prevent "Enthusiasm" from getting a foothold, and believed that, whatever they had intended, Whitefield and his party had strengthened the Church. People began to think that they had been imposed upon and had had their pockets picked, so that the Church was likely to get "some gleanings among the Dissenters."

He was delighted to see how the Whitefieldians had to tack about to encounter Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian champion. They had to "drop their own Artillery, hell-fire, and in their own defence take up the honest, plain, but substantial weapons of the Church." That had discredited them in the eyes of the better sort of their people. In 1743, Skinner reported a promising congregation in New Brunswick, the very stronghold of Whitefield and the home of Tennent, "that son of thunder, as one cheat [Whitefield] call'd another."⁴¹

His attitude prevailed among New Jersey Churchmen for a long time after Whitefield's early visits. Two of the five missionaries barred him from their pulpits, but he obviously did not suffer much from the snub, and in April, 1740, wrote cheerfully from New Brunswick: "The *Clergy*, I find, are greatly offended at me . . . But the people only flock the more to me."⁴²

By 1745-46 the Church's official attitude towards Whitefield had hardened into fixed hostility. The chief reason was his censorious outbursts against the clergy, particularly his reply to the Bishop of London's pastoral letter, which he pub-

lished at Boston in the summer of 1740 and scattered all over the colonies. One of the charges against the great preacher was his "strolling" instead of tending to his parish in Savannah. He and his friends shot back that the S. P. G. thought nothing of appointing traveling missionaries! Was not Lindsay designated as "itinerant missionary" in Pennsylvania and New Jersey?⁴³

Ironically enough, Lindsay, the man they picked to bolster their argument, was one of their severest critics, and warned the Society that abandonment of the Bristol mission would make the region the sport of "Enthusiasts." Their preaching had caused "unhappy disorders" at Amwell, where he reported "nothing but despair melancholly outcrys of Damnation are now to be heard: a Sober Rational preaching is now despised as a Book Trade." Whitefield, he charged, had tried to injure the Society's work wherever he went, "among a poor ignorant people." Even some sensible persons were "Strangely misled," but he believed that the "Enthusiastick Fervours" would cool in a little while. Before long he assured the Society that the "New Methodism" was dwindling fast, and that little of it remained, "but among some Ignorant People or Silly women." At Crosswicks, a seat of Methodism about three years before, few people were still "Tainted with these Notions," and they all appeared very orderly. Dissenters, who at first joined the enthusiasts, had left them and joined the Church with their families in disgust at being thundered down for not having "their particular marks of Grace."⁴⁴

Whitefield was not the only "Enthusiastick" priest of the Church who stirred up trouble in New Jersey parishes. He was nearly equalled by one of his admirers, the Rev. William McClenachan from the north of Ireland. He served as an itinerant missionary for the Kennebec region of Maine in the late 1750's, later in a vacant parish in Virginia, and then settled in Philadelphia, hoping to be appointed permanently as assistant minister in Christ Church parish. Having been dismissed, he

regarded himself as the victim of a plot, and indulged in severe criticism of the Church in the colonies as formal, with "little of the Power of Godliness." He charged the clergy with preaching Arminianism (free will) and Deism, the dignity and purity of nature instead of Christ as the Saviour. They had been useless in other callings and therefore had become priests! The Church was not flourishing, the Society was wasting its money, and the frontiers were being neglected. The Society dug into its records and came up with the interesting information that *he* had stayed in Boston to practice medicine, and had been charged by the people with neglecting *his* frontier mission!⁴⁵

The unhappy priest was so completely carried away by admiration of Whitefield, that he led an ardently evangelistic party in and around Philadelphia, who became dissatisfied with Christ Church and founded their own parish, Saint Paul's, with him as pastor. He had a following also in West Jersey, particularly in the flourishing congregation of Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly. In 1761, his party caused a schism in the parish, claiming that their idol was the only true preacher of Christ in America, and that the other Anglican clergy were worldly believers in free will and salvation by works. Campbell handled the situation with gloves, perhaps reflecting glumly upon his welcome to Whitfield in 1739. He decided not to interfere and to "leave the Event to God" until the enthusiasts should get over "the fiery Heat of their precipitate Rashness." He was wise, and in the early summer of 1762 happily informed the Society that his "straying Sheep" had been "reduced to a Sense of their Sin in a causeless Separation, and are returning daily to their proper Fold."⁴⁶

Such temporary disruptions and disputes among the Dissenters about Whitefield frequently increased the Church, to which many thoughtful persons turned as a haven of refuge. When petitioning for a missionary in December, 1749, the wardens and vestrymen of Elizabeth Town declared that the

"divided, unsettled State of the Dissenters" would produce numerous converts if they could have a regular pastor.⁴⁷

The man they secured, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, expressed hostile opinion of Whitefield more vigorously and clearly than any other missionary in New Jersey. In the winter of 1764, the evangelist appeared in town and indicated his wish to preach in Saint John's. The parishioners expected Chandler to comply, for no other minister of the Church had refused him the pulpit since the beginning of his visit, and the Philadelphia churches had been open to him. He refused on the ground that Whitefield had been under censure in England, had shown no evidence of "Reformation," and had not made his submission and obtained a license from the Bishop of London. The example of the Philadelphia clergy did not impress him as being consistent with the Church's rules. Most of the parishioners were offended, and Chandler was worried for a while, but the fracas gradually subsided, and only "two or three Persons of no Consequence" left the Church.⁴⁸

The Society approved Chandler's conduct, to his great pleasure, but indicated that he had judged the Philadelphia clergy too harshly. Chandler excused his warmth because he had been "smarting under y^e ill effects of their Compliances." He still thought that they had been mistaken, and that

"all M^r Whitefield's Bitterness & Rage against y^e Church would have availed but little, had he been able only to attack it openly & from without. But what gives him an Opportunity of really hurting y^e Church, is his pretended Friendship for her, his wearing y^e Garb of her Children, his frequently quoting *our excellent Liturgy*, Articles, Homilies &c., with solemn Declarations of his Esteem & Admiration. I will say no more of him, as he has at Length left us; but my greatest Fear is, that he will soon begin to hanker after his *dear America*, few people choosing to continue long in a State of Insignificance, when

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they have it in their Power to appear with more than Apostolic Importance.”⁴⁹

Whitefield never again crossed swords with the formidable Chandler. On his last tour of the colonies, he visited Elizabeth Town in the early summer of 1770, after having been welcomed again to the Philadelphia churches. The people knew their pastor’s mind and did not expect him to offer the use of his pulpit, and there was no disturbance.⁵⁰

BUT THE CHURCH GROWS!

By that time the Church was becoming used to Whitefield, who had lost much of his earlier censorious spirit and retained only his love of winning souls to Christ. His popularity seemed unabated and he deeply enjoyed his last American tour. While staying in Philadelphia in the spring of 1770, he wrote to a friend:

“People of all ranks flock as much as ever. Impressions are made on many, and I trust they will abide. To all the episcopal churches, as well as most of the other places of worship, I have free access.”⁵¹

The more tolerant Anglican attitude arose from the fact that, after all, the Church had benefitted by his ministry, through the accession of thoughtful people who had been led to inquire. Milne of Monmouth County had expressed this view as early as 1744, shortly after the first impact of revivalism, writing that the Church was in a much better state, “after the Ravages of Enthusiasm which like an Epidemical distemper raged all over America, but chiefly here.” The services were frequented by “men of the best sense,” who formerly had belonged to other groups or had been supinely negligent of all religion, because the excitement had stirred them to make inquiries.⁵²

By those who have not examined the Society’s records, it has been assumed that after the Awakening the Anglican

Church became merely "the last refuge of the conservatives," and that it "fell into contempt" and ceased to grow. Such is the view of Charles H. Maxson in his *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*, which gives no evidence that the author consulted the missionaries' letters or the Society's annual reports.⁵³

Yet those sources constantly mention the increase of baptisms and communicants, conversions of adults, evangelism among Negroes, and large distribution of religious literature! When Whitefield first entered New Jersey in 1739, he found only five missionaries, while in the year of his death, 1770, the number had increased to ten, serving more than twenty churches and many more mission stations.⁵⁴ When Samuel Smith, author of the first comprehensive history of New Jersey, made a census of churches about 1765, he found 21 Anglican parishes among the 165 places of worship. Such facts do not suggest that after the Awakening the Church became a completely reactionary and stagnant society. Had it been so, the Presbyterians would not have united with the New England Congregationalists in 1766, to check its growth and prevent the introduction of bishops. One is not *alarmed* by a stagnant, conservative, and contemptible organization.

There was, indeed, much vitality in the old Church. What was it like, and whence did it come? It came from several sources—the S. P. G.'s missionary zeal, the educational influence of the S. P. C. K., loyalty to the ancient national Church, the fervor of converts, the appeal of the Awakening to individual souls, and the longing for peace after its excitements. And one should never forget how much the Church in New Jersey owed to those pious societies, whose members were in derision called "Methodists."

CHAPTER SEVEN

Between the Storms 1740--1775

BETWEEN the whirlwind of the Awakening and the fiery tempest of revolution, the Church's general condition was quietly prosperous. The missionaries' reports in 1742 brought cheerful tidings of growth, and the Society's annual report closed on a jubilant note:

"These proper Instances of Zeal for the Honour of God, and his publick Worship in our *American Brethren*, we trust, will warm the Hearts of their worthy Benefactors, and keep them from being weary in well doing, when they perceive that their Labours of Love, far from being in vain, produce such good fruits in the Lord."¹

The secretary contrasted the situation in 1744 with the general irreligion pictured by Colonel Morris in 1701:

"Through the Blessing of God upon the charitable Endeavours of the Society, there is a great Reformation of Manners among them; and *the Grace of God* . . . hath so far wrought upon them, that they have built *ten Churches, besides Chapels*, in which the Word of God, which giveth Wisdom and Understanding, is well attended on every Lord's Day by populous Congregations, and the Blessed Sacraments duly administered by five Missionaries from this Society."²

The Church grew without spectacular display, and whenever the surrounding brawl of sectarians burst in, quickly resumed its steady and solid progress.

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

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BURLINGTON

Nowhere was the general quiet piety more evident than at Burlington under the long ministry of Colin Campbell. In the midst of the frenzy of the Awakening, he reported a considerable increase in his congregation, and ten years later was greatly comforted by the love and harmony between himself and his people. He cheerfully and diligently served Burlington, Mount Holly, and Bristol, and publicly catechized the young people to ground them firmly in Christian principles. In 1759, he received 50 communicants in six months, and baptized three adults after proper instruction.³

In 1763, Campbell rejoiced that his increasing congregations had always lived in harmony among themselves. The people were sincere, hearty, and religious, and generously supported the Church, although not numerous because of the commercial disadvantages of the region that obliged young people to move away. The devoted missionary was then nearly sixty years old, and in declining health because of persistent inflammatory rheumatism, but he had not been idle, having in a year baptized 96 infants and 19 adults (six in one family) and received 50 communicants.⁴

MOUNT HOLLY

One lasting evidence of his long and faithful service was the new parish of Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly, about eight miles east of Burlington. In the spring of 1742, the people completed a handsome church, to which at Campbell's request the Society sent a folio Bible and Prayer Book. At his coming he had found only four Anglican families, but by 1763 the people were thinking of requesting a separate mission, and required all the care he could give them. They even petitioned the governor for a charter to empower them to raise an endowment for their own missionary, because age and illness forbade Campbell to give them the full ministry they wanted.

In 1764 they signed a bond pledging £30 sterling a year as soon as the Society could appoint one.⁵

The longed-for missionary did not arrive, because the Society had heavy obligations elsewhere, but Burlington and Mount Holly flourished until Campbell's death in 1766. During the vacancy, they were served by the scholarly young Nathaniel Evans, missionary for Gloucester and Waterford.

Campbell's worthy successor was Jonathan Odell, physician as well as priest, who won fame in the Revolution as the "Tory Satirist." (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) In his ministry Burlington completed a practically new Saint Mary's, a comfortable building of unusual size for the time, and regarded as an ornament to the town.⁶

The two parishes seemed likely to fulfil the Society's hope for self-support. Odell generously favored that prospect by declining to accept any contribution from Saint Mary's until they had wiped out the building debt. The vestry then voted him an annual salary of £30 New Jersey currency, and Saint Andrew's punctually paid £26 currency, which raised the whole contribution to about £35S. Odell even hoped to persuade his people to raise an endowment of £100, that might in time support the minister with less help from the Society. The prosperity of this mission continued until the Revolution, and in 1774 Odell reported 31 baptisms, 10 marriages, and three new communicants.⁷

SALEM

Elsewhere in the lower counties the Church had a much harder life, especially after the death of Pierson at Salem. His successor, Thomas Thompson, served only a short time before he removed to Chester, Pennsylvania, and after 1750 the Society supported no missionary at Salem. (For biography of Thompson, *see* Appendix B.) The parish depended upon other missions in West Jersey and Pennsylvania, and upon the

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Swedish Lutheran clergy, who always lived in harmony and friendship with their Anglican neighbors.

GLOUCESTER AND WATERFORD

The clergy were deeply worried by the general destitution of the Episcopalians south of Burlington, especially across the Delaware from Philadelphia. Dr. Robert Jenney, rector of Christ Church, kept his eye on conditions there, and in 1751 dedicated Saint Mary's Church at Colestown, Waterford township. The parish originated about 1703 in the ministry of Keith and Talbot, and for about forty-eight years worshipped in homes. The plain little frame edifice, built by the gifts of thirty or forty moderately prosperous farmers, was packed to the doors when Jenney officiated. Moved by the popular devotion, he begged the favor of the Society, which directed neighboring missionaries to minister as often as they could.⁸

In 1764, Campbell earnestly reminded the Society that there was no priest in Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May counties. Stirred to action, the Society ordered a survey to discover what the chief places would contribute toward the support of a traveling missionary for West Jersey. Encouraged by the report, the board established a new mission for Gloucester and Waterford, with general care of the vast region down to Cape May, and appointed Nathaniel Evans, a noted young scholar and poet. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) He arrived in 1765, and found that another church was expected to open in a few months at Gloucester Town, where services were held in the brick county court house. The parishes had joined to get him a parsonage with about twelve acres of land, on a five-year lease.⁹

Evans' frail health soon gave way under the burden of work and constant travel, for that mission was one of the most difficult in the colonies, containing around 6,000 people

thinly scattered over an area about sixty by thirty miles. The greater half were Quakers, entirely alienated from sacramental and liturgical religion. Half of the rest, about as numerous as the Episcopalians, were Presbyterians and Swedish Lutherans, the latter being friendly to the Church.

The young and eager missionary worked hard to build up the Church, regularly on Sundays at Gloucester and Waterford, and on weekdays in several other places. In the fall of 1766, he toured the coast from Cape May to Egg Harbor, reading services and preaching daily. He discovered about 50 Anglican families in the two chief places, surrounded by a large majority of Quakers and Presbyterians. By popular request, he preached in the two Dissenters' meeting houses and used the liturgy, which was well received. Quakers and other Dissenters were surprisingly cordial, and many lamented his early death as much as the Society and his regular parishioners.¹⁰

For some time the mission was vacant, a condition that occurred with distressing frequency. Odell soon urged the Society to appoint a successor, as there was no missionary between him and Cape May. The Rev. John Lyon of Taunton in Massachusetts came to survey the parish, but found that it fell below the expected support, and requested the vacant mission at Lewes, Delaware. The Philadelphia clergy agreed that the older mission was more important, and the Society consented in hope of making provision for Gloucester and Waterford.¹¹ At Odell's suggestion, the Society named David Griffith, a young colonial, but the fates persisted in their unkindness, and he soon resigned, leaving the patient people again pastorless. Hopefully, the Society turned to another young American, Robert Blackwell.¹² (For biographies of Griffith and Blackwell, *see* Appendix B.)

Then the tide of fortune turned, for Blackwell stayed until the Revolution compelled him to leave. He ministered at Gloucester, Waterford, and Saint Peter's, Greenwich (Clarksboro), about eighteen miles from Waterford. The latter

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church, completed in 1770 at Berkeley, was erected as a community church when the residents did not hope to get a missionary. When a dispute flared up regarding denominational rights to the building, it was decided that only Episcopal ministers should use it, and Blackwell hoped shortly to have a well-established parish. Although each of his congregations had about 40 families, many people through long contact with the Quakers had no instruction in Church ways and were very ignorant of the sacraments. Before long he began to inspire a more favorable attitude, and looked forward to a prosperous mission.¹³

His congregations somewhat increased, and at Easter of 1774 he had six communicants at Waterford and 25 at Greenwich. Emigration took away one of the most loyal families at Saint Mary's, but he was not discouraged, and remained until after the outbreak of the Revolution, when he offered his services to the American army and was cast off by the Society.¹⁴

NORTHWEST FRONTIER

While the Church was slowly gaining in the South, the huge northwestern frontier mission branched out into several flourishing parishes. After several years, Lindsay was accused of misconduct, and the Society removed him until he could fully clear his character. In his place they sent Richard Locke, recommended by the Bishop of London for previous good service on the western frontier of Pennsylvania. After a few years he was succeeded by George Craig, who went from Pennsylvania to England for holy orders.¹⁵ (For biographies of Locke and Craig, *see* Appendix B.)

Craig remained until 1754, and was replaced by Michael Houdin, one of the most interesting characters among the colonial clergy. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) He made a good impression upon the Churchmen of Trenton, Allentown, and Bordentown, who had been without a regular priest

for many years, but as they could not comfortably support him, the Society came to the rescue. Later he was formally appointed as traveling missionary in New Jersey, and Craig's service was confined to Pennsylvania.¹⁶

Houdin became one of the most active missionaries, and baptized many children as well as adults, whom he had instructed. He added Amwell to his care, and by 1753 had in that congregation over 200 Presbyterians and some Baptist families. Many of them contributed toward Saint Andrew's Church, which was completed by autumn.¹⁷

Although Houdin could visit Hunterdon County only a few times a year, with some assistance from McKean of New Brunswick, the Church steadily gained in Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington. In 1759, the Churchmen appealed to the Society for more attention, claiming that they were numerous and that many Dissenters would assist in building another church, if they could have a regular missionary partly supported by the Society, as they could not bear the entire burden. They promised a house, a good glebe of at least forty acres, and not less than £30 a year for at least seven years. Their petition was approved and recommended by Governor Francis Bernard at the request of the New Jersey missionaries, who were all ministering at two or more places and considered a traveling parson necessary in that region.

The Society accordingly divided the mission, making Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington a separate charge, and appointed Andrew Morton of Pennsylvania. He went to England for orders, recommended by the provost and other teachers at the College of Philadelphia, and was approved by Governor Bernard at the people's request.¹⁸ (For biography of Morton, *see* Appendix B.)

Morton's huge mission consisted of a group of churches extending from Amwell into the present Warren County, and including Saint Thomas' at Alexandria and congregations at Readington and Musconetcong, now Delaware. The con-

gregations were generally very large, and in one year he baptized 141 persons. But the people hung back from Communion, because they had imbibed the teaching of revivalist preachers, that only the "converted" could receive. He could only hope that his efforts to correct them would bear fruit, and the Society sent over some tracts to help him.¹⁹

Although his communicants increased to only ten in the next year, people flocked to his preaching, and within a year he had 80 baptisms, including an adult convert from the Baptists. In spite of general ignorance and the misguided zeal of some neighboring preachers and people, the Church gained ground among the Dissenters and the unchurched, who at first were violently prejudiced against the liturgy. That was especially evident in Sussex County, where he visited once every three weeks in summer. Profound ignorance of the Church's doctrine and discipline was obvious from the general surprise that they were so different from what people had been led to believe!²⁰

Morton traveled about his vast parish until he moved in 1766 because of a plot against his moral character, due to the enmity caused by his zeal. His successor, who remained during the Revolution, was William Frazer. (For biography of Frazer, *see* Appendix B.) He came in April, 1768, and found a very small congregation at Amwell, but a much larger one and 30 Church families at Kingwood, where the parish before long increased considerably. The Amwell church was soon nearly repaired by gifts exceeding his hopes, including some from Dissenters and a promise of help from the nearby Lutheran congregation. Lewis Stephens, Esq., donated an acre for a church at Kingwood, and the people at Musconetcong had nearly completed a log church.²¹

Two years later, Amwell was increasing, and since the death of the Presbyterian minister, his people constantly came to service. The new church at Kingwood was nearing completion and the Musconetcong parish was increasing rapidly.

In one year Frazer baptized 119 infants and 11 adults, and married 17 couples. By 1773, Saint Thomas' Church at Kingwood was nearly "decently finished," and the parish was the largest of the three, including many respectable and wealthy gentlemen of the neighborhood, who set a good example by attending church. Amwell had become very small by numerous deaths and had never paid Frazer any salary, while the people in Sussex County did not keep their pledge, in spite of his excessive hardship in visiting them.²²

SUSSEX COUNTY

Sussex was already being organized under other auspices, because Thomas Bradbury Chandler always kept his weather eye open for opportunities to promote the Church in new regions. He became intensely interested in relieving the religious destitution of Sussex, which up to the end of the French and Indian War (1756-63) had been a howling wilderness. It lay close to the Indian country, and only the conquest of French Canada in 1759-60 forever removed the threat of sudden fierce incursions. After the peace treaty, settlers began to pour in, and by 1770 the territory contained 1500 families.

Among the "mixt multitude of sectaries" were about 50 Anglican families, who gathered in homes for services. Chandler visited them, and excepting some Baptist preachers, probably was the only minister who had ever paid any attention to them. They wanted the Society to send a missionary and some gave lands to support one, and the Society on recommendation of Chandler appointed a catechist, Uzal Ogden, young scion of a prominent family in northern New Jersey. He had already been reading services there and had decided to enter the ministry.²³ (For biography of Ogden, see Appendix B.)

Chandler had good reason to be pleased with his choice, for Ogden set to work to convert the whole county by good temper, industry, and zeal. He soon reported constant visits to

63 Church families, 41 persons learning the catechism, Sunday services in four places, and frequent weekday visits. He also read prayers and sermons in the homes of several Dissenters, who seemed to be losing their prejudice against the Church. His own short tracts were favorably received, particularly an *Address to Youth and Family Worship*. For priestly ministrations the people turned to Dr. Chandler, and to Abraham Beach of New Brunswick, who frequently visited them and in 1771-72 baptized between 40 and 50 persons.²⁴

Ogden became the pride and joy of Dr. Chandler, who fortunately for his peace of mind could not foresee his favorite's conversion to the Presbyterian Church. He earnestly urged his ordination to the priesthood and his appointment as missionary in Sussex County. Pleased by Ogden's zeal and perfectly confident in the good doctor's judgment, the Society finally named him as missionary. The parishioners met the Society's conditions by purchasing a glebe, which when improved would be the best in the province, and built a parsonage and pledged £52 currency (about £30S.) a year. The Society cordially thanked Dr. Chandler for securing such a zealous young man, of whom the members expected great things.²⁵

They were not disappointed. He held Sunday services at the four places which he had visited as a catechist, and on weekdays preached in several others, frequently in Pennsylvania, and even extended his travels to Morris and Bergen counties. His zeal brought crowds of Episcopalians and Dissenters to church and produced a change for the better in many lives. In 1774-75, he baptized 147 infants and children, and 62 adults, white and Negro, but the number of communicants and marriages remained small.²⁶

TRENTON AND MAIDENHEAD

While the frontier mission reached into the northernmost corner of the province, its former southern part around Trenton and Hopewell was united with the congregation at Maiden-

head in a separate mission, and prospered under the ministry of Agur Treadwell. (For biography of Treadwell, *see* Appendix B.) He gave two Sundays a month to Trenton, and on the others visited Allentown or Maidenhead. About 20 families of Trenton and the nearby farms came to church faithfully, and agreed to give him £30S. a year and a house or the equal (£20S.) in money for five years with a promise of renewal, pending the purchase of a house and a glebe.

Seven families at Allentown repaired the church at considerable expense, and the Society furnished it with a large Bible and Prayer Book. Maidenhead had no church, but on invitation Treadwell preached to large congregations in the Presbyterians' meeting house. They could afford to be generous, for they had stolen the glebe formerly given by Colonel Coxe's will to support the Episcopal minister in that town! Treadwell regularly taught the children their catechism, and in the first half of 1763 baptized 20 infants and one adult, and had 11 communicants at Easter.²⁷

Like many other hard-worked missionaries, Treadwell fell sick and died in August, 1765, just as his mission was beginning to prosper. It was hard to find his successor. The wardens and vestrymen, Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia and others, wanted Philip Reading, who had served for twenty years at Apoquinimink, Delaware. The Society was willing, but Reading declined for private and personal as well as religious motives. Months sped and the Society had to be nudged to action by the watchful Odell, who reminded them bluntly that there was no Anglican minister on the highway between him and New Brunswick—more than forty miles! The New Jersey clergy recommended William Thomson of Cumberland, Pennsylvania, who received the appointment at his own request, and upon the advice of Dr. Smith and the plea of the parishioners.²⁸ (For biography of Thomson, *see* Appendix B.)

Although Thomson was joyfully received by the faithful, he found many indifferent because of the long lapse in

services, but they soon began to return and Saint Michael's was well filled on Sundays. With the Society's approval, he visited Bristol as frequently as possible. In 1772, he entered territory where the Church was decidedly unwelcome, by visiting "a small village, called Prince-Town, where there is a large Presbyterian College." A few Churchmen welcomed him and he promised to visit them on weekdays, but Princeton waited more than half a century for regular Episcopal services. After Thomson accepted a parish in Maryland, the Society cut the stipend for Trenton and Maidenhead in half, and appointed George Panton. His success persuaded them to raise his salary to £30, on recommendation of the New Jersey clergy, because the people declared that they could not afford an ample support.²⁹ (For biography of Pantön, *see* Appendix B.)

As the Revolution approached, the Delaware River was lined with churches almost from the Water Gap to Cumberland County. Five missionaries were serving in West Jersey, and churches had been built at Newton, Musconetcong (Delaware), Amwell, Kingwood, Trenton, Burlington, Allentown, Mount Holly, Waterford (Colestown), Clarksboro, Salem, and Greenwich. Most of these parishes are still flourishing, although in some places not in the church's original location.

PERTH AMBOY AND WOODBRIDGE

While the missions expanded in West Jersey, the old parishes in East Jersey, in a semicircle from Elizabeth Town to Shrewsbury, prospered and sent out offshoots. By the summer of 1742, Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, had to build a gallery to accomodate the growing congregation. At that time Skinner was continuing to instruct and baptize converts from Quakerism, and was promoting the Church in New Brunswick. Ten years later, he reported 57 communicants and 58 baptisms in the preceding half-year.

The aged missionary died in 1758, and the wardens and vestry petitioned the Society to appoint Philip Hughes, chaplain to the 44th Regiment of Foot, who had preached very acceptably when Skinner grew feeble. The people and Governor Bernard liked him, he was willing to come if the Society pleased, being ready to leave the army, and his diocesan, the Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, gave him a good recommendation. During the vacancy, by request of the parish, Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury supplied as often as possible.³⁰

The people's hopes faded, for Hughes finally declined. Governor Bernard intervened, being anxious to have a priest who could start a school to teach the classical languages. He put pressure upon the Society, which thought it saw the right man in the Rev. Robert Carter, who for ten years had been a diligent and successful missionary in the Bahama Islands. He was a scholar of repute, educated at Eton and at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and had long wanted to escape the tropical heat that was breaking down his health. Again the people were unpleasantly surprised, when Carter wrote that by request of Governor Shirley he had decided to stay in the Bahamas.³¹

The Society next turned to Connecticut, and at his frequent and earnest request appointed Solomon Palmer, who had tired of his traveling mission and wanted a settled parish. But the Churchmen in Litchfield County and his colleague, Thomas Davies, strenuously objected that the Church would suffer greatly by his removal. Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, dean of the Connecticut clergy, agreed with them, and wrote that Palmer's plain and retired country life would not fit him for Perth Amboy, "a polite Place, and the Seat of the Governor." Palmer himself "for particular reasons" preferred Rye, New York, and there the Society placed him.³²

The years of fruitless letters and discouragement ended with the appointment of Robert McKean of New Brunswick, who was placed in charge also of Woodbridge, for which Dr.

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Chandler of Elizabeth Town was duly grateful. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) The parishes agreed that McKean should give two-thirds of his time to the "city." With the Society's approval and thanks, James Parker, New Jersey's first printer, read prayers and a sermon at Woodbridge when McKean was absent.³³

The mission prospered during the tragically few years of McKean's ministry. He regularly visited both places and held afternoon catechism classes for children in the "milder seasons." Neither parish was very large. Saint Peter's had about 40 faithful Episcopalian families, and some 12 or 15 more who preferred Anglican worship to any other, altogether making nearly two-thirds of the population. The remainder were Presbyterians and a few Quakers. In Woodbridge the majority were Presbyterians, Quakers, and other denominations, and the Church could claim only about twelve families. There were only 34 communicants at Saint Peter's in 1764, and 14 in Woodbridge, although the number of baptisms was heartening. Woodbridge was a poor parish, unable to subscribe what the Society expected, and the generous pastor neither wanted nor asked anything from them, being content with their grateful thanks.³⁴

McKean died in 1767, after building up the mission to a flourishing condition. In the spring he wrote that for more than a year Anglican services had been the only regular worship at Perth Amboy, and that some members of other denominations regularly attended. The little congregation in Woodbridge was growing, having recently welcomed the large family of a reputable nearby farmer, who had seven children (including two adults) baptized in one day.³⁵

The Society complied with the strong request of the Perth Amboy wardens and vestry to appoint John Preston, whom they had unanimously invited because of his high recommendations, and because the congregation had taken a strong liking to him during his ministry since McKean's last illness.

He served Perth Amboy and Woodbridge until the Revolution compelled him to leave. (For biography, see Appendix B.) In 1771, he reported that most of the 70 houses in Perth Amboy were occupied by Churchmen, and that there were but two Quaker families, while the few Presbyterians came to Saint Peter's. Woodbridge was still small and grew slowly, and both parishes had only thirty communicants. His 24 baptisms, 12 marriages, and 14 burials in 1773 indicate a mission of only modest size.³⁶

ELIZABETH TOWN AND WOODBRIDGE

Before the Revolution, Saint John's in Elizabeth Town became a sort of cathedral church of New Jersey. Following the death of Vaughan, the mission was given to Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who became virtually the dean of the New Jersey missionaries. For several years he served as catechist on a salary of only £10, then made the long and dangerous trip to England for ordination in the summer of 1751. After a voyage of nine weeks, he returned safely, to the joy of the parishioners, and began his mission of twenty-five years.³⁷

Few missionaries even approached his devotion and popularity. When he arrived, there were but forty communicants, but by 1754-55 there were ninety. When roads and weather were good, about 85 families in the surrounding country streamed to services. He started a monthly lecture at Woodbridge and gained 20 families and several communicants, where three years before the Church had *one* family. Before long he inspired them with zeal to build a church, which was finished in 1756, with a folio Bible and Prayer Book given by the Society. The two parishes held their ground well throughout the distractions of the French and Indian War, and in spite of Chandler's absences to serve the vacant mission at Jamaica, Long Island.³⁸

Although burdened by the growth of Saint John's, Chand-

ler visited Woodbridge as much as possible, administering Communion on the Sundays following Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In the fall and winter of 1760-61, he had 30 baptisms, and in a year welcomed six new communicants. The Society sent him literature to overcome reluctance to approach Communion among otherwise pious people. By 1762, his work at Elizabeth Town had become so pressing that he requested the annexation of Woodbridge to Perth Amboy, because he could preach there only every sixth Sunday, and its nearness to Perth Amboy would ensure a visit every Sunday afternoon. He made house calls and baptized children for families who lived far from the church, and with amazing results: in the last six months of 1761 and the first half of 1762 he baptized 102 persons, including four adults!³⁹

As he wished, Woodbridge became a part of Perth Amboy mission, and he was able to concentrate upon Elizabeth Town and its vicinity. The good result was quickly evident, for the parish made greater exertions and the vestry in 1762 voted to enlarge the church. In spite of trouble occasioned by his refusing the pulpit to Whitefield, Saint John's continued to prosper, and in 1764 had 75 communicants, including seven new ones, and in eighteen months had five adult and 62 infant baptisms. Next year there were 97 families and probably 400 souls, and the church was more crowded than ever, with 50 learning the catechism every Sunday. In 1764-65, Chandler baptized 43 and had five new communicants, and the parishioners subscribed to enlarge the parsonage.⁴⁰

Until the Revolution, Saint John's continued to enjoy unbroken prosperity, with large, orderly, and respectable congregations. By 1770, there were 100 families and 70 or 80 communicants, and the church was always crowded and sometimes "thronged by Dissenters." By 1773 there was talk of enlarging the building, but so glowing was the prospect that the plan was scrapped, and in November, 1773, the parish laid the foundation of a large new church. The people hoped to

complete it before the end of 1774, and there seemed to be no danger of its not being filled, for Chandler admitted seven new communicants and baptized 25 from Christmas 1773 to Midsummer 1774.⁴¹

All the time he was fighting for the introduction of bishops into the colonies, furthering new missions, and visiting distant places such as Sussex County. In 1770 he preached on weekdays, sometimes four in succession, in the back country of the northern counties.⁴² In that work he was aided by other missionaries, particularly Skinner, who kept his eye open for opportunities to start new work along the Raritan, and to strengthen the old mission in Monmouth County.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND PISCATAWAY

Especially important was the Raritan Valley, as there was no parish in 1740 on the "great road" between Trenton and Elizabeth Town—the highway between Philadelphia and New York. The great Awakening turned many toward the Church, and in 1742 the Anglicans in Piscataway and New Brunswick chose a site for a new church in the latter town, about two miles from the old one in Piscataway. They proceeded with the building, hoping to attract numerous Episcopalians in the well-settled country for many miles around, as well as former Dissenters who were friendly. Hoping also to persuade the Society to send a missionary, they pledged £40 for his salary and trusted to the Church's growth to swell the sum. The Society promised to send a priest as soon as they should provide a house and a glebe, according to the rules, and in the meantime committed New Brunswick to the care of neighboring missionaries.⁴³

The people responded by raising £300 to buy a parsonage and a glebe, but neither was ever available to the missionaries. The man they had in mind was Thomas Wood, educated as a physician and surgeon, and they requested his appointment

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as missionary after his admission to holy orders. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) As Vaughan of Elizabeth Town had died and that mission was still vacant, the Society combined it with New Brunswick, but the arrangement worked very poorly, because he could visit Elizabeth Town only every fourth Sunday. The parish there complained loudly, and the Society solved the dilemma by raising Thomas B. Chandler to the rank of missionary and making New Brunswick and Piscataway a separate mission. Wood soon built up the parishes, but in 1752 was transferred to Nova Scotia at his own request to minister to the new settlers.⁴⁴

In their forlorn state, the parishioners were compensated by the services of a vigorous young man who was destined to be famous throughout the Church. He was Samuel Seabury, Junior, son of the missionary at Hempstead, Long Island. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) After ordination as deacon and priest, he was appointed to New Brunswick by recommendation of the New York clergy, and with the Society's hope that he would prove as good a priest as his father. They were not disappointed. He arrived at New Brunswick on May 25, 1754, and received a most hearty welcome, assurances of gratitude to the Society, and a promise to complete the church that summer. He preached in it to generally large congregations, including Dissenters whom he hoped to win because there was no other minister in town. In his first four and a half months he had 16 baptisms.⁴⁵

But Seabury was strongly attached to Long Island, and when the people at Jamaica decided to stop quarreling and get a missionary, he moved there in 1757 by favor of the governor of New York. His successor was Robert McKean, who came to the Society fully recommended by the clergy of Pennsylvania, and was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of Chester, upon authorization of the Bishop of London.⁴⁶

The parishioners were most grateful for his appointment,

and happy to see the Church gaining ground in their region, where at first it had been feeble. McKean came on December 16, 1757, and at once began regular services at New Brunswick and occasional visits to South River (now Spotswood), nine miles away. New families flocked to Christ Church, and even people of other faiths rented pews and brought their families on Sunday when they had no services. He officiated at Piscataway every third or fourth Sunday, timing his visit to allow an evening service at New Brunswick.⁴⁷

In 1761, Christ Church was incorporated by charter, as "The Rector, Church-wardens, and Vestrymen of Christ Church in New Brunswick." By that time the parish was prospering, for although it had lost communicants by removals, in the half-year preceding October 5th McKean baptized 26 persons.⁴⁸

In 1762, McKean was transferred to Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, and his old charge had to wait a long time for a successor. Hezekiah Watkins, missionary at Newburgh in New York, declined appointment upon the earnest objection of his parishioners. A devoted Churchman, Edward Antill, served as layreader half the Sundays at New Brunswick and half at Piscataway, until the arrival of the new parson, Leonard Cutting, a former tutor in King's College, New York. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) Upon his appointment Piscataway was annexed to New Brunswick by recommendation of the New Jersey clergy. The small congregation had recently built a new church, and appeared willing to pledge its share to support a missionary, with a prospect of more in a few years.⁴⁹

Cutting's arrival stimulated the people to greater sacrifices, and both parishes sent the Society their bonds for his support, with thanks for the appointment and a request for his continuance. His prospects were modest, but encouraging: Christ Church in 1764 had 130 families in only moderate circumstances, but they were serious, zealous, and devout, and on

good terms with the Dissenters. There were 25 communicants and he expected more, and since his arrival he had baptized 17 persons. In spite of its dispersed homes, the congregation at Piscataway was fairly large and increased each time he visited every third Sunday. He held catechism classes for the children of each parish every Sunday, but found it difficult to overcome the reluctance of professed Church people to be baptized, because of the strong Baptist influence.⁵⁰

Although tempted by an urgent call from Hempstead, Long Island, and dissatisfied with the inadequate housing afforded him in New Brunswick, Cutting remained for a while. In the spring of 1765, he was pleased by his numerous baptisms and new communicants, well-filled churches, and serious and attentive hearers. The prosperity continued until his removal to Hempstead in 1766. There were then 34 communicants at New Brunswick and eight at Piscataway, and in the fourteen months before his last report he had baptized 57 persons in both parishes. As often as the churches could spare him, he had visited distant places, particularly Morristown, where on two occasions he baptized 19 children, and found a considerable group of Churchmen getting ready to ask aid from the Society.⁵¹

After a rather long vacancy, the mission kindly received Abraham Beach, who arrived at the close of September, 1767. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) He remained throughout the colonial period and the Revolution, happy in seeing his two churches frequented by serious people of all denominations. By visiting and baptizing, he helped to establish the Church in Sussex County, and he took special care of the Negroes. In 1773-74, Christ Church parishioners subscribed to repair the building and erect a steeple, and were emulated by the congregation at Piscataway. The number of baptisms and new communicants held up well, and Beach's efforts to overcome the prejudices of Dissenters began to bear fruit.⁵²

SPOTSWOOD AND FREEHOLD

The missionaries at Perth Amboy and New Brunswick encouraged the Church's growth southeast of New Brunswick, particularly in Spotswood (formerly called South River) near the boundary between Middlesex and Monmouth Counties. The people around there were descendants of Episcopalians who migrated from Staten Island, and were very eager to keep up their religious traditions. About 1742, under the auspices of Skinner, they began to build a church, which he hoped would be ready by the next summer. He visited Spotswood as often as possible, and after his death the parish became a part of the New Brunswick mission. McKean began to visit early in 1758, and was pleased to find a handsome wooden church, called "Saint Peter's," in Spotswood village, and over 30 families, including more than 150 persons. As the only nearby places of worship were in New Brunswick, the prospect of growth seemed most encouraging.⁵³

The parish flourished under McKean's care, and the people in church were orderly and apparently very devout. Although he did not attempt to secure a pledge, the chief people made him a "handsome present" on New Year's Day, 1760. By 1761 the situation looked more prosperous than ever, there were twelve communicants, and the usual congregation was so large that the parish had to erect a gallery.

Four years later, the New Jersey clergy recommended a new mission comprising Spotswood and Freehold. As the parishes jointly subscribed £50 a year and gave a bond to provide a convenient parsonage and at least 50 acres of good land as a glebe, the Society agreed to establish a mission as soon as possible.⁵⁴

In the meantime, Cutting used to ride down from New Brunswick on weekdays, as often as the season would permit, but was grieved to see such a neat church and flourishing congregation without a minister, and urged the Society to

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send one in a hurry. George Spencer, the first appointee, fortunately did not stay long, and the Society then sent William Ayers. (For biographies of Spencer and Ayers, see Appendix B.) He arrived in April, 1768, and before Michaelmas baptized 22 children and four adults. By 1772, the mission was in a promising condition, and the parish at Freehold was erecting a new church in the village to replace the old and dilapidated one at Toponemus.⁵⁵

MONMOUTH COUNTY

The creation of this new cure greatly helped the old Monmouth County mission, always one of the most laborious in the province. It declined somewhat in the early 1740's through the misconduct and neglect of John Milne, whom the Society dismissed in 1745. His successor was Thomas Thompson, who resigned a fellowship at Christ College, Cambridge, to devote himself to foreign missions.⁵⁶ (For biography, see Appendix B.)

The Society rarely chose such a fine servant, and his account of his ministry in Monmouth County and later in West Africa is one of the Church's classic missionary narratives: *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages* (1745-1756), first published in 1758. The forlorn Episcopalians of Monmouth delightedly welcomed him, and the wardens and vestrymen praised his "exemplary Life and Doctrine," and pledged their support and good behavior. To recover the ground lost by his predecessor, he set to work strenuously, officiating regularly every Sunday at Freehold, and occasionally at Allentown, Manasquan, and Middletown, where the parish was erecting a new church. He labored to persuade his people to receive Holy Communion at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, and in a short time gained thirteen new communicants. Few missionaries were more devoted to religious education. He catechized the children at church on Sunday, and the young

people monthly in the courthouse at Freehold, and strove to Christianize the Negroes. The result was a rare harvest of baptisms—49 (including three adults) within a few months after his coming.⁵⁷

The Church's progress in Monmouth County under his care was one of the most remarkable features of the Society's work in New Jersey. He scattered religious books far and wide, and in the year 1747-48 had 80 baptisms (including 19 adults) and received 50 new communicants. After more than five years of strenuous service, inspired by his work with Monmouth County Negroes, he resolved to give himself to missionary work on the Guinea Coast in West Africa, with support from the Society's fund for the conversion of Negroes. He felt that if he did not volunteer, only God could know how long it would be before anyone else would step forward. He knew the hardships he would face, and the Society was so moved by his courage that it voted him a salary of £70 from the fund, although it was already burdened by the stipends of three catechists. After the arrival of his successor in 1751, Thompson went to New York and took a ship sailing directly to Guinea, with the prayers and blessings of the Society and of his parishioners.⁵⁸

Before departing for the feverish Dark Continent, Thompson welcomed his successor, Samuel Cooke, who remained throughout the rest of the colonial period, and fully lived up to his good recommendations. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) For many years his mission consisted of regular services at Freehold, Shrewsbury, and Middletown, and occasional travel over a wide region embracing Cranbury, Manasquan, and other places where the people were friendly and religious and would have attended church if there had been one near them. Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians flocked to hear him so eagerly that he hoped for some conversions, and in the first half of 1752 he had 34 baptisms, including five adults. Such progress continued year after year, and in 1756 he re-

ported increasing congregations and 40 baptisms in the preceding six months. After Skinner's death, he officiated for a time by invitation at Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, when he could spare time from his many duties in Monmouth.⁵⁹

By 1763, Christ Church in Shrewsbury was becoming too small and the parishioners planned to enlarge or rebuild it. The congregations at Freehold and Middletown also threatened to outgrow their buildings, and large numbers of baptisms promised a bright future for the church in Monmouth. The burden was becoming too great for one man, and Cooke was relieved and thankful when the Society joined Freehold with Spotswood to form a new mission.⁶⁰

For several more years, Cooke continued to be called "Missionary in Monmouth County," which was misleading; but after 1770 he was called "Missionary at Shrewsbury and Middletown." The wardens and vestrymen of both parishes thanked the Society for continuing him, and expressed the people's high esteem and love for him after his sixteen years of diligence and good conduct. The division of the mission stimulated the people's zeal, and in 1769 they unanimously decided to replace their inadequate old church at Shrewsbury and subscribed over £500 currency. In the past year, Cooke had baptized 34 persons, including five adults and 12 between the ages of six and twelve, most of whom knew the reasons for their faith.⁶¹

By 1773, the new church was sufficiently advanced to be used, and it was completely finished and paid for in the next year. Cooke warmly praised the zeal of the parishioners, who made up a "handsome" collection at the dedication. On account of his long and faithful services, the Society in 1774 granted him permission to return to England on important personal business.⁶² The outbreak of the Revolution forbade his return to his affectionate parishioners, who lost one of the best pastors the Church ever had in colonial New Jersey, and his missionary career ended in New Brunswick, Canada.

NEWARK AND SECOND RIVER

Another long and faithful ministry was that of Isaac Browne of Trinity Church, Newark. (For biography, *see* Appendix B.) The Episcopalians in that rock-ribbed Presbyterian town waited for him a long time. As early as 1736 they petitioned the Society for a pastor and welcomed visits by John Beach of Newtown, Connecticut. Later they attracted the attention of Browne, then serving as missionary in Brookhaven, Long Island. He visited them, and in 1743 informed the Society that they had erected a beautiful church of hewn stone. The parishioners petitioned the Society to appoint young Mr. Checkley, son of the missionary at Saint John's in Providence, Rhode Island. With the recommendations of many colonial clergymen, including Vaughan of Elizabeth Town, he voyaged to England, was admitted to holy orders, and appointed missionary to Newark. Fate was cruel, for he succumbed to small-pox, the mortal scourge that claimed so many missionaries, thus being one out of every five candidates for holy orders who never returned alive from their journey to England.⁶³

The disappointed congregation then besought Browne to "come over and help us," and the Society complied when they promised their utmost efforts to support him and to purchase a house and a glebe. Browne joined in the request and soon moved to Newark, where the people were well pleased with his instruction in "the saving Truths of the Gospel." His discourse on the Sunday after his arrival was the first of hundreds, for he stayed with them about thirty years, until driven away by the Revolution. His pastorate was unique among the older missions, because he was Newark's only regular missionary from the establishment of the parish until the Society withdrew from the state after the war.⁶⁴

The fine church was completely finished by the autumn of 1750, in the midst of great rejoicing. By that time Browne had his parsonage and glebe, chiefly by the generosity of Colo-

nel Peter Schuyler, an eminent and highly respected scion of an old Dutch family. The mission prospered from the start, and by 1752 included a flourishing congregation at Second River (Belleville), where Browne constantly officiated. The people were largely Dutch and were brought to the Church through Colonel Schuyler's influence. In the winter of 1752, Browne was invited to minister on the frontier northwest of Newark, where the poor and ignorant people had never been visited by a priest of the Church. He intended to visit and teach them as soon as the roads and weather would permit.⁶⁵

Until the Revolution, his mission flourished quietly and steadily, with many baptisms (including some Negroes) and new communicants, but with backwardness at Second River about receiving Communion regularly. In the spring of 1763, there were 62 communicants in the two large congregations, which were "Steady in their Attendance on Divine Service, and not in the least fluctuating in their Principles." In the 1760's, Browne began to show the inroads of age and hardship, and was once so ill that he could not perform any parochial duty and had to depend upon Dr. Chandler of Elizabeth Town.⁶⁶

In 1773, he had been a missionary over forty years, but was still serving both parishes with very little intermission, in spite of age and infirmities, and within a year had baptized 33 infants and welcomed three new communicants. He was especially encouraged by Second River, where the vestry had decided to convert a house into a church, to replace the old open storehouse which the people had used for twenty years, to the damage of his health. He expected the building to be ready in the summer of 1774, and it was greatly needed, for within a year the congregation had nearly trebled.⁶⁷

A third promising congregation was growing at Morristown. In 1764, Browne visited there and preached to a considerable group of "Professors of the Church of England." On the way he baptized 18 infants and four adults, including "a

Negro Man of good Character.” Cutting of New Brunswick helped him and the prospect looked promising for another mission.⁶⁸ But none was established, as other places were more in need of aid, and the Society was sometimes hard-pressed to maintain its old missions.

SUMMARY

In view of its limited funds, the difficulty of sending clergymen across the ocean, and the risks taken by colonials who sought ordination in England, it seems wonderful that the Society had accomplished so much by 1776. Its annual *Proceedings* after 1740 repeatedly and cheerfully note the Church’s progress in New Jersey. The report of 1742-43, referring particularly to the province, mentioned “Instances of Zeal for the Honour of God, and his publick Worship in our *American Brethren*,” as an encouragement to benefactors of the Society. The next report rejoiced that New Jersey had ten churches, besides chapels, frequented every Sunday by “populous Congregations” and served by five missionaries.⁶⁹ Missionaries were stationed in Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, Burlington, Salem, and Monmouth County, and there was an itinerant for both Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Encouraging notes of growth occur in later reports, particularly in 1745, 1747, and 1755. Even the adversities of the times brought some benefits. In the midst of the French and Indian War, the clergy complained much of difficulties and distresses, but noted that they made men’s thoughts more serious and turned them to religion for comfort. But the Society never lost sight of how much more could be done with adequate means. The really serious drawback was the lack of enough missionaries — men like Thomas Thompson, ready to suffer any hardship to advance their Church. As Dr. Chandler noted, there were never enough to go around. In 1767, his *Appeal to the Publick in Behalf of the Church of England in*

America pointed out the want of pastors, remarking that New Jersey had 21 churches and congregations, but that eleven had no minister and the other ten had to share the services of five.⁷⁰

Largely because of that condition, the Church had lost ground in some regions. The early promising congregation at Hopewell vanished, and the district fell almost entirely to the Presbyterians and Baptists. The parish at Salem was neglected, no missionary being appointed after 1750. But Hopewell was replaced by Saint Michael's in Trenton and the new mission at Amwell and Kingwood, while Salem received occasional ministrations from nearby missionaries, and from friendly Swedish Lutheran pastors.

In territory, the gains outbalanced the losses. Between 1740 and 1775, new missions were established in Newark, New Brunswick, Trenton, Gloucester and Waterford, Amwell and Kingwood, Spotswood and Freehold, and Sussex County. Parishes were organized and churches were built at Newark, Second River, New Brunswick, Newton, Amwell, Kingwood, Musconetcong, Trenton, Waterford (Colestown), Mount Holly, and Spotswood. Several old and small churches were replaced by larger ones. By 1770, the Church's ministrations had reached the remotest parts of the province, even the newly settled northwestern frontier. From Monmouth County and from the new mission of Gloucester and Waterford, the clergy penetrated the lonesome, unchurched coast region from Sandy Hook to Cape May. They established preaching stations at Cape May, Egg Harbor, Barnegat, Manahawkin, Manasquan, and Shark River. The missionaries at Newark and in Sussex County visited the Reformed Dutch stronghold of Bergen County.

In spite of all obstacles, the Church continued to grow until the Revolution checked the prosperity of all religion and drove out the loyal clergy. The Society's report in 1775 listed eleven missionaries, drawing stipends amounting to £490. Their missions covered the province, and there were 24 churches and

chapels located at Newark, Second River, Elizabeth Town, Newton, Delaware, Kingwood, Amwell, Trenton, Allentown, New Brunswick, Piscataway, Woodbridge, Perth Amboy, Spotswood, Freehold, Shrewsbury, Middletown, Burlington, Mount Holly, Waterford, Berkeley, Salem, Greenwich, and Boonton.⁷¹ But if one should include all the occasional preaching stations, the number of places receiving the Church's ministrations would be about twice as large. (*See map.*)

From 1741 through 1775, the Society expended £14,865 for salaries of missionaries and schoolmasters in New Jersey. The benefactors and members must have felt that the results had justified them when they read the annual report for 1775:

"The state of the church in New Jersey is of late become a very respectable one, through the charitable interposition of the Society. The Missionaries are all unblameable in their conduct, and some of them eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings, out of repair, in which the congregations used to assemble twenty years ago, they have now several that make a handsome appearance, both for size and decent ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark; and all the rest are in good repair: and the congregations in general appear to be as much improved as the churches they assemble in."⁷²

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Missionary Life

THERE could be no history of the Church worthy of the name, that did not describe more intimately than the preceding chapters the lives of the missionaries and of their people. Official parish histories and records unfortunately help us little in trying to delineate their experiences. The true character and flavor of Church life in the colonial era appear only in the letters of priests and laymen who poured out their feelings to the Society or to important churchmen "at home." As one explores that mass of personal records, and tries to use his imagination, the story gradually unrolls before his eyes like a homely epic.

RECRUITS FOR THE PLANTATIONS

The hero of the tale (and occasionally the villain) is the parson himself. The great adventure often began in a country parish, in a college quadrangle at Oxford or Cambridge, or in a manor house where he tutored the young hopefuls of the family and was regarded as a higher sort of servant. Great Britain had a surplus of poor parsons and scholars, who felt that they were being pushed around and wanted to try fortune elsewhere. Although the social rank of the clergy had risen considerably above the humility of Elizabethan and early Stuart times (1558-1649), fat "livings" did not hang on every bush and many were reserved for "gentlemen of family." Most parsons were long-lived for the time, and rarely resigned or retired. Many clergymen could not get comfortably fixed, and became private tutors, schoolmasters, or house chaplains. A bitter satirist of the early eighteenth century represented a squire as saying "I always keep a chaplain to drink my bad wine." In Wales also, and in Scotland where the Episcopal

Church was persecuted because of suspected sympathy with the exiled Stuarts, there were many poor and ambitious clergymen. It was no accident that many New Jersey missionaries were Scots and Welshmen.

When a young priest decided to go to the "plantations," he could not travel unfriended. Without a sheaf of recommendations, the Society would not even consider him. With the precious papers in his pocket, he journeyed to London over bad roads infested with highwaymen, and presented himself to the secretary. After the board had looked him over, he preached a sermon before members of the Society, gathered his baggage, got his passage, and signed his bond.

The bond was an indispensable part of the lengthy proceedings, a sacred pledge to perform one's duty, guard the Society's library, and make the best use of the pious books and tracts given to every missionary. It had to be signed and witnessed before leaving England, and was kept in a special strong box. The Society's records still include a list of bonds, comprising eighteen signed by missionaries who served in New Jersey from 1749 until the Revolution.

The missionary of colonial birth had a longer and tougher experience than his British brother. A young graduate from an American college, who wanted to be ordained, found his trip across the ocean slow, dangerous, and alarmingly expensive. The price in the 1760's ran to about £100, and he might have to plunge into debt to pay it. Friends could help, and sometimes his prospective parish would make a handsome contribution. When he finally sailed, his family and friends had four chances out of five of ever seeing him again. And after long and perilous weeks at sea, it would be months before he could return. He must be ordained as deacon and as priest, and it was sometimes hard to secure an appointment with a bishop. Frequently several men were ordained at once, and ordinations to the diaconate and the priesthood usually came almost indecently close together.

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Meetings of the colonial ordinand with the bishop and the Society must have been quite formal, as the parties were generally complete strangers. The bishop's knowledge of the young man was limited to "certain papers in his pocket." When unworthy men took advantage of that situation, the result was painful scandal, as in the case of the ineffable George Spencer of Monmouth County.

Dangers, obstacles, and ecclesiastical red tape could not prevent the visit from being an indelible and sometimes delightful experience. The young colonial could not fail to be awed by the beauty and grandeur of his Holy Mother, the Church of England, however worldly her legal establishment might seem. Her great age and power spoke to him in the sublime vastness of cathedrals and the rich art of college chapels, "with antique pillars massy-proof," in the dignity of her liturgy, the soaring voices of choirs, the storms of music that burst from high-built organs, and the chiming of innumerable bells. How overpowering to a youth who had never seen a house of worship bigger than a plain wooden barn! Immensely impressive were the vastness and rumbling noise of mighty London, with its thick streams of traffic, burly porters, richly dressed ladies and men about town, painted coaches and sedan chairs, street hawkers bawling their cockney cries, and the huge dome of Saint Paul's swelling over all. In that colossal mass of smoke-darkened buildings lived the great authors he had read, and the politicians and statesmen who ruled the far-flung British Empire. There were the famous coffee houses, the libraries and museums, and the Society's office, where one met the secretary who would receive his reports, and the treasurer who would (one hoped) always honor bills for salary. Many ordinands must have been eager to stay and enjoy more fully the flavor of grandeur, power, deep culture, and dateless age.

IN PERIL OF THE SEA

But the pressure to hurry back was insistent; congregations were waiting for the "Bread of the world in mercy broken." And the parson, often regretfully, prepared for the long homeward voyage. In the hurry of getting books and packing, he must not forget his credentials, because that might cause serious trouble. William Skinner, to his deep distress, had to leave England without them, because the Archbishop of Canterbury had been in the country when he called. Anxiously he requested the secretary to forward them by way of New York.¹

When the last parcel had been packed, it was often difficult to get a ship that would make port near the mission. Captains were at the unmerciful whims of winds, and sailings were frequently postponed for maddening periods. The parson might have to take any ship he could get, and it might be a dirty and unseaworthy hulk manned by victims of Gin Lane. There were irritating and costly delays due to foul weather, circumstances of business, or war. The parson or schoolmaster would have to wait in his lodgings and watch his small funds dwindle to nothing. Such was the fate of Rowland Ellis, the first teacher in Burlington.²

Robert Walker was so delayed that his "Journeying backwards and forwards upon the Change and disappointment of Ships, hath put him to great streights," and he would have to get a little money for his trip to Portsmouth. He could not even buy food! His ship was ordered back to Spithead because of unsteady winds, and because of a war with France he would have to go with a convoy of transports to Lisbon, and from there to Virginia with merchantmen lying at the Downs. The annoying wait forced him to spend all the £25 given to him by the Queen and the Society, and to write a second appeal for help. The only party who was happy about it was his host

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

of "The Angel and Crown" inn at Portsmouth. Walker's contemporary, Thoroughgood Moore, also mentioned the hardships of the voyage.³

Thomas Haliday's troubles had only begun when he left London for Gosport in the fall of 1710, to present an order from the Admiralty Office for his passage on the *Tyger*, and the Society's letter to Captain Percy. He was lucky that his salary began three months before boarding the ship, because his expenses were heavy for travel and waiting around in sea-ports. Holbrooke of Salem lingered nearly five months in town without a chance to sail, which was so costly, on top of expenses for books and other necessities, that he had to beg an advance of a quarter's salary. One of Jonathan Odell's friends in London offered to supply him with funds, but let him down at the last minute, and he had to borrow £12:14 on the day he left London, and to draw a bill to present to the treasurer next Christmas. Poor Skinner had to rush off without even visiting the secretary. He got the Society's orders on Friday, had to visit the Bishop of London at Windsor on the next day, and sailed on the following Monday.⁴

Once the ship had started across "old ocean's gray and melancholy waste," the missionary's worst perils were ahead of him. The small vessels rolled and pitched horribly in heavy seas. Edward Vaughan had a miserable time, "upon the occo^t of my frequent indisposition, occasion'd by the preposterous Motion of the Ship." He was glad to minister in Newfoundland for twelve days before sailing for Boston. Cooke of Shrewsbury had to stay in New York a few days to recover from exhaustion after a voyage of eleven weeks. Agur Treadwell of Trenton endured a "long & dangerous" passage of *seventeen weeks* to Philadelphia. The food and water often were nauseating, and a long trip might even threaten starvation. Thomas Wood of New Brunswick told a harrowing tale when he landed at Rhode Island after a "terrible" voyage of thirteen weeks and two days. The ship's company had been on

the verge of starvation, when they met a sloop that gave them provisions and piloted them into Newport. There he took ship for New York, but was sick for two months because of his hardships.⁵

Ships sometimes disappeared without a trace, like the one that sailed from Marblehead, carrying John Brooke and Thoroughgood Moore, not to England but to eternity. The sea continued to take a grim toll of missionaries' lives, as when Giles and Wilson were cast away at the entrance of Delaware Bay on their return to Philadelphia. Relating the sad story to the secretary, Leonard Cutting remarked that the dangers and expense of the voyage deterred young men from entering the ministry.⁶ That particular tragedy, within sight of land, caused a wave of sorrow throughout the Church in America.

Disease claimed many lives, especially the loathsome small-pox that raged almost unchecked, inspiring terror unimaginable today. War also was an almost constant threat, for England was fighting with France about one third of the time from 1701 until 1775. Ships fell into the ruthless clutches of privateers, and their crews and passengers were plundered and thrown into foul prisons. Thoroughgood Moore had a narrow escape from those harpies of the sea. The ship in which he was invited to sail from England left at the same time as the one he took, and was captured at the mouth of the Hudson. Moore saw Land's End drop astern about May 20, and did not reach New York until August 7.⁷

The voyage was not always a nightmare, and some New Jersey parsons had pleasant trips. Ayers and Frazer, returning from ordination, arrived at Philadelphia in April, "after an agreeable passage of Seven Weeks." Uzal Ogden made the crossing in winter and reached New York on New Year's Day after a very pleasant six weeks and two days. He read prayers daily for the Countess of Dunmore, her family, and three or four gentlemen, and on Christmas Day gave the Communion to eight people, including the countess and her two

daughters. Leonard Cutting also had a "happy Passage" to New York.⁸

Missionaries sometimes had to land far from their destinations. Haliday made port in Virginia, only to find that it would be tedious and expensive to reach New York by land. Luckily a Queen's ship, the *Triton's Prize*, was sailing there soon, but expenses had already used up his money, and he had to draw a bill for £15 upon Commissary James Blair.⁹ He was wise to shun the overland trip—a tiresome, dirty, and dangerous experience. He would have floundered through mud-holes called roads, and crossed wide rivers on rocking ferries that might dump him into the current at any minute. He would have "put up and shut up" at miserable inns with buggy beds, coarse food, butter thick with cow's hairs, and barefooted, slovenly servants. Traveling conditions did not improve until well into the eighteenth century.

VARIETIES OF WELCOME

If he survived, the missionary usually got a warm and kind reception. Cooke specially mentioned the kindness and civilities generally showered upon him. Cutting was well received at New Brunswick and Piscataway, and Thomson happily described his "kind and hearty" welcome at Trenton. Soon after his arrival there, Panton acquainted the Society with the friendly feeling of his flock, and of the other missionaries in New Jersey and the neighboring provinces. The welcome was especially cordial if the parson were a native. Odell, a son of New Jersey, was kindly treated by Governor Franklin and the parishioners, and had a pleasant first meeting with the wardens and vestrymen of Burlington and Mount Holly, to whom he presented warm recommendations from the secretary. Abraham Beach, a native Yankee, met an enthusiastic greeting at New Brunswick, with harmony among all denominations. Young Nathaniel Evans, whom everybody

liked, assured the Bishop of London that his people received him "with great Marks of Kindness & Good Will," and had behaved "with unremitted Civility & Respect."¹⁰

The modern churchman, not accustomed to long vacancies in the pulpit, can hardly imagine the abounding joy of a colonial parish upon getting a pastor, sometimes after many years of petitions, with which the Society could not comply because of low funds. Many letters from New Jersey missionaries, wardens, and vestrymen express the people's heartfelt gratitude, for the founding of the Society and its benefits, and for the establishment of missions or the appointment of pastors. Cooke's parishioners promised to be kind to him, and praised his worth, merit, diligence, and good moral life and conduct, and were happy that the erection of a new mission for Spotswood and Freehold would give them more of his agreeable presence. Daniel Coxe and John Barnes, the wardens at Trenton, wrote the parish's thanks for the appointment of Treadwell, "a Gentleman of . . . fair & worthy Character," and the people promised all in their power to deserve future favor.¹¹

Popular gratitude expressed a deep longing for good priests and schoolmasters, which had been noted by John Talbot and Jeremiah Basse soon after the Society began its work in New Jersey. It was occasionally expressed even by public officials, as when the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of New Brunswick petitioned for a schoolmaster in 1734. In 1706, Perth Amboy begged Queen Anne for aid, and John Brooke sought for an assistant to bear some of the load of his vast mission. The pleas sometimes reveal a distressing spiritual destitution. Uzal Ogden poignantly described the religious desert in Sussex County, declaring that no county in Pennsylvania, New York, or New Jersey more greatly needed a settled minister. Reflecting popular pressure, the clergy in convention would sometimes "turn on the heat" for appointment of missionaries. In 1767, they bluntly reminded the Bishop of London that many vacant places were crying for clergy. They

strove to keep out unworthy men, who would only disgrace the Church, and in 1765 warned London against George Spencer, a dangerous postulant for orders, and stated flatly that they would have no fellowship with him.¹²

While the people were eager and grateful to get ministers, they also suggested the kind they wanted, recommended their own candidates, and expected good credentials. In typical fashion the Churchmen of New Brunswick enthusiastically endorsed Thomas Wood, because he was recommended by Governor George Clinton of New York, with particular reference to his services as a physician and surgeon, attested by the deputy chaplain and others in the garrison at Louisburg, Nova Scotia.¹³

The people also had their own opinions about kinds of parsons they did *not* want. A "foreigner" usually got a somewhat cool and cautious welcome, because his flock had never seen him and knew little or nothing of his character. Colonial experiences with "old-country" clergy were not entirely happy. In some provinces, especially Virginia where the Church was legally established, vestries refused induction into permanent tenure. Suspicion was likely to turn a green eye upon a missionary with a Scottish burr or Irish brogue. English parishes sometimes hotly resented a "Teague" from the Emerald Isle or a "Mac" from north of the Tweed, who might not be loyal to King George. The congregation at Piscataway declared that they wanted a minister "who is not a Scotch Man."¹⁴

Jerseymen were likely to shun New England parsons, whom they regarded as narrow and domineering Puritan prigs. When Skinner (a "Scotch Man") recommended a missionary for New Brunswick, he warned the Society that Yankee divines were "not much esteemed here." He might have been thinking of the general displeasure at the recent misconduct of Jonathan Arnold, a New Englander who had got into a broil with the parish at Newark.¹⁵ There is grim humor in the fact that several parsons *were* New Englanders, and that one of them,

Abraham Beach, saved the New Jersey Church from total collapse during the Revolution.

It was often thought that an Englishman, ignorant of local differences and factions, would do better than a native who would be bound to have prejudices and take sides. The Churchmen of New Brunswick even *requested* "an old Country Man," to avoid parties and dissensions, and because the Episcopalians of the city and its neighborhood were English immigrants or their children.¹⁶

Whether foreign or native, the clergy noted a lack of the deference usually accorded by the people to ministers of the Church in England. They soon became aware, and sometimes painfully, that Americans were not awed by clerical garb or mannerisms, and that vestries had no idea of being "priest-ridden." A highly privileged clerical caste would not be tolerated by the pervasive democratic spirit. The congregation might be "well behaved" in church—yes—but was also independent and critical. Some "foreigners" found their flocks elusive, excitable, and undisciplined—a "stiff-necked generation." Sects and private opinions abounded, and religious individualism seemed to be running hog-wild in frenzied emotionalism and ecstatic conversions. The American religious temper seemed mercurial, unstable, wildly luxuriant, disputatious, assertive, and often illiterate and uncouth. People moved around freely and seemed to be continually on edge to hear something novel and exciting. The clergy often learned in the hard way the truth of a remark by Edmund Burke, that Americans were "the dissidence of dissent."

"MEN OF PARTS"

Under these and other difficult conditions, the New Jersey missionaries usually stood up well. Very few were shiftless, lazy, immoral, or otherwise incompetent. Only Milne and Lindsay were dismissed for negligence and misconduct. Spencer

seems to have been a complete bounder, and lasted a very short time, because neither the clergy nor the people would put up with him. Haliday solved the problems raised by his instability, ill temper and deep potations, by decamping to Delaware. The charge of sexual irregularity against Morton was apparently unfounded, and his departure for North Carolina expressed his own feeling that after so much brawling it would be better for the mission to get a new deal.

Governor Robert Hunter, who was inclined to criticize the clergy, praised the early missionaries in New Jersey. Vaughan he regarded as a valuable man, and he considered Talbot "a perfect honest Man, and an indefatigable Laborer; If he had less warmth he might have more success but that's the effect of Constitution." His later enmity sprang from a suspicion that the doughty old parson was a Jacobite. Hunter freely admitted that the clergy were better than he could have expected!¹⁷

Their character remained a cut above the average. Nine of the missionaries who served before 1776 are included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*: Samuel Seabury, Jr., Evan Evans, Nathaniel Evans, Jonathan Odell, Thomas B. Chandler, Uzal Ogden, George Keith, David Griffith, and John Talbot. This represents a high proportion of ability. Seabury became the Church's first bishop in America, and Evans was a noted scholar and one of our earliest poets. Odell wrote brilliant satires in verse, was a cryptographer, and served for many years as the first secretary of the province of New Brunswick. Chandler was the Church's ablest American literary defender, while Ogden became well known as a pastor, preacher, and writer of tracts. Keith, an internationally known missionary and preacher, was also an able penman and mathematician. Beach was a good pastor and preacher, a promoter of education, and an apostle to the Negro. He was not only active and influential in organizing the American Episcopal Church; he was three times president of the House of Deputies of the

THE MISSIONARY LIFE

General Convention—1801, 1804, and 1808. Griffith became a patriotic statesman and bishop-elect of Virginia.

Five of these priests were considered to be worthy of the episcopate. Seabury attained it, and Chandler was offered the diocese of Nova Scotia, but had to decline because of ill health. Ogden was chosen bishop of New Jersey, and Griffith of Virginia, but because of circumstances neither was consecrated. After his removal to New York City as assistant in Trinity Parish, Beach was "mentioned" as a candidate for the see, but then felt that he was too old to accept.

These were not the only New Jersey missionaries with considerable ability and fame. At the age when most clergymen think fondly of retirement, John Talbot was a tireless missionary and sometimes ministered alone to the Churchmen of New Jersey. Michael Houdin was a well-liked pastor, and in the French and Indian war of 1755-63 performed services for the colonies and the British Empire that have never been justly recognized. Robert McKean was a distinguished physician and one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society.

After George Keith, the most brilliant of the clergy probably was Chandler, of whom it was said that none could "mend his pen." The Society and the English hierarchy highly respected him. The former gave him a special accolade of praise in one of its annual reports, and he replied in character that he wished to be daily "more worthy of such Honor!"¹⁸ By recommendation of the Bishop of London, the University of Oxford in 1753 conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. In 1767, the English hierarchy recommended him to Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in recognition of his defense of the Church and of the episcopate.¹⁹

Whatever respect the clergy won had to rest upon their personal merits, for New Jersey was no soft nest for Anglican priests. Chandler frankly warned the Society that the laws were not favorable toward the Church and the clergy, and did not define their rights, while the popular disposition was un-

friendly and they had no local superior to direct them in trouble.²⁰

"LIVINGS"?

And of troubles the missionaries had plenty, in the midst of hardships and isolation. Their chief worry was the very struggle to keep alive. Few had considerable private means and very few could hope to marry wealth. Samuel Cooke took a wife from the eminent Kearney family, Abraham Beach won the hand of an heiress to a farm at New Brunswick, and Edward Vaughan "landed" a rich widow who brought him a good plantation. But those were exceptions, and the parson ordinarily had to depend upon the Society's salary and parish contributions.

The Society tried to make the parishioners realize their duty to the parson, by requiring them to give a bond for his support, as Christ Church in New Brunswick did for Leonard Cutting. The wardens and vestrymen bonded themselves for £500 to pay £40 a year in New Jersey currency, from the time of his arrival, if he would give them two-thirds of his services. Saint James' Church, Piscataway, at the same time gave a bond for the same amount to pay £30 annually for his service every third Sunday. Many similar bonds, signed by wardens and vestrymen, were kept in the Society's records.²¹

Getting a bond from reluctant parishioners sometimes took some complicated and not always polite dickering. When hard-headed Jonathan Odell came to Burlington, he agreed to serve at Mount Holly, *if* the people would give their just share of his salary. He knew that Campbell had constantly complained of their ignoring the obligation, and bluntly told them he would expect the three chief parishioners to give a bond. They insisted upon waiting until next Easter, because he was a stranger, and in the meantime would give their personal pledge that he would get *reasonable* pay.²²

Because of unhappy experiences, the Society more and

more insisted upon written pledges of support. When Mount Holly wanted to be a mission, four members had to bind themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, to provide a decent and convenient tenement or house and a lot for seven years, and to pay £30 a year. Spotswood and Freehold bonded themselves for the same salary. When Amwell wanted a new missionary, the clerical convention requested a bond for at least seven years from the parson's arrival, before recommending the Society's bounty. The parish agent formally called on Dr. Chandler and solemnly handed him the bond.²³

But alas, a bond didn't always produce a salary and a roof over one's head, as many a missionary learned to his irritation and sorrow! It might be years before the people got around to building or buying a rectory, and sometimes the dismayed and angry parson had to spend £20 or more a year for rent, or lodge with a parishioner and run the risk of a quarrel with him. Vaughan found that nobody in Elizabeth Town could take him in, excepting Colonel Townley, who refused to house a parson because he had fallen out with John Brooke. He had previously paid high rent for a house in Perth Amboy, until a grouchy landlord showed him the gate. Saint John's eventually got a rectory and glebe lands, and raised funds to enlarge both.²⁴

RECTORIES AND GLEBES

Scarcely a parish in the province escaped trouble about getting a rectory and a glebe, even when the people honestly tried to be generous. Newark wanted to be kind to its first missionary, and promised £50 a year in New Jersey currency, with firewood, and rented a house and a small lot near the church in the hope of buying them. But the house was so old and out of repair that the vestry intended to build a new one, when Colonel Peter Schuyler stepped in and gave a house and land worth £20 a year. The proprietors of the town had re-

served several tracts of firm land and salt marsh for the ministry, but the Presbyterians claimed them, and all poor Browne got was his fuel and a few tons of hay. The lands, said to be worth at least £1000 S., remained a bone for the two parties to growl over, and neither got the full use of them because they were not rented.²⁵

Even when a parish thought it was getting a good glebe, it might turn out to be a white elephant. Shrewsbury and Middletown regarded the big "Leeds Farm" as a bonanza; but John Milne, who for all his faults was a practical man, declared that for some years it would eat up more money than it produced. After it was rented, Thomas Thompson had to advance £40 to the tenant to buy his stock! And that was not all. Because Milne, after his dismissal, refused to yield possession, Thompson recovered it by a long and costly suit.²⁶

Spotswood and Freehold fairly sweated to get a rectory and a glebe, but did not make a good bargain. Several rich men gave a bond of £1000 S. to provide a convenient house and not less than 50 acres of good land to be conveyed to the Society. The parish pledged £30 S. for salary and subscribed £350, and a committee viewed places and intended to purchase. The business moved at a snail's rate, and in 1768 there was still no glebe, because each parish wanted the missionary to live with them, and poor Ayers had to rent a house by the year. The vestries finally kept the promise, but the house was small and unfinished and the land was light and sandy.²⁷

That gentle and scholarly parson, Nathaniel Evans, suffered a cruel disillusionment when his people flunked on their promises. When seeking a missionary, they gave bond to pay about £110 currency (about £65 S.) and to get him a house. He lived in the house with about twelve acres of land at Had-donfield, leased for five years instead of being purchased. And the salary, as his successor discovered, dwindled to only £40 currency, and even then was uncertain, while the people at Gloucester forgot all about the house and the glebe. Even with

the Society's bounty, Griffith could expect only £105 currency, and after paying for rent and fuel, would not have enough to support a family, because the vicinity of Philadelphia made provisions and clothing as dear as in the city. After only five or six months, the Philadelphia clergy frankly advised him to leave. For Blackwell the people subscribed only £50 a year, with a *promise* of a hired house and plantation, and he got only a *promise* to subscribe from the congregation at Mantua Creek (Greenwich) who had recently built a church and so had an excuse.²⁸

Even Burlington, the oldest mission, was amazingly backward in furnishing a decent home for the parson. In 1738, there was still no "habitable" rectory, and Campbell was forced to ask permission to use the dilapidated episcopal "palace." The people thought that he didn't need a rectory, because his predecessors had lived there, and he tried to persuade the Society to demand one for him. Odell lodged in the home of an old lady, whose chief income was an annuity of £100 from a Philadelphia merchant. He failed and the annuity vanished, and she had little to live on, her house belonging partly to a person in New York. Odell and his wife helped her and paid half the rent by letting that "sorry Dwelling," the rectory!²⁹

The prospects for getting a decent house and glebe were more hopeful in a new frontier mission like Sussex County, where real estate was still reasonably cheap. The parish at Newton soon built a "Parsonage House," that stood on a part of 27 acres of land given by Colonel Jonathan Hampton of Elizabeth Town. In 1775, Ogden gave an encouraging account of the glebe lands, that must have pleased the Society after so many sad stories of failure and delay. Chandler bluntly informed them that it was too late to purchase glebes in the old settlements, and that the people's willingness and ability to support ministers would not increase faster than the cost of living. It was therefore encouraging to hear from Ogden that

the Newton glebe, when properly improved, would be the best in the province.³⁰

Perth Amboy was perhaps the most fortunate mission in providing well for the rector, but only after a long struggle. The people at first insisted that Vaughan should live there to get his salary, and overlooked giving him a house, just as his landlord was about to put him out in the street. Haliday, a bachelor, for a while inhabited the parish library room, and angrily told the Society that New Jersey had no glebes, no parsonages, and no salaries, excepting £30 a year at Elizabeth Town, and that he was paying £12 for rent. Why send men into the woods with a bare subsistence? Couldn't the Society build churches and rectories and buy glebes?

He proposed that they should get 200 acres from the proprietors for each parish, and send twelve good Negroes from the Bardadoes to clear, fence, fertilize and plant, make orchards and clover pasture, and burn brick for rectories and churches. He thought that each plantation would comfortably support a missionary. The Society would have the right to present and legally institute and induct the pastor. That would be a more certain support than £50-60 from England, and would keep the missionary out of debt and prevent protested bills and impositions by merchants. In the long run it would cost the Society less, as the keep of a missionary took the interest on £1000, and a plantation could be improved to yield over £100 a year in produce.³¹

After Haliday had shaken off the dust of Perth Amboy, three of the parishioners he didn't like—Thomas Gordon, George Willocks, and Robert Barclay—came to the rescue by giving land, including two acres for the church and the cemetery, and the rest to erect a parsonage and a schoolmaster's house. Willocks and Major John Harrison gave twelve acres adjoining the town for a glebe, Mrs. Margaret Willocks bequeathed her house as a rectory, and her husband left the ferry and ferry house, with a profit of about £8 S. a year,

for the missionary's use. But, as the canny Skinner lamented, the income for two years would disappear in repairs to the house, a new boat, and a stable. Glazing, finishing, and fencing for the Willocks house took over £10 a year. *If* Perth Amboy should grow, the ferry might be worth over £100 year, the house, £20, and the two acres £40 — "but," wrote the parson, "God knows when."³²

Skinner lived in the Willocks house—but what a house! Before 1741 he spent a heap of money on repairs, and would have to spend more, because it was so flimsy that every hard wind almost shook it apart, and he had to secure the joints with iron plates. There was still no real glebe, and the ferry profits were "trifling." Without his own plantation and his wife's estate, he could not have lived in that expensive place. In 1752 the parish planned to repair the ferry house and lay new floors in the rectory, but Skinner wrote, "I expect no help from the Congregation: help said I. No.—God help us, we are all very poor."

Ten years later, conditions were better. Governor Hardy called the church good, and the parsonage, then being repaired, "very neat." The glebe was in the center of town and was to be let in small lots on long leases. With the Society's allowance, the "living" was worth about £120S. a year. When McKean was appointed in 1763, he could not move at once because the repairs to the rectory were behind, but next year the parishioners had raised a "handsome" subscription, repaired the house, and fenced the glebe lot. A little later they improved part of the "Church Estate" by using back rent during the vacancy in the mission.³³

Such a good "living" was exceptional, and the Society finally grew tired of endless delays, and began to "crack down." When Skinner begged for an assistant, the secretary pointedly reminded him that the salary would have to be at least £20S. a year, and that no mission would be established without satisfactory pledges of a rectory and a glebe.³⁴

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

A few years later, the Society showed that it meant business, by insisting upon that condition at New Brunswick. Peter Kemble declared that the few Churchmen could not afford it, after the heavy expense of erecting a church, and that "with the utmost Difficulty" they raised about £300 to get a house and land. They intended to have the rectory ready for the first pastor, but when Wood arrived, he found it only about half built and had to hire a house for a year, with the prospect of having to repeat the expense. In the winter of 1750-51, the house had cost £60, and was still only walls and a roof, as the money raised by lottery had been used for the church. The Society in irritation warned that if the church and the rectory were not soon completed, they would not promise the continuance of a missionary. Wood passed that word to the vestry, who decided to pay his rent from the subscriptions. In 1761, the parish was still debating the purchase of a small glebe, and three years later was still paying for house rent. For his first six months, Leonard Cutting lived in "very indifferent & very expensive Lodgings," and later paid £20 a year for quarters in the military barracks, where his family submitted to inconvenience by parties of soldiers. Life was so uncomfortable that he had to move to Hempstead, Long Island.³⁵

The most scandalous example of delay and neglect was at Salem, where the Society finally abandoned the mission in disgust. Holbrooke, the first pastor, found no rectory or lands and paid £15 a year for rent, while trying to support a family. After twenty-five years, Thompson found the same situation, and the Society wrote sharply that if the people would not contribute to his salary and get a convenient house and glebe, they would wash their hands of the parish. Poor Thompson couldn't even find lodgings, and indignantly wrote that the wardens had lied in saying that they had a rectory. As his wife was on the way from England, what could he do but leave? The wardens and vestrymen claimed that the Society's salary always had been enough, and that they could not

buy a glebe or raise a salary. Few could contribute and would have to shoulder a heavy burden, while the country folk had nothing or little to spare.³⁶

Parishes with promising glebes could lose them by sheer robbery, and the parson was the chief sufferer. Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington spent £210 for 50 acres, and planned to spend £200 for a rectory. Morton had to put up at the home of the faithful John Grandin, and when the rectory had been built after long delay, his enemies grabbed it and the glebe, and the parish found itself in debt for nothing. Frazer discovered that after its recovery the tenant had not kept up the property, and spent seven years in making repairs and improvements, chiefly at his own expense, expecting only £14 rent for two years which the wardens gave him. The glebe would rent for £20 and included 61 acres, with 35 clear and arable, the rest in wood. Most of the land was "tolerably good," and there was an orchard of 150 trees beginning to bear, but the little meadow was "very indifferent."³⁷

Saint Michael's in Trenton had no glebe as late as 1763. Colonel Coxe had bequeathed about 100 acres in Maidenhead to the Church, but the Presbyterians appropriated it. Although unable to stand the expense, the wardens started an action of ejectment against the tenants, under the guidance of Colonel Coxe, heir of the donor, and were confident of success, because the land was supposed to be held by six Churchmen as trustees and the majority had become Dissenters and refused to yield it.³⁸

The Presbyterians also took the glebe of over 200 acres granted by the original proprietors for the use of a minister in Woodbridge, but many lawyers thought that the Church had a right to it. McKean considered a suit as inadvisable because of the hot political situation, but sent the legal papers to the Society and asked advice. The affair dragged on for many years because of delay in getting satisfactory answers to legal inquiries, and some friendly lawyers suggested a com-

promise. Preston favored letting the "dragon sleep" until a more favorable time, but the other party refused to make terms, and threatened to appeal the case to England, while the vestry started to raise a fund to prosecute. The Society was ready to fight, because the rent of £60 currency could support the mission, but the outbreak of the Revolution postponed the case permanently.³⁹

"PASSING RICH" ON POUNDS A YEAR

Equally frustrating were the efforts of many parsons to collect their salaries from the people, whose attitude often seemed to be "try to get it!" Letters to the Society teem with complaints about subscriptions far in arrears or never paid, requests for increases or for gratuities to pay debts, and moanings over the high cost of living. The Society soon became annoyed, and in 1716 asked Governor Hunter for an account of support by act of Assembly, voluntary contributions, and methods of payment in money or commodities.⁴⁰

The Society generally paid from £30 to £70 a year, and as that was not enough for a married parson, it naturally expected the people to give their share. That implied subscriptions, and such help often was nil or very small and unreliable. Even in such a comparatively rich parish as Burlington, getting popular support was like pulling a wisdom tooth. Moore declared that he got nothing, and over twenty years later there was no salary, "except some small Subscriptions which being very Low are readily Enough Subscribed but wth difficulty, if ever collected." There were no fees, except *very* rarely a *very* small one for a sermon. Weyman, who had a big family, complained that although the people faithfully attended worship, they did nothing to support the ministry, because Talbot had not required it. He was satisfied with the Society's allowance, but wished that they would remind the parish of its duty under the rules. Campbell had to request the same salary, as he also

received nothing from the people. After his death, Mount Holly and Burlington agreed to pay £70 currency. Odell was fairly well fixed, being a physician, and having rents from the rectory, the lot, and the country farm, and the subscription at Burlington, which he declined for the benefit of repairing the church. Mount Holly pledged him at least £26, which he thought would be punctually paid and even exceeded. But it had taken over sixty years to work up enough spirit to pay the parson even a modest competence!⁴¹

Even Perth Amboy, the governor's residence, was far from generous. Haliday was always nagging the Society to give him a raise to support his clerical character and help him work "with Cheerfulness and Comfort." Growing tired of needling the Society, he tried to persuade the Bishop of London to make the wardens of Perth Amboy and Freehold get him a subscription. He moaned that he could not afford a necessary trip to England. The people finally subscribed £20-30 to induce him to stay, but he got into serious trouble through travel expenses and debts for a house, a lot, and furniture.⁴²

Because he was more popular than the cantankerous Haliday, the parish gave Vaughan an antedated subscription and paid most of it in a few months. But in his first year Skinner got only about £18, and so few could give that the governor contributed about a third. After many years in the mission, he did not believe that half of the subscription would ever be paid, and that to sue would defeat all his work. For the first twenty-seven years, he generally got no salary except from the Society. The latter ordered Preston's pay to start from before his appointment, and the people took the hint by giving him a subscription and rents from the ferry and the parsonage lots, worth £20S. a year. When the parish voted him £50 currency in 1771, he must have thought the good life had come.⁴³

In some smaller parishes popular support was barely more than a pitiful token payment. In the 1760's, Piscataway had to

strain every sinew to rebuild the church and pledge a salary of £20 in Jersey money for seven years. The heads of a few loyal families in Woodbridge declared that debts for the not half-finished church would not permit any thought of salary. Preston admitted that the tiny parish had never contributed, that the people offered nothing, and that he didn't expect it and feared to injure his ministry by asking. At one time the parson had to be content with a gift of provisions.⁴⁴

A country parson might be lucky to get even half of his promised salary. People in Sussex County did not keep their pledges to Frazer and gave him only £15S. after all his hard riding and expense to visit them.⁴⁵ It was poor consolation to know that many Presbyterian domines in New Jersey and many ministers of the established church in Connecticut fared little better.

As Andrew Morton bitterly remarked, the missionary had not much chance of success, if he tried to enforce a pledge. He suggested that the Society ought to appoint an agent with real power to collect, as the people felt that their distance from authority would let them "get away with murder." Campbell had the same idea, and recommended Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia as a young, active, and zealous fellow who could perform the unpleasant duty with candor, resolution, and courage.⁴⁶ The idea betrays an odd ignorance of the American temper, and if it had been taken seriously, might have hastened the Revolution. The situation remained chronic, because the subscriptions, like modern parish pledges, were only debts of honor. The only legal recourse was to the local courts, and they were not likely to sympathize with the parson's woes, especially if he were a "foreigner."

Delinquent subscribers had some real excuses. The colonials were always short of cash, excepting depreciated and suspected paper currency. Especially in newly-opened regions, many were very poor and had farms to clear and large broods to feed. Wars with France piled on the taxes. New Jersey was

not very rich, for its trade flowed through New York and Philadelphia, while Burlington and Perth Amboy languished. It was "a keg tapped at both ends." Missionaries repeatedly lamented depression of trade and general poverty, and in 1765 several frankly stated that the Society's bounty fell short, and that a recent rise in the cost of living had increased their burdens. Raising its salaries was the last thing the Society wanted to do, because it had always expected all parishes eventually to become self-supporting. But that day never dawned in colonial New Jersey!⁴⁷

The stipends were not only small; they were also hard to draw. There were no colonial banks where one could step in and conveniently make out a check on the Society's account. One had to write a bill in favor of some obliging merchant or sea captain, or a kind relative or a friend, to be paid later—generally much later—by the Society's treasurer 3,000 miles away in London. Wood of New Brunswick used to draw in favor of his merchant parishioner, Peter Kemble.⁴⁸ The usual draft was for a quarter, as Isaac Browne used to draw in favor of Samuel and William Baker, London merchants. McKean, like some others, used to draw for six months, and when he made a quarterly draft in emergency, asked for "an occasional Indulgence of that Liberty," and promised to give due notice.^{48a}

Bills came back protested with distressing frequency, and worried parsons wrote long reports to the secretary or the treasurer to adjust the matter, as Robert Walker did when one of his bills bounced.⁴⁹ Of course that would take months, and in the meantime one might have to borrow. Sometimes accounts became maddeningly involved, and Vaughan once had to search his papers and review his transactions with the Society for many years. The complications and leisurely pace of financial affairs in those days would drive a modern rector or business man crazy.

Burlington was a relatively accessible mission, and yet the financial difficulties and embarrassments of its clergy make an

almost incredible tale. When Moore was in urgent need of money on account of "incredible" expenses, he drew bills payable only after about five months. At another time, when drawing for a year's salary, he feared that his New York agent would not pay up, because he had already drawn a bill for his first half year at £100 a year, not realizing that his pay was only £60! He could only hope, because he was in debt, his salary was too small, and he had to pay £30 a year for board and could save nothing, while the people did not help him.⁵⁰

Weyman once had to borrow money and give a note, but his creditor grew tired of waiting and complained to the Society, and the secretary rapped the hard-pressed parson's knuckles and told him to settle at once. Campbell drew a bill in June, 1747, but it was protested and with the charges was still unpaid in May 1751. The treasurer had become insolvent and the sufferers were the innocent and faithful missionary and his growing, dependent family. He blamed the endorsers, who kept the bill and sent it to Scotland, where it lay for three months after it became due! In the meantime, the treasurer died and his successor protested a bill of which he knew nothing. Odell had trouble with a bill drawn on the day he left London, and anxiously hoped that the Society had honored it. On occasion he even drew bills in favor of his kind friend, Governor William Franklin.⁵¹

Sometimes the Society was at fault when the parson did not get his pay on time. Leonard Cutting was not at first informed how much his salary was, and would not draw until he could know, but finally wrote in desperation that if something were not done, he would be in real want. The sheer slowness of communication held up payments, and on that account Horwood was once forced to draw for two entire years.⁵²

Now and then the Society was hard up, and about 1741 the treasurer even had to borrow to pay salaries. By 1770 the expense of opening many new missions compelled a reduction of salaries in the old ones. The New Jersey clergy were immedi-

ately up in arms to fight a cut of £10 at New Brunswick, and recommended the former amount until the parish could give more. Beach was bitterly disappointed when the Society's thin purse would not allow him an increase. Raises were somewhat rare, being given only in cases of real hardship or extraordinary expenses. Vaughan once got one, for his good character and diligence and his expense in building a church at Woodbridge.⁵³

THE COST OF LIVING!

The average missionary did not stroll down "Easy Street," because his traveling expenses were high, and because New Jersey was a surprisingly expensive province, due to the vicinity of two big towns. Nearly every missionary, sooner or later, had to "beef" about the cost of living, and the wail started in the first decade of the century.

Brooke soon found that, because he had to be on horseback nearly every day, his expenses outran his income. Two horses were eating up £20 a year, while board swallowed up £30 more, clothing was twice as expensive as in England and wore out a lot faster, and ferries came high. Within a year or two, Vaughan was crying for a raise, because £20 in England was better than £50 in New Jersey, "where all Commodities," he groaned, "are extravagantly dear." In some inland places, £60 would have been a good salary, but provisions in Elizabeth Town were as costly as in the largest cities, because it was a seaport. Chandler soon felt the pinch, because most of the subscription for his salary had been lost by deaths and removals, and new families did not fill the treasury.⁵⁴

William Skinner's life for many years was a constant struggle to keep solvent. While his first wife lived, he had the use of her farm and could get along well enough. As his family grew, Perth Amboy proved to be an expensive place because it was a "Thorow-fare," and the burden of five children so far exceeded the Society's salary that he had to eat into his sec-

ond wife's fortune, and so injure her son and impoverish his own children. Lindsay's delinquency might well have been due largely to his pressing financial troubles. When in debt for a small plantation, he told the Society that if his bills were protested he would be forced to sell at a low figure. Locke bitterly assailed the high cost of living, got no help from anybody, and had to live in Lancaster instead of in Trenton as he wished.⁵⁵

Odell was fairly well-off, but his income was far below that of a well-fed priest in England. It amounted to £200 currency a year, counting the Society's stipend, parish contributions, and surplice fees. But he had to "shell out" at least £20 for fences and repairs to the rectory, and £60 for buildings on the parish plantation. In the first eight years, his *special* expenses ran to around £250. Other costs of various kinds could pile up amazingly. Within a short time, Robert Walker ran up bills for over £66, including loans, £8 for a suit of clothing, £1:8 for a night gown, interest, and £3 to a surgeon for treating his infected hand.⁵⁶

Rejoicing over British success in the French and Indian War was cooled by high taxes and a fearful rise in the price of necessities, especially for people not engaged in trade or farming. Campbell could hardly support his brood of children, and hoped that a speedy peace would restore things to their former level. But relief didn't come, and later he mourned that the prices of provisions and firewood had climbed at least 100 per cent in seven years. All his colleagues felt the squeeze from wartime inflation, and in 1765 several of them complained to the Society. In New Brunswick, they said, the Society's salary and the parish contributions would give only a bare living and scarcely keep the pastor from contempt, especially if he had a family.⁵⁷

Stoppages of trade increased the difficulties when Great Britain and the colonies began to quarrel. In the summer of 1766, trade was declining so much in New Brunswick that it was hard to support the parish. Similar remarks from other

places show that a perennial problem was steadily becoming worse.⁵⁸

The clergy had to resort to various devices to stretch their meagre incomes. Chandler and others taught school, and several practiced medicine. Wood of New Brunswick had been an army surgeon, and it was thought that he would therefore be more useful to his flock. Milne claimed that his practice with pills and powders had prevented the "pretended new Lights" from converting people on their sick beds. He even asserted that by caring for the donor's health he had kept the glebe for the Church—and, of course, for himself. Haliday favored clerical blood-letting and purging, because people in the colonies often died for want of medical help. And they sometimes died of it too, because, excepting New York, the doctors had no medicines and didn't know their business, and the country was too poor to encourage really good ones.⁵⁹ Wood, McKean, Seabury, Browne, and Odell were clerical physicians, and not always with happy results, for their flocks didn't relish being shorn that way.

Milne and Haliday, both fired by the Society, were not the best witnesses, and many disagreed with them, feeling that priests ought not to degrade their cloth by running about with lancets, pills, and cathartics. Medical bills stirred up petty and sordid quarrels. The wardens at Perth Amboy told the Society that one count against Isaac Browne was his doctoring, which caused financial squabbles with his people, interfered with his ministry, and made him anxious to get out of Newark. Much as they respected Robert McKean, they hadn't approved *his* avocation.⁶⁰

How high resentment was running appeared in an anonymous letter to the Bishop of London in 1764, vigorously pouncing on the New Jersey clergy for practicing medicine. The writer declared that it was the chief cause of the Church's decline in some places, because some were not competently trained and their bungling caused great scandal. They neglected

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their proper duties, gave people a low opinion of the clergy, and even caused defections from the fold. Parsons resented not being called in case of sickness, and therefore declined to visit as priests. Clerical medicos could not be good missionaries, because they feared to hurt their lucrative practice.⁶¹

In most cases the clergy became doctors from sheer financial necessity—a condition thoroughly discreditable to the Society and to their parishioners. Odell explained that the Society's stipend and the income from his parish were not enough to keep his growing family from want, and that he had been forced to practice his original profession. Even so, avoiding all unnecessary expenses, he had in 1775 just climbed out of debt.⁶²

EPISCOPALIANS WITHOUT MONEY

Although the statement flies in the face of accepted notions of the Episcopal Church, the fundamental cause of the missionaries' struggle to live was the poverty of most colonial Churchmen. Nobody who has read the parsons' reports can be anything but amused by the idea that the Church in New Jersey was a club of the "rich and wellborn." That was not true even in the capitals, Burlington and Perth Amboy. Campbell wrote that his flock were generally poor and could merely promise "to mend the Income of their minister." The wardens and vestrymen of Mount Holly told the Society that they would *like* to increase their support, but that many people were too poor to give, so that a few zealots had to bear the burden.⁶³

And what of Perth Amboy, that great "metropolis?" In Haliday's time it consisted of about 24 families, *mostly poor*, and the parson commented sourly that the people there and at Piscataway were also "Covetous" and would give nothing, as everyone knew. Brooke found the "small handfull" of Churchmen at Elizabeth Town mostly just barely able to support themselves, to say nothing of building a church and support-

ing *him*. Many years later, Chandler noted that some were in good circumstances, but that most were poor, "and many of them the proper objects of every Kind of Charity." When recommending a missionary for Newark, Vesey and Vaughan admitted that only one-third of the people could help with the salary, the rest not being even asked to give, on account of their poverty and "mean Condition." Browne acknowledged that many of his people were very poor, especially in Second River, where many could hardly buy a small pocket Prayer Book! Cutting declared that most of the 130 families in New Brunswick were "in indifferent Circumstances."⁶⁴

If such were conditions in the chief towns, it may be imagined how the smaller country parishes fared. Sometimes the people frankly pleaded poverty. Requesting a missionary at Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington, they declared themselves "poor & unable of ourselves to maintain a Minister in a suitable & decent manner." The wardens wrote that they were heartily disposed to do their best, but were "very poor, having Newly Settled Land backwards in the Wilderness, and have not yet so much as our own habitations free from Debts." Frazer blamed the slow progress of subscriptions for a church at Kingwood upon poverty, due to the general dearth of money and to recent crop failures.⁶⁵

Nathaniel Evans lamented that the great lack of cash delayed the erection of a church in Gloucester and caused failure to pay the subscriptions for his salary. Ayers blamed the poverty of his mission, when compelled to ask the Society for a raise to support his increasing family of young children. Only a small part of his salary had been collected, because the Churchmen were so few and so poor. The condition of Woodbridge, even as late as the 1760's, was even more pitiful. The fourteen families were mostly "very poor," and could complete their little church only enough to shelter them from the weather. It was but half seated and probably could never be finished without outside help.⁶⁶

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The parsons at Salem and Greenwich were always telling the annals of the poor. Holbrooke noted that his flock at Salem were mostly poor farmers, and later wrote that his congregation had much increased by the numbers of imported *servants*. Pierson described the people at Cohansey as so very poor that they fell far short of meeting even their small subscription. Some of the Churchmen were transient and unsettled, "& Generally Speaking," he wrote, "the Gospell in this place is truly preached to (the) poor." Thompson, the last missionary there, declared that the Church people were new settlers and servants.⁶⁷

After reading dozens of such reports, one wonders where were the rich and privileged Episcopalians the secular "social" historians write about! Unless the parsons were deliberately deceiving the Society, one must conclude that most Churchmen were comparatively poor people. The truth seems to be that in New Jersey the wealthy Churchmen were a tiny minority of merchants, landowners, and royal officials, largely concentrated in two or three large towns. It does not follow that Churchmen generally were in the "higher brackets," because governors occasionally patronized the Church, as their instructions bade them, or because a few officers occasionally came to church, or because a landowner now and then bequeathed a few acres.

THE WILLS OF THY FAITHFUL PEOPLE

Gifts and legacies to churches were not large or numerous enough to suggest that Episcopalians generally were wealthy. Special presents or "gratuities" from parishioners to parsons were rather rare. Burlington and Allentown once gave the hard-worked Campbell £20. About Christmas time, 1759, the chief members of Saint Peter's, Spotswood, raised £18 for McKean as a New Year's present.⁶⁸

The Society's annual reports mention more than a score

of gifts in New Jersey, and many smaller kindnesses probably passed without special notice. There were some generous gifts for furnishing and adorning churches, and women especially presented Communion silver, altar cloths, pulpit cushions, and hangings. In the long period 1670-1730, New Jersey wills include only about a dozen bequests to the Church in Burlington, Toponemus (Freehold), Salem, Greenwich, Perth Amboy, and Piscataway. But no one of these could be considered really large, and bequests of money, houses, and land are usually mentioned as if they were extraordinary. It is not strange that the missionaries lamented the general lack of endowments.

Only a few parishes benefitted much from bequests, as so many were for specific purposes unrelated to general support of the ministry, some were tied up in prolonged litigation, and others were lost. Saint Mary's, Burlington, probably was as fortunate as any parish, but not without troubles. The parish received a valuable library from Thoroughgood Moore before his fatal voyage "home." William Budd, gentleman of Northampton, bequeathed 100 acres to John Talbot for building a church in Burlington. Jeremiah Bass left 40s. annually to the rector to preach sermons at Easter and Whitsunday; and Abraham Porter, Esq., of Portersfield in Gloucester County, gave £5 each to the "Piscable" churches of Burlington and Salem.

Later gifts included a very fine Communion set, "decent" furniture for the Communion table and the pulpit, roofing and shingling the church by Peter Baynton, a silver plate for Communion offerings from an unnamed gentleman, a house and lot worth £100S. from Paul Watkinson (the parish clerk) for repair of the church, gifts from Governor Franklin and his friends to repair and enlarge the church, and "very rich and elegant furniture for the pulpit, desk and table," from Mrs. Franklin.⁶⁹

On the other side of the ledger was the painful history that began in 1703, when Joseph Adams left his estate of

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over £21 to the parish. Nearly forty years later the well-meant gift was causing Parson Campbell some sleepless nights. He bitterly complained that the heirs were doing the Church great injustice by detaining lands and houses, and sent a lawyer's opinion, with a full explanation of their villainous pretences. The Society's lawyer gravely opined that the parish had a right to the property, but the Society could not bend its rules to pay the expenses of prosecution. Campbell referred the legal opinions to the vestry, and some descendants of Adams' executors promptly howled. The parson wanted to live peacefully, and as they would repair the parsonage and build a steeple, he waived prosecution to a more favorable time, because the Church had few friends, law was expensive, and the people were poor.⁷⁰

Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, found both benefits and headaches in the gifts of the pious. One of the earliest came from a Woodbridge tailor, William Thom (or Thome), who bequeathed his personal estate to build a church. William Frost of Perth Amboy made an undesignated bequest to the minister and wardens. Skinner boasted, "the Church at Amboy looks like the House of God," when he viewed the gifts of a gentleman who preferred to remain unknown—a pulpit cloth and cushion, the same for the reading desk, and a cloth for the clerk's seat, all of the best crimson damask, with fringes. But he ruefully wrote that the real estate and the ferry would eat up a lot of money in repairs before they could become profitable.⁷¹

Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, got full title to its church lot, but only after putting pressure upon the reluctant heir of the donor, Colonel Townley. The controversy was not without bitter feeling. More generous, like the poor widow in the temple, was Mrs. Ann Arskins, who willed to the parish nine acres of land with a fine orchard. Parson Vaughan bequeathed his home and nine acres for the benefit of all his successors. Usually women thought of adorning the church,

but from a gentleman, Colonel Ricketts, Saint John's received a handsome new Communion cloth, cushion, and pulpit furniture of crimson velvet.⁷²

The churches in Monmouth, a fairly wealthy county, received a considerable number of benefactions. One of the first came from a good friend of George Keith and Alexander Innes, "yeoman" Thomas Boell of Freehold, who gave £6 for the building fund and a plot of one and one-half acres at Toponemus for the benefit of the Episcopal church. The faithful Innes bequeathed £10 for erecting a church in Freehold, £5 each to Shrewsbury and Middletown, and his library of "considerable Value" for the use of the minister of the Church of England. The most generous gift ever received by the Monmouth parishes in colonial days was the "Leeds Farm," comprising 200 acres of well improved land, with a good dwelling, outhouses, barn, and orchard, conveniently near the church in Shrewsbury.⁷³

Sometimes a parish welcomed many small gifts, and lost a really great one. That was the fate of Saint Michael's, Trenton, which lost forever the promising glebe at Maidenhead given by Colonel Coxe. A lady of this loyal Church family gave a piece of plate; and Charles Coxe, a Philadelphia merchant, donated a 150-pound bell, for which the parish planned to erect a belfry. When a mean thief made off with the surplice and the Communion cloth, Miss Rebecca Coxe, "a gentlewoman," replaced them.⁷⁴

The big landowners, traditional patrons of the Church in England, now and then helped poor, struggling parishes. Trinity Parish, Newark, got its good glebe and rectory "chiefly through the Bounty of Colonel *Peter Schuyler*, a Name very deservedly in high Esteem." Lewis Stephens, Esq., gave an acre of land forever, as a site for the church at Kingwood, and Colonel Jonathan Hampton, one of Dr. Chandler's flock in Elizabeth Town, conveyed 27 acres at Newton, Sussex County, on part of which stood the parsonage. Shortly after

the Society began its New Jersey mission, one of its members, Mr. Serjeant Hook, bought 3750 acres of land in West Jersey on the Delaware River, and decided to give one-tenth of it as a general glebe for the Church.⁷⁵

As many a missionary sadly noted, most of the gifts were not of the kind that assured a permanent endowment for the parish, and many simply expressed the desire to build and adorn. Anything was gratefully accepted, and the little congregation at Woodbridge was most grateful to Mr. Watson of Perth Amboy for finishing the church at his own cost and giving it a bell. Bells were a favorite way of giving. Christ Church, New Brunswick, received one from Thomas, Paul, and Christopher Miller of New York City. Another popular gift was a big folio Bible for use at the reading desk. Christ Church in Shrewsbury accepted a handsome one from Mr. Elliston, the comptroller of the customs in New York.⁷⁶

Now and then the court records reveal a somewhat whimsical even if pious bequest. Henry Prince, a merchant of Piscataway, left £10, New Jersey currency, the interest to be paid yearly to "any poor Stranger Traveler or other necessitous person And if none such appear to the use of the Church of Piscataway."⁷⁷

Too often one of the most "necessitous" persons in the parish was the missionary himself, and people making their wills seldom thought of doing anything directly for his benefit. One of the few was Samuel Dark, a fuller of Greenwich in Cohansey, who made a bequest to maintain a minister of the Church of England in Salem, until one should come to Greenwich. He also left something for Mr. Holbrooke, whom he nominated as a trustee of the bequest, and who had been mourning the lack of gifts to the minister. Perhaps he had stirred up the will of his parishioner; who knows?⁷⁸

CHARTERS AND ENDOWMENTS

Although bequests usually were far from lavish, parishes

had to find some way of holding and managing their property. They therefore requested the governors to grant them charters, appointing the missionaries, wardens, and vestrymen as trustees. A typical charter, granted by Governor Thomas Boone to Christ Church, New Brunswick, was dated at Perth Amboy, August 31, 1761, and approved by Cortland Skinner, the attorney general. Other chartered parishes included Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly; Saint Peter's in Perth Amboy; Trinity Church, Newark; the united congregations of Shrewsbury and Middletown; Saint Peter's at Spotswood; Christ Church of Newton; Saint Peter's, Freehold; and Trinity Church, Woodbridge.⁷⁹

The wisdom and the difficulty of getting a charter appear in the miserable experience of Saint Michael's, Trenton. The parish insisted that the Society should have the right to present the rector, and the Bishop of London the right to induct. The governor bluntly refused to grant a charter, unless he could present and induct, according to his instructions from the Crown. The parish, with a flare of American independence, declined to accept such a condition and asked the Society for advice, desiring the right to descend to the congregation when it became self-supporting. Couldn't a charter be granted in England? Couldn't the instructions be changed?⁸⁰

In some cases the charters seem to have been much ado about nothing, as most parishes had pitifully little to protect, except the church building. Even Saint Mary's, Burlington, was but modestly wealthy when compared with many English parishes. As late as 1767, it had only a small rectory with a glebe of six acres, and 206 acres in the country, that produced £42:10 (proclamation money) in rents, or about £25S. The parish at that time gave the rents to Odell from the time of Campbell's death, but he generously offered them for a time to Mrs. Campbell and her six children.⁸¹

Perth Amboy and Elizabeth Town in 1739 made a far poorer showing than might have been expected from two of

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the chief towns in the province. Vaughan sent the Society a very modest account of their parochial incomes. New Brunswick, as late as 1761, had no lands or other estate, and depended upon the Society to support the missionary. Lindsay complained that none of his parishes had any endowment, excepting "an old Rotten house out of Repair in Bristol," Pennsylvania.⁸²

WHAT PRICE ESTABLISHMENT?

Failure to provide adequate glebes, houses, and salaries inspired intermittent demands for legal establishment of the Church, with provision for a steady income. In 1704, a clerical convention in New York complained that New Jersey was the only colony that did not enjoy Queen Anne's bounty, and had no establishment. In 1709, Bishop Compton reminded the Society that there was no establishment in East or West Jersey. He believed that there should be no pressure for it, "till those wild people are a little better settled in their minds, that they are by no means to be prest to any such thing without running the hazard of quite losing them."⁸³

The shrewd bishop showed a far better understanding of rock-ribbed colonial prejudices than did some of the missionaries. Haliday naively thought that an establishment could be imposed from England "without Infringing any mans right, or doing the least Prejudice to what they call ye Tolleration of Scrupulous Consciences." He suggested a law dividing the province into parishes, and a tax for the ministers. Later the proposed family visitations might easily (!) be introduced, and the governor might recommend establishment. He later proposed that the Society should induce the Proprietors to give 300 acres of uncleared land in each county, and cultivate it by means of agents to support clergy. They might ask the Crown for the quit rents, a penny an acre, or get a tax of one shilling from the tenth of the produce in each county, by

act of Parliament. The people, he moaned, were getting the bad idea that they need not contribute anything. He did not know or had conveniently forgotten the traditional English hatred of tithes, and the rise of American dander at anyone who breathed the words "quit rent."⁸⁴

Vaughan had no illusions and stated that there was no chance of public support, because the people would consider *any* contribution as an intolerable burden. Many years later, Isaac Browne declared that there was no provision for support, excepting voluntary contributions pledged by note or bond. Even that in too many cases was a "perfect cheat," because if an aggrieved minister went to law to claim his dues, he would break up his parish and be maligned "most desperately."⁸⁵

No parson, who could see beyond his nose, ever entertained the faintest hope that establishment had the slightest chance of being adopted by an Assembly composed overwhelmingly of Dissenters. The home government, fearing to stir up the dragon of colonial discontent, showed no interest in favoring that way of helping the Church. The ever-growing power of the Dissenters, revealed in their successful blocking of the proposed colonial episcopate, shoved the thought of establishment out into the cold.

The popular attitude made the missionaries feel defenseless and isolated. Although the Bishop of London and the Society were their supposed protectors and patrons, it was useless to appeal to them for help in local economic troubles or injustices. They were 3,000 miles and slow sailing weeks beyond the horizon. Even the bishop's jurisdiction was questioned, and the Society could only write a stiff letter to the vestry or threaten to withdraw its patronage. The commissary was about equally powerless, being supposed to administer only moral and ecclesiastical discipline. The enemies of a parson might well shoot out the tongue and say, "Where now is their God?"

GOVERNORS KIND AND UNKIND

If the clergy turned to the colonial government, they were likely to find it rather chilly. As the Church was not legally established, it was thought to have no more claim to consideration than any other group. Churchmen were a hopeless political minority, the Assembly and the magistrates being mostly Dissenters, so that if the Church appealed to the law, the chance of receiving justice was slim. If the Dissenters chose to steal a glebe, little if anything could be done about it.

Although "the Jerseys" were a royal province after 1702, some of the governors were unfriendly toward the Church or the clergy, in spite of instructions to defend their interests. Lord Cornbury insulted and quarrelled with John Brooke and Thoroughgood Moore, who fled to escape his spite. Lieutenant-Governor Richard Ingoldsby, excommunicated by Moore for flagrant and notorious immorality, was blamed by Lewis Morris for the loss of the two missionaries. Jeremiah Bass lamented the bad effect of poor governors upon the Church, and declared that Queen Anne ought to be warned against putting profane and irreligious men into public offices, as they were the "greatest stumbling block and Obstruction." When bemoaning the loss of Governor Lovelace, Lewis Morris made similar observations.⁸⁶

In a political broil with some of the clergy, Robert Hunter licked them with the rough side of his tongue, and openly accused John Talbot of being a Jacobite. The parson and his friends retorted by charging him with favoring Quakers at the Church's expense, and Rowland Ellis was bitter against him for permitting a Quaker teacher in Burlington. Although Talbot furiously denied it, there seems to have been a tinge of loyalty to the Stuarts in a faction of Churchmen around Burlington. Whatever Jacobite sympathies there were, had died by the middle of the century. Campbell and the wardens in 1746 hoped that before their letter had arrived, the providence

of God would have ended the Jacobite rebellion of '45, and restored the nation to peace and the free exercise of its religion and liberties.⁸⁷

Hunter probably was sore because Talbot bitterly and incessantly complained about the Church's lack of protection in New Jersey. He declared that her rights were invaded and possessed by her enemies, and that they procured affidavits against her. About thirty years later, Campbell was ringing the changes upon the same theme, writing that the governor—a member of the Society!—allowed the majority of the Assembly and Council and of the judges and justices of the peace to be Quakers. How absurd that such men should exact from English subjects the oaths *they* would not take, and laughed at them, fining and imprisoning any who refused! Men were forced to embrace Quakerism to prosper, while the Church was debased and sectarians increased—and not through the vices of the clergy, as Whitefield had recently stated. "In a word," wrote the indignant parson, "the Church seems to be like the Greek Church under the Ottoman Yoak." Worse yet, a recently circulated Quaker book made Christ to be merely the son of Joseph and Mary!

"England wants now to give the finishing Stroke to Xtianity being wearied of such an obsolete religion and introduce atheism at once. My heart bleeds to write more on this Subject."

If the Society approved his sentiments, he wanted to publish an essay on the missionaries' grievances, suggesting the most prudent methods of redress.⁸⁸

He would not let the wounds heal, and later declared that the Church's harvest would be plentiful if the government didn't stand in the way. Infidelity, enthusiasm, profaneness, and "unbounded licentiousness" were not only tolerated but encouraged, while Sunday was degraded to the level of any other day. The recently deceased governor had jested at revealed religion! Although he and his brother missionaries were

cautioned not to meddle in governmental affairs, he hoped that the Society would use its influence to secure the appointment of a successor who would set a good example and help the Church.⁸⁹

But alas! the successor, Jonathan Belcher, was an ardent "enthusiast," who followed Whitefield from meeting to meeting. His administration was anything but favorable to the Church, and Isaac Browne described the grief of Churchmen over discrimination against them, in contrast to some former governors who had been friends and protectors, while Dissenting teachers exulted in the favorable smiles of government.⁹⁰ Belcher openly patronized the "New Lights," and shocked and angered the Episcopal clergy by favoring the establishment of a "Dissenting seminary"—the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).

The picture was not all sombre. Even Cornbury tried to promote the Church in New Jersey, according to his lights. He wrote many reports about its condition, including a laudatory account of Keith's mission. Ironically, in the light of later events, he commended Thoroughgood Moore on his way to take the place of Talbot at Burlington, advised Brooke to go to Elizabeth Town, and was interested in building the church there.⁹¹

Although he disagreed hotly with some of the missionaries, Hunter kept the Society and others informed about the Church's progress in New Jersey. He praised Talbot and Vaughan, and paid close attention to the purchase and condition of the episcopal residence in Burlington, informed the Society of Haliday's complicated troubles, and frankly discussed the clerical attacks upon himself. The Society wrote to him about salaries, and asked him to help Ellis, the schoolmaster at Burlington. At a convention in New York, Innes, Sharpe, Vaughan, and Haliday did not share Talbot's violent scorn for him.⁹²

The most helpful of the earlier governors was the testy but

well-meaning Francis Nicholson. He sometimes visited Burlington and gave Talbot friendly advice, and subscribed to build churches at Hopewell, Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, and Salem. His contributions to colonial churches amounted to about £1000, besides hundreds more for other pious gifts. Moore gladly commended him, and Talbot could scarcely find words to praise him enough.

"He is a man of as much prudence, Temperance, Justice & Fortitude as any Governor in America . . . & of much more Zeal for the House and Service of God . . . so that I can't but observe ye Example of his piety in the Church is as rare as his Bounty towards it."⁹³

Another gracious governor was William Burnet. In the grateful words of the Society, he showed "all Countenance and Favour" to the missionaries, and took care to have them supply vacant churches. In many other instances he "contributed his good Offices for the Service of the Missionaries there." The Society ordered the secretary to write a letter to him, giving thanks for his care of the churches in New Jersey. Skinner of Perth Amboy mentioned his debt to the governor for "his Countenance & kind Usage."⁹⁴

The Church had good reason to be grateful also to Lewis Morris, who favored the parish at Trenton, his residence. Lindsay hoped that his influence there would be of service. Governor Francis Bernard, a member of the Society, was kind to Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, especially when the parish was seeking a missionary in 1759-60, and invited one of the candidates to be his guest. Dr. Chandler lamented his removal to New England. Josiah Hardy kept an eye on the welfare of the Church, wrote to the Bishop of London about the need of a missionary at Perth Amboy, and recommended one at Trenton. "The want of Clergymen of good Sense, of our own Church," he wrote, "is certainly a principal cause of the great increase of Dissenters of all denominations in the

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Province." Chandler mentioned the good effects of his favor upon the "poor, destitute Church" at Perth Amboy, particularly its permit for a lottery to repair the church and the rectory.⁹⁵

The most friendly and generous governor was the last one, William Franklin, son of the famous Benjamin, but not his ally in politics. The young and sensitive Nathaniel Evans expressed the feelings of many Churchmen, when he wrote of Franklin's "much Countenance and Civility," and thanked him for an elegant large Prayer Book for each of his churches. As a mark of gratitude for his benevolence, the Society unanimously elected him as a member, and received from him a letter accepting with sincere pleasure and thanks, and giving assurances of his efforts to promote its interests.⁹⁶

THE PAINS OF TRAVEL

It must have compensated for the general popular disfavor, that the missionaries could rely upon the support of such men in their many hardships. It was something to think about as they endured the many crosses and difficulties of traveling, which perhaps gave them more trouble than anything else. Some parsons, trying dutifully to visit all parts of their vast missions, had to spend a large part of their time on the roads—if one could so call them. As late as about the middle of the century, Seabury complained of the vile state of the highways.⁹⁷ One can barely conceive what they were like in earlier days, when Portlock rode between Perth Amboy and Burlington, Talbot from Burlington to Amwell, Innes all over Monmouth County, and Vaughan from Elizabeth Town to Freehold. Uzal Ogden's parish comprised the present Sussex, Morris, Bergen and Warren Counties, and frail Nathaniel Evans might as well have been apostle to all outdoors, having the huge region from Gloucester to Cape May and Egg Harbor.

The British-born parsons were appalled and worn out by

the sparsely settled American vastness, and disgusted by heavy expenses and wretched accommodations. Poor Harrison, on the frontier above Trenton, could not stand the incessant travel, the unhealthy wooded country, the different manner of living, and the cost of food and lodging. He fled as soon as possible to the cosier confines of Staten Island, away from extreme heat and cold. He frankly admitted that it required "a hardy young Constitution" to take the punishment, and that he dreaded the dog days of another summer, "very dangerous to one so fatt."⁹⁸

One didn't have to be "fatt" to take a beating on the western frontier of New Jersey. Lindsay lamented that the upkeep of a horse, added to expensive accommodations, far exceeded what the people proposed to give him, and with the debts for his voyage to England for orders, kept him "very low & poor." He called himself a wayfaring man, fairly worn to a nub by hardship and fatigue, which he believed would soon put an end to "his Wanderings here." Ogden must have been practically bow-legged from riding, as he spent a large part of his days in the saddle, holding services on week-days at fifteen places, besides his four regular congregations on Sundays.⁹⁹

Even missionaries in the older well-settled places had to travel extensively and were always complaining about the difficulties, discomforts, and crushing expenses. Talbot was hard-pressed by "more than ordinary Charge for Horses & Cloaths," as he had never received any from England since his departure. The salty old fellow could wring a little humor out of his distress: "My Horse you know dyed at Burlington & ye Quakers recorded it as a Judgmt upon me."¹⁰⁰

His brethren at Elizabeth Town and Perth Amboy had to put up with a worse lot. Poor Brooke moaned that he could not do justice to his huge parish or find time to study, and begged the Society to send him an assistant. Vaughan quickly found that £50 a year disappeared with frightful

rapidity in such an expensive place, especially when he had to travel constantly and pay heavily for ferries, and his health was likely to break down from fatigue.

Even in 1754 the mission was still so big that Chandler often had to be on the road to visit his flock, scattered for fifteen miles along the post-road from New York to Philadelphia and as far westward as he could serve. About 85 families lived so far off that they came to church only when roads and weather allowed. By 1762 he had ridden more than 3,000 miles to minister at Woodbridge and preach nearly 200 sermons, besides other duties, and yet had not received more than five guineas from the people, or asked for more salary or even a promise to pay.¹⁰¹

Haliday had some harrowing travel experiences that probably contributed to his nervous irritability and eventual breakdown. He had to pay £7-8 a year to keep his hard-worked horse, and ride once in a month or six weeks through the wilderness to Freehold. After crossing by the dangerous ferry over the Raritan, he jogged wearily through a region where the houses were two or three miles apart and the many cross roads were confusing. Once he got lost in the woods about a mile from his destination and stayed out almost all night. The ferry cost half a crown for a horse and rider, going and coming, and the beast could hardly be kept for the winter for less than £5. Double the amount of his salary would have been no more than enough, and if he tried to serve all his places regularly, he would be floundering in debts.¹⁰²

Skinner complained about the expense of riding forty miles into Monmouth County and shelling out 2s 4d every time for the ferry. He ran through plenty of clothing, horses, and money, and by 1741 had ridden "some thousands of miles." But, he boasted, "neither Cold nor Heat, Frost nor Snow, Wind nor Rain ever yet made me disappoint a Congregation." When the church was built at New Brunswick, it only meant a twelve mile ride and more ferry trips across the wide Rari-

tan. At sixty years of age, when a parson has the right to dream of retirement or an easier berth, he was still riding through extreme heat and cold, on the great triangle of Perth Amboy, Spotswood, and Piscataway—when travel was possible and the river passable. The ageing priest suffered fearfully in the hot and dry summer of '49, going every third Sunday to South River (Spotswood) through twelve miles of scorching sand, with only one poor house and a sawmill on the way.¹⁰³

The more thickly peopled Raritan Valley was not exactly a traveler's paradise. When McKean was appointed to Perth Amboy, several members warned the Society that it would be tough for him to go to Woodbridge in winter, as the weather was "very Cold & Boisterous" for five or six months, and the summer heat was just as trying. Wood of New Brunswick found travel very expensive at all times, and extremely tiring in the winter. He once took nine hours to struggle from Elizabeth Town to New Brunswick (18 miles), through drifts up to his horse's knees. In the summer of 1751, he made a long tour up the Raritan and beyond the Allamuchy Mountains, performing service, preaching in the woods, baptizing children, and finding there a great yearning for religion. Cutting told the Society that the cost of visiting such distant and destitute places considerably lessened his income. A longer stay would involve him in disagreeable difficulties, and he decided to quit and move to Long Island.¹⁰⁴

Browne of Newark complained that his repeated journeys had put him to greater expense than he could afford. As he grew old, he began to fear that it would be too much for him to visit Second River in Winter, and read service in the extremely cold and drafty storehouse that passed for a church.¹⁰⁵

His hint that travel might threaten life itself, particularly in winter, was no exaggeration. The roads were so execrably bad that a horse might stumble and break his master's neck at any minute. Turbulent spring freshets and grinding blocks

of ice could make the tipsy ferries over the Delaware and the Raritan a very risky venture. Every missionary who crossed the Raritan to visit Monmouth County complained about the ferry.

O YE WINTER AND SUMMER

Weather was another threat, hardly dreamed of now by the multitudes who roar across New Jersey in air-conditioned trains and mammoth buses. Most of the parsons related to the Society's secretary the handicaps weather imposed upon their work, especially in winter. British-born missionaries found the American weather extremely trying, and were amazed by the sudden changes, described by Kipling as "hot and cold ferocities." Their reports contain many startled references to "extremes of heat and cold." Poor "fatt" Harrison, on his way to Hopewell, turned back in despair because of the drifts and stayed in Philadelphia until the spring thaw. Horwood arrived at Philadelphia late in December, but because of extremely bad weather did not reach Salem until some time in January.¹⁰⁶

American winters fairly terrified those who had been bred in the milder climate of Great Britain or Ireland. One of Vaughan's letters vividly describes his impressions of mid-winter travel in 1740-41:

"I frequently travelled, In Slays wth 2 Horses, & warm stoves, well covered & defended from the Injuries of the Extream of Intense cold weather, upon the Snow, & over large Rivers frozen wth Ice, & that wth all Imaginable Safety, & wth as much Security, as the Best Bridge of Stone or Wood could afford."

In February, 1741, the sound between Elizabeth Town and Staten Island was so frozen that he crossed it in a sleigh with two horses to attend a funeral and preach the sermon, and returned the same night, with his hands tucked into a "Muffe."¹⁰⁷ Probably the Society's secretary could scarcely credit

his sight when he read such passages, but they described common experiences.

Skinner once received some sermons for a distant missionary, but could not deliver them until the rivers were open, as winter set in severely in November and dragged on until the middle of March. The winter of 1751-52 was long remembered for its severity. During December and January, the large rivers were frozen so thickly that carts and wagons rolled across. The Perth Amboy ferry, a mile across, was a solid highway, and the bay from there to Sandy Hook was frozen over "fast from Side to Side." Even the most ordinary parish work was often impossible. Browne found his calls in the back country seriously hampered by bad roads and weather, and McKean couldn't even make the few miles to South River in the winter. Chandler complained that a hard winter prevented his attention to those who were learning the catechism, and decided to call on them as soon as the season relented.¹⁰⁸

Sometimes the parson would be practically isolated for weeks at a time, barely able to leave the house for his ordinary Sunday service in town. In the spring of 1765, Campbell apologized to the Society for his long silence, writing that the past winter had been the severest known even to the oldest men. In the middle of December, when he should have written, the winter clamped down upon the land, freezing up the Delaware so tightly that no ships could leave Philadelphia until the middle of February. The weather continued to storm and bluster, and on March 24 it snowed at least three feet on the level. Nobody dared to venture outdoors in the howling blast, which caused many shipwrecks on the coast and the loss of many lives.¹⁰⁹

DISEASE TAKES NO HOLIDAY

Many a parson battled with storms, and was always snuffling and barking with a miserable cold, or burning and

shaking with the dreaded malaria. Much of New Jersey was swampy, especially in the southern counties along the Delaware. Holbrooke described the Salem mission as "fenny" and "rotten," like the low regions of Essex in England. Some parsons were ruined by the climate and died pitifully young, like Robert McKean, Agur Treadwell, and Nathaniel Evans. Issac Browne was always sickly, and his condition was not improved by visits to the cold, damp storehouse at Second River. Several other parsons suffered from a variety of vaguely described ailments that might have been malaria, pneumonia, or influenza. The Church was planted in New Jersey by men who lived constantly under the creeping shadows of diseases, against which the doctors were quite helpless.

The most dreaded of all was the loathsome, stinking smallpox, which caused unimaginable suffering and terror. New Jersey, in spite of its sparse population, was swept by an amazing number of epidemics of the pestilence. Ellis mentioned a visitation in Burlington about 1716, and soon after Weyman came, it raged so frightfully that for over six months the congregation was very small because of many deaths and fear of going to public places. In 1759, Campbell's five young children all had the smallpox. He was persuaded to have them inoculated because of the general success of the operation, and his example banished the scruples and prejudices of many parishioners, who intended to get themselves and their families inoculated. Inoculation, he explained, was then quite new in America, where the disease had made "dreadfull havock" among thousands of white people and Indians. His childrens' symptoms led him to hope that God would bless the outcome.¹¹⁰

Other parishes suffered the most disheartening setbacks from the filthy malady. In the summer of 1740, it became so bad in Salem that for most of the time Pierson read prayers and preached at Greenwich twice every Sunday. In the winter of 1746-47, many people of Perth Amboy fled to Burlington and other places to escape an outbreak, and the congregation

at Saint Peter's declined from 150 or 200 to about a hundred. In 1752, the disease raged most of the winter and almost into July, and the parish lost so many by death and flight that it was practically stationary. The scourge lashed Elizabeth Town in 1752, and again in 1757, when Chandler had such a severe attack that it took him three years to recover and his pastoral work was greatly hindered. In 1760, he lamented that a worse visitation than ever before had swept away many of his best parishioners, claiming more than half of those who had it "in the natural way."¹¹

People were very likely to fall sick in the winter, as many from the old countries were not used to the sudden and severe changes in temperature, and did not know how to dress properly. In the winter of 1728-29, there was a great and long-remembered epidemic around Salem, which Holbrooke called "a kind of pleurisy," that swept off a host of people, including his good neighbor, the Swedish Lutheran minister, Windrufwa. In December, 1761, Campbell reported that many old people had died suddenly by violent "pleuritic" disorders caused by sudden and extreme changes in the weather.¹¹²

Their letters show that many of the New Jersey clergy were sick a good part of their lives. Nearly mortal illnesses figured largely in their many trials and worries. Walker complained of fever, ague, and "grips," and Browne for a considerable time was too sick to perform even the slightest parochial duty. The parsons at Salem had an especially tough battle, and Holbrooke declared that he had been ailing ever since his arrival, and begged the Society to send him to a healthier place, as he didn't think he could survive. Pierson fared hardly better, and once was so ill with the measles that he asked Commissary Vesey to excuse him from a clerical convention, because he was scarcely able to ride. Holbrooke blamed his poor health on the great marshes, and Thompson described Salem as such an unhealthy place that nobody would *choose*

to live there. If the Society would not transfer him, he would soon be "quite sunk with want & sickness."¹¹³

Exposure during long journeys and in chilly churches probably accounted for the fevers and rheumatic complaints that made Vaughan's life miserable. In the summer of 1715, he suffered from a "Tertian Ague," which handled him "very roughly" and compelled him to have a change of air. He was also recovering from a fierce bout with the smallpox. In 1741, he had to excuse himself for not writing more punctually, because his hands had been so crippled by a "Scorbutish Rheumatism" that he could not even bear the weight of a pen in his fingers. Skinner, growing old in service, wrote that he was "much worn out by some severe fits of sickness occasion'd by colds and fatigue." The work was hard on the frail, scholarly McKean, who after only a few years of service had "a very tedious and dangerous Sickness," that laid him up for over three months. It was probably the beginning of his fatal illness.¹¹⁴

The life of Colin Campbell is a good argument for the theory of survival of the fittest, for the amount of illness he endured is appalling, and the number of times he mentions violent epidemics in Burlington makes one marvel that he had any congregation. In the late summer of 1744, an epidemic claimed fourteen of his flock, and in the autumn of 1746 a general visitation of fluxes and fevers wrought more havoc. The years 1760-61, perhaps because of the French and Indian War, were terribly mortal, and Campbell's ministry must have seemed to consist of one funeral after another. Between 1737 and 1764, the parson had several apparently desperate sicknesses, including intermittent fever and ague (malaria), the "flux" (dysentery), "Epidemicall fever," and an inflammatory fever that settled in his thigh and leg and kept him in his room for a solid month. Several times during his long ministry, he thought himself on the point of death.¹¹⁵

His predecessor, Weyman, was one of many sad examples

of the premature death of missionaries, which made life such a constant and poignant risk for their families. He left a wife and six small children without support except the benevolence of friends and parishioners. Campbell left a family in low circumstances; and his successor, the persistent Jonathan Odell, nudged the Society for several years to get the poor widow a gratuity and the remainder of her husband's small salary.¹¹⁶

Sickness could be the means of revealing to the clergy the loyalty and kindness of their parishioners. After about fifteen years of pleasant service, Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury had a severe illness that confined him to his room for over two months in the autumn. It was his first one while on mission, and so troubled his mind that he feared to expose himself during the following winter. His people showed great kindness and good will and brought him many presents.¹¹⁷

LETTERS AND LONELINESS

Such tender personal concern must have gone far to make up for the sense of isolation that was the lot of many parsons, especially of the "foreigners." The clergy rarely met in the early years of the century, and probably not more than two or three times a year even after they started the clerical conventions. One of the motives for those meetings was the desire to hold fellowship and converse with kindred spirits. There is much ill-concealed loneliness in Samuel Cooke's writing, indicating that he had long wanted to entertain his brethren in the rectory at Shrewsbury.

The feeling of aloofness must have been due partly to the heavy expense and the painful, exasperating slowness of the mail. A letter posted to the Society in April might not arrive until fall, and the reply could creep on its way until the next spring, or even longer. The colonial parsons knew only too well the truth of Edmund Burke's statement that seas rolled and months passed between an order and its execution.

Many a letter went to "Davey Jones' Locker," or was confiscated when a privateer hove in sight and fired an ungentle summons to stop. One is puzzled by gaps in the missionaries' reports, until he reflects upon the pace and the risks of overseas communication in the eighteenth century.

Long periods would flow away without a word from the Society. Jonathan Odell had received no letter after he had been serving in Burlington for a year and a half. Isaac Browne mourned repeatedly that letters did not reach him, sometimes for several years. One can imagine his bitter disappointment when he wrote that he did not know where to look, when Dr. Smith of Philadelphia returned from England with letters for several other clergymen, but none for him. In the spring of 1761, Chandler informed the secretary that the last letter received from him had been dated March 1, 1759. Probably the French and Indian War was largely to blame for such annoying lapses.¹¹⁸ Now and then a parson would be unpleasantly startled by a reprimand from the secretary for not writing regularly, and would reply, as Frazer once did, mentioning several letters he had sent to—heaven knew where.¹¹⁹

In wartime, correspondence often became very uncertain. During the French war of 1740-48, Campbell told the secretary that he would review the chief contents of his previous letter, because there was so much danger of ships falling into the enemy's hands. Vaughan once mailed six duplicates of his parochial report by different ways, and if those should miscarry, would post another set of three. Skinner sent duplicate letters and sets of bills, because in the spring of 1746 he noted that both the autumn ships from New York, by which he had written, had been captured. He could only hope that his letter by way of Philadelphia had arrived safely.¹²⁰

Another vexation was a constant suspicion that the secrecy of the mails was rather nominal. John Talbot and Rowland Ellis suspected that Governors Cornbury and Hunter knew perfectly what they wrote to the Society, and Robert Walker

boldly accused Hunter of intercepting the missionaries' letters. Vaughan had reason to believe that several of his letters had been opened and destroyed, because the secretary had never indicated his receiving them, and he could not see how they could have miscarried, as the ship had arrived safely. He made the same observation after sending letters relating to conditions on Staten Island, when Weyman and Harrison were contesting the appointment as missionary. During the Great Awakening excitement, Campbell sent confidential information by Commissary Vesey in New York and the Church minister in Philadelphia, because he said, "our post offices are not, Since our Enthusiastick turn, to be trusted with missionaries letters of any Consequence."¹²¹

Many years later Chandler and his friends, who advocated an American episcopate, frankly said that they did not trust the post office. As the Revolutionary agitation grew hotter, Loyalist missionaries were fair game for the snoopers, and they did not dare to express their thoughts on public affairs. Real frankness in a letter might have meant an embarrassing quiz by the Committee of Safety or a nocturnal visit by the Sons of Liberty.

Even sending letters by brother priests was likely to be a disappointing expedient. Chandler noted irritably that a letter from the secretary, dated December 13, 1769, in the care of Dr. Smith of Philadelphia, did not get into the post office until May 14. Letters and parcels sent that way were frequently twice as long in coming, as when sent by New York. Smith was sometimes away from home, and seemed always to be forgetful "of such a trifling Matter as the forwarding of Letters or Parcels."¹²²

Merchants and sea captains might be willing to send letters, but the delays were maddening and almost innumerable. Missionaries corresponded with the Society through business agents who allowed them to draw bills for their salaries. Morton requested the secretary to address him through Mr.

John Searson, a merchant in Philadelphia with whom he constantly corresponded to draw bills and buy things he needed. Merchants could be as dilatory as clerical scholars like Dr. Smith. Browne was intensely annoyed when he learned that his parish reports, letters and bills dated October, 1769, and April, 1770, were still lying in New York with the merchant who had purchased the bills. It was much more convenient if one could trust a parishioner, and Abraham Beach made a habit of sending letters by one of his wardens who was a ship's master.¹²³

The expense of mail in those days seems incredible now. Even such a "well fixed" parson as Chandler admitted that he reported only twice a year to save expense. The cost for a letter was bad enough, but sending a book or a pamphlet demanded quite an investment. When Chandler wrote that one of his shots in the war of ink with Dr. Chauncey was not worth the cost of sending it, he probably expressed more economy than modesty.¹²⁴ The Society, on the other hand, often found it hard and costly to get letters and packages to New Jersey. As the province had no large port, nearly everything had to pass through New York or Philadelphia. Thomson of Trenton advised the secretary that, for West Jersey, Philadelphia was by far the best destination for large packages, as carriage from New York was so high, although letters came best from there.¹²⁵

After the introduction of packet-boats, the mails improved a little. Such a service was running between Bristol and New York as early as 1710, and Vaughan intended to use it for his correspondence. But two years later his neighbor, Haliday, was fuming because he had seen no chance to send a letter for a long time. In any case, there was no relying upon sailing vessels, and a parson might have to hurry his letter for a waiting ship. Odell once dashed off a report after getting word that the ship would sail on the next day, ten

days sooner than expected—and he had an appointment with the vestry at Mount Holly that morning!¹²⁶

There was no remedy for the uncertainty of communications across 3,000 miles of ocean. Letters dated at the Society's office in April continued to arrive in New Jersey about October—or not at all. Ships continued to founder, the post office kept on being careless and dawdling. Letters and salary bills did not move because people who promised to take them could not leave; and then the irritated rector had to write them all over again. Wardens and vestrymen continued to fret because the Society seemed to ignore their pleas for missionaries. One sometimes had to be patient until a friend or a public official sailed for "home." Chandler once sent a letter by Attorney General Kemp of New York, after holding it for weeks. And "Old Man Winter" kept on locking up rivers and harbors for months at a time.¹²⁷

Such conditions produced isolation, and partly explain the many and sometimes pathetic requests of missionaries to visit "home" to see their families and friends after years of separation. Three times in one year, Campbell begged for leave to return to Great Britain to settle family affairs and see his relatives. Others who requested such permission were Browne, Haliday, Talbot, and Cooke.¹²⁸

In spite of their hardships, sickness, travel, family cares, visits, and sermon writing, the missionaries tried to obey the Society's orders to report regularly. The mass of their letters is astonishing. A list in the Society's records shows that in the period 1759-82, including the confused years of the Revolution, they wrote between 275 and 300 letters—all received by the Society, to say nothing of many that miscarried.¹²⁹

From those reports one could almost write a social history of colonial New Jersey. They are the deepest source of information about the character of the Church life which the missionaries found and tried to mold closer to their heart's desire.

CHAPTER NINE

The Spirit of Church Life

EVEN more trying to the missionaries than physical hardships were certain spiritual obstacles that appeared with peculiar persistence in the cosmopolitan society of New Jersey. To many parsons, especially the "foreigners," colonial religious life appeared to be a tissue of irritations, paradoxes, and contradictions. The most ignorant people were the most cocksure of everything, and scorned any religious experience except "enthusiasm." Stolid indifference stood side by side with loyalty that kept some small parishes alive for generations. Along with devotion to the Church and to the Prayer Book went persistent aversion to the sacraments.

Neglect of the sacraments probably was the clergy's most painful cross, and their letters abound in lamentations about it. The popular attitude was exaggerated by the Great Awakening emphasis upon sudden conversion. Even before that time, Lindsay, who traveled widely and met thousands of people, was amazed at the general "mean opinion" of the sacraments and could bring many to receive them only by "long reasonings."¹

The worst indifference reigned in the southern counties, where Quaker contempt for sacraments had permeated the masses, who regarded baptism and communion as "popish." Pierson remarked that around Salem most people ignored and despised the sacraments, because of a "deep Tincture of Quakerism." He carefully instructed his flock and earnestly prayed for their conversion, but had only fifteen or sixteen communicants, and some of those were "very Inconstant." The situation never changed much for the better, for many years later Blackwell found the same indifference at Glouce-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

ster and Waterford, where many were "very ignorant, particularly in respect to the sacraments, as living in the midst of Quakers, and destitute of the means of instruction."²

SPRINKLING OR DIPPING?

The hopeful missionary sometimes got his first rude jolt, when he tried to persuade his people to have their children baptized, only to discover that the parents had never been brought to the font. They might appear quite unconcerned, even though they attended church fairly often. When Houdin came to Trenton, he found hordes of unbaptized children, the result of parental carelessness and the lack of Church schoolmasters to teach them. Hurrying to make up for lost time, he soon baptized about 150 people. Nathaniel Evans tried publicly and privately to teach the necessity of baptism, but with little success, and it cost Pierson years of effort to persuade parents to be more careful to bring their offspring to the font.³

About equally bad was the Raritan Valley, particularly Piscataway, an old Baptist stronghold. Haliday noticed there "a great Unaccountable unwillingness and Aversion ye People have to enter themselves into the body of ye Church by baptism." Some thought they were too young, others excused themselves as too old, some said they were unworthy, and many were unconcerned. Parents even balked at having their dying children baptized, as if it would injure them! Haliday could barely persuade a justice of the peace to have him baptize his fifteen year old daughter when she was dangerously sick with pleurisy, although she eagerly wished it. He explained the danger of neglecting baptism, but people remained unmoved.⁴

Many years later, Leonard Cutting fought the battle of Piscataway again, when he found many professed Churchmen who had never been baptized. Some parents talked about bringing their children, but so strongly objected to "sprink-

ling" that he asked the Society how much to concede to please them. When he offered to baptize by immersion, they objected to the sign of the cross. Many people could not get proper persons and therefore wanted to be sponsors for their own children, and Cutting thought it would be better to humor them than to do nothing, and hoped that the Society would consider only his good intention. Even after he had won his point regarding the sign of the cross and sponsors, many still hung back through obstinacy or indolence. Beach bumped against the same stone wall and tried to undermine it by asking the Society for some well-written tracts on infant baptism.⁵

The Church did not oppose immersion and was willing to humor the half-Baptists at Piscataway, who were "urgent for dipping." Andrew Morton used to insist upon sprinkling for children, but would immerse adults if they wished. Of course, that depended upon the weather and the season, and several parsons noted that summer was the time for baptisms, especially at Piscataway and South River (Spotswood), where many people lived far from the church and the roads were terrible. Forbes once wrote that few in Monmouth County were baptized in winter, but that as soon as the weather moderated, people came to baptism in flocks, including adults.⁶

In spite of rock-ribbed prejudice, the clergy baptized an astonishing number of adults. The Society's annual reports mention scores of instances and hundreds of persons, including many Negroes. Burlington and the other southern missions yielded an especially rich harvest, including numerous converts from the prevailing but often nominal Quakerism. Campbell brought dozens to the font, and among them were some twenty or thirty years old, also mothers with their children; and once, six in one family—the wife, two sons, and three grown daughters. Holbrooke won over some Quakers, and Blackwell converted nominal Quakers and reclaimed many professed but unbaptized Church people.⁷

The northern missions also chalked up a good record. Vaughan busily made converts, and soon had baptized eleven adults, "brought up in dark Quakerism & Anabaptism," who seemed happy in the Church and constantly attended service "with great devotion & seeming delight." Skinner took several years to remedy the neglect of baptism in his mission, and christened people fifty or sixty years old, also adult converts from Quakerism "after a full Instruction." One of Cooke's letters relates his baptism of a Middletown man and wife whose ages together were over a century. They had been attending church constantly for eight or ten years, and had a large family who, he hoped, would follow their example. He and other parsons used to baptize such grown persons after a satisfactory public examination.⁸

The northwestern frontier was a field white for harvest. Andrew Morton in one year brought to the font two Negro and five white adults, including a convert from the Baptists, and Frazer continued the good work. Uzal Ogden became the unquestioned champion in baptizing lapsed and converted adults, and after only about a year in the mission reported 52 whites and ten Negroes. On his travels in the northern counties, Browne was distressed to see many aged people still unbaptized. He reported the baptism of a man of thirty-three, and two young women, who had been neglected in infancy by "careless and unthinking Parents." A painfully large number of people put off baptism until they were close to death. In Odell's absence from Burlington, Nathaniel Evans baptized a dangerously sick woman, and Browne reported the baptism of a sick man about sixty years old.⁹

NEGLECT OF THE GREATEST SACRAMENT

The neglect of the Holy Communion was even worse. Many parsons were rudely surprised when they first administered the sacrament to only fifteen or twenty persons out of

several hundred "hearers." Odell at first supposed that all his 35 communicants belonged to Burlington, but soon learned that the bread and wine had never been given to the people at Mount Holly, who rode to Burlington on "Communion days." On the Sunday after Christmas, 1767, he administered Holy Communion at the Mount for the first time in twenty-five years! He was always disappointed at the small number of communicants, and sometimes waited a long time to receive only one.¹⁰

It was the same story nearly everywhere. Chandler noticed that many people continually avoided the Holy Communion in spite of his efforts to convince them of their duty.

"I still find it extremely difficult to remove ye unreasonable Prejudices which prevent Mens Obedience to this Divine Ordinance; which I believe is also ye Case of many of ye Clergy, as they generally prevail throughout ye American Colonies, altho' not equally in all Places."

He tried to overcome hesitation by giving away copies of *The Reasonable Communicant* or some similar book.¹¹

McKean wrestled in argument with his people at New Brunswick and elsewhere, but found their prejudice "too often, very difficult to be removed," and noted that "some pious Persons" were "deterred by an over Scrupulous fear." In 1761 he reported only one new communicant, and in 1764 had only about 25 constant ones at New Brunswick. Piscataway was much worse, and on the Sunday after Christmas in 1764 Cutting celebrated Holy Communion there for the first time in twenty-five years, and yet had only seven communicants. Isaac Browne bitterly lamented that his people in Second River were "very backward & negligent," although otherwise zealous and earnest. Evans found his flock so ignorant that he put off celebrating for months to prepare them by public instruction. On Christmas Day, 1766, he celebrated at Waterford for the first time and had eleven communicants; but at Christmas, 1770, Griffith omitted the sacrament for sheer lack of interest. The

northwestern frontier mission was little if any better, and Lindsay had to distribute *The Reasonable and Rational Communicant* and Kettlewell's book on the sacrament.¹²

The only way to smash the stone wall was to keep battering it with instruction, year after year. Skinner thus increased his communicants from 15 to 47 in about four years, and at Christmas in 1749 had 43, including 27 young folks he had baptized. Lindsay kept at the young people and sowed tracts right and left—so he said—and Morton hammered away until he saw results in an increasing number at the holy table. Ayers at first had few communicants—only eight at Freehold—and had to fight the anti-sacramental views of the "New Lights" and other sects. Holbrooke waged the battle valiantly at Salem; and yet at Christmas, 1750, Thompson had only four communicants, including a stranger! After Thompson had labored for a couple of years at Trenton, he had but 13 communicants at Easter and 20 at Christmas.¹³

Andrew Morton put his finger accurately upon the chief cause of neglect, when he reported only five communicants one Easter, and only promises from several others to prepare for the next time.

"They have been taught by dissenting Ministers," he wrote, "that they must arrive at almost a State of Perfection before they are fit to be worthy Partakers of that holy Sacrament, not considering it so much a Means to obtain spiritual Strength, Comfort & Support, as a solemn Obligation to live free from all Sin ever after, the Breach of which they apprehend to be almost unpardonable."¹⁴

The Church was not entirely blameless, in offering so few opportunities for Holy Communion—generally only three or four times a year. Chandler followed the usual custom by celebrating Holy Communion at Woodbridge three times a year on the Sundays after the great festivals. Ayers at first celebrated at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, but later

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added Michaelmas, and used the rather high, and then unusual, term "holy Eucharist." Thomas Thompson of Monmouth County took "some pains" to induce his people to abandon their "scrupulous awe & fear" and come at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. Vaughan in 1711 administered the sacrament *monthly* to 28 or 30 persons, but both the frequency and the number were exceptional. Isaac Browne in 1764 gave "the holy Sacrament" at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Michaelmas, and "on all proper Occasions," probably the Prayer Book saints' days. The words he used to describe the Holy Communion may well explain his custom.¹⁵ His attitude was rather unusual, and the practice was generally so lax by present standards that it was unfair to cast all the blame upon popular ignorance and obstinacy, and the influence of sectarian "Enthusiasm."

THE DEGRADATION OF MARRIAGE

Constant teaching and visiting could bring more people to the font and the altar, but there seemed to be no remedy for their deplorably careless attitude toward the sacrament of holy matrimony. For that it was very easy to find the reason—the monopoly claimed by justices of the peace in tying the knot. Andrew Morton disgustedly described how they ignored the Church service, the publications of banns, and even the license. They used no set form, but uttered

"what happens to come into their Heads first: & to this they generally add something humorous, (not to say indecent,) which pleases a rough unpolished People."

The masses usually did not regard marriage as a religious act, and it became a source of much indecency and disorder, depriving the clergy of their only perquisite and lessening their influence. In three years Morton married only as many couples. Preston wrote that he couldn't give an accurate account

of marriages, as any Protestant minister or justice of the peace could perform the ceremony. Locke complained that dissenting "teachers" could do it, as the governor's license was directed to any Protestant minister.¹⁶ The natural result, as several missionaries pointed out, was many hasty, clandestine, and even incestuous marriages.

The clergy did not take such an abuse quietly, and repeatedly complained to the Society, the Bishop of London, and the governor. Horwood wrote to Commissary Vesey and petitioned the governor, who assured him that he would consider the matter. Why, the irate parson stormed, should he lose face and fees because a Quaker justice of the peace issued licenses in a place with a Church minister? Weyman complained to Vesey, and in poor health rode to Salem and Bristol to get Pierson and Lindsay to sign a petition to the Society and to the Bishop of London. He declared that in Governor Montgomerie's time the secretary of the province had granted licenses at any rate to fill his pocket. Campbell complained again and again against the justices of the peace, including a warden and a vestryman of Saint Mary's, who married ten couples to his one, even in his presence, and so lowered his prestige among the people. He mailed to the secretary a copy of the usual form of license, so that they could appreciate the scandal, not even barring polygamy, adultery, and incest. Were the laws of England a farce? How could one teach religion to the heathen, when so-called Christians tolerated such doings? If the local government would not act, then they would have to petition the King or Parliament.¹⁷

But it was one thing to demand reform, and quite another to get it. Vaughan opined in 1738 that the colonial governors would oppose it tooth and nail as a reduction of their power, although the loss to them would be trifling. He suggested that the revenue from licenses might support two bishops—a proposal that would surely make the Dissenters battle any change. The clergy would not give up without a fight, and

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in 1760 appealed to Governor Boone to stop the scandal of marriages by justices of the peace, and wanted to know whether or not the Society had done as he suggested, or would approach his successor, Josiah Hardy. Later they wanted the Bishop of London to ask the Crown for an order to the governor to direct all licenses to any Protestant minister, as in other colonies. According to New Jersey's law against clandestine marriages, an extract of which was sent to the bishop, no governor ever should have done anything else.¹⁸ By that time the Revolutionary agitation was beginning, and it would have been politically unwise for the Church to press the matter. The justices of the peace continued to enjoy their profitable racket, while the clergy remained scandalized and out of pocket.

RELIGIOUS ILLITERACY

The real cause of neglect and contempt of the sacraments was religious illiteracy, which the clergy never ceased to lament. They generally regarded the Church as an island of refinement and rational piety in a restless sea of ignorance, "Enthusiasm," skepticism, and open infidelity. Browne noted the assaults of infidelity on one side and fanaticism on the other. From all over the province came reports of the growing threat of Deism. Holbrooke fought it at Salem, and asked the Society to send him a book by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield against the English Deist, Anthony Collins (1676-1729), who had inspired the "very insolent" Deist group in Philadelphia. Holbrooke wrote "there are many of that sort of Gentlemen in this part of the World." At the other end of the province, in Sussex County, Ogden discovered a few Deists. Chandler went after them with his usual zeal, and sent for Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers* and "ye invaluable Sermons of ye late B^p Sherlock," which he hoped would prove "a sufficient Antedote against Infidelity."¹⁹

Books reached only the reading and thoughtful classes,

while the real problem was to rescue the untutored masses from the clutches of "enthusiasm," ignorance, and indifference. Religious illiteracy probably is not worse now than it was in eighteenth-century New Jersey. The wretched common schools were mostly secular, and the Society could not meet the demand for schoolmasters. The parson occasionally ran a school in his house, or tried to support some poor, starveling teacher—but that was a drop in the ocean. How discouraging were the indifference and paganism appears innumerable times in the missionaries' letters. Pierson was but one who noted the many practical infidels in his mission, who merely *professed* Christianity. He thought that half of the people were no more than complete heathen, unbaptized and utterly ignorant of the essentials of the Christian faith, but with "a little Tincture of Enthusiasm."²⁰

Reliance upon home instruction would have been almost useless, because so many parents were too careless, or too busy in scratching for a living. Holbrooke declared that people in West Jersey took little or no care to instruct their children or Negroes. Browne clearly saw the problem on one of his trips to Horseneck (Caldwell). Few people had learned to read, most of them were extremely ignorant, and they had no minister. Being mostly squatters, they existed in mere huts, and could hardly support their wives and their children, who were generally "more than they know what to do with." Lindsay saw the same night of illiteracy when he visited settlers on the New Jersey Society lands. They were miserably poor and had so few religious books that he spent most of his time in explaining the principles of religion, especially to the young, who were utterly ignorant. Even in Piscataway, one of the oldest towns, Haliday found many older people "prophane and Ignorant," but the young men and women seemed ready to learn.²¹

From the pen of that turbulent parson came one of the

best descriptions of the eighteenth-century way of teaching religion. He tried to explain clearly

“the matters of fact on w^{ch} the Christian Religion is founded Especially of that passage of the effusion of the holy Ghost on Pentecost with an acco^t of the severall gifts and operation of the spirit and by these matters of fact lead them to the Evidence of the X^{ian} Religion.”

Reviewing everything from the creation as evidence of order founded upon the laws of God, the pastor pointed to Moses as a forerunner of Christ “coming into the world with other doctrines and a new schem of Religion.” His explanation of the sacraments, according to the Society’s order, showed that God deals with Man by covenant and through visible substances, that signify spiritual truths. Always using Bible words and style, he strove to inculcate a firm belief in God as a spiritual being, and stressed the necessity of self-examination and repentance.

Haliday’s preaching explained that the evil element in human nature is redeemed by the atonement, and that the people are related to Christ as the body to the head. He pointed to the great influence of Christianity in making men righteous, and declared that the chief aim of Christ’s works and suffering was “to purchase to himself a Peculiar People Zealous of Good Works.” Of course, he taught Anglican doctrine as prescribed in the Articles of Religion, “in opposition to all Heresies and Errors prevalent” in New Jersey, always consulting the best divines. He affected not a learned but a “plain and Instructive manner,” and with so much success that he hoped his efforts were crowned with God’s blessing.²²

His didactic and probably dry method was typical of the eighteenth century—a rational approach, but with more stress upon sin than would now be thought suitable in many churches. His lecture method prevailed throughout the colonial period, especially in small outlying congregations and new missions.

Haliday lectured every month at Cheesequake and catechized the children and slaves. Vaughan gave monthly lectures and catechized the children in Rahway; Chandler employed weekday sermons and lectures in small places around Elizabeth Town and at Woodbridge; and Beach did the same near New Brunswick.²³

DRILLING IN THE CATECHISM

Lectures were not the whole answer to the problem of reaching the masses by practical and simple methods. The quickest and best solution was the Church catechism, the chief source of religious teaching for young and old. The schoolmasters taught it as a matter of course, and the Society even appointed a few special catechists. Skinner pleaded for a catechist to save the youth from "enthusiasts" who prowled about in his absence, and to make weekday visits and read prayers. Two of New Jersey's ablest missionaries began in that way. Ogden's experience doubtless helped to make him one of the Church's best American writers of tracts, and Chandler continued to catechize on Sunday throughout his ministry. By his advice Ogden had his pupils learn and publicly recite the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and explained one every Sunday in church, to fortify his own flock and teach Church doctrine to the Dissenters.²⁴

There are almost innumerable allusions to the catechism in the missionaries' letters, beginning with Talbot, who taught sound Church doctrine and lectured or drilled pupils in the catechism in church on Sunday afternoon. Campbell did the same every Sunday and holy day throughout his ministry, and McKean likewise at Perth Amboy and Woodbridge. New Brunswick was one of the most active missions in such teaching. Wood used to explain what his pupils had repeated, in the plainest and easiest way in the presence of the congregation, and believed that everybody had benefitted. Cutting and Beach carried on the tradition. Thompson of Monmouth Coun-

ty catechized children on Sundays in church, and the young people monthly at the courthouse in Freehold; and Cooke met his pupils there and in Christ Church, Shrewsbury. Ayers drilled the children in the milder seasons between Sunday morning and evening prayer. Agur Treadwell probably shortened his life by continual rides to catechize and lecture at Allentown and Maidenhead. Morton once proudly reported that his 20 catechumens had "made a very laudable Proficiency." When the days were too short for two services at Musconetcong, Frazer catechized the children and was agreeably impressed by their progress.²⁵

BOOKS FOR THE POOR

No amount of devoted drilling could make up for the appalling lack of books for private reading, meditation, and public worship. Many a newly-arrived missionary was amazed to find not more than a dozen Prayer Books in a big congregation. Then as now, Prayer Books were "the Church's best missionaries," and Colonel Lewis Morris recommended sending two or three hundred, which he said would "yield as great if not greater profit than any other thing can be sent into America."²⁶ The people called continually for Prayer Books to assist them in worship. Skinner asked for five or six dozen for Piscataway and South River, because when strangers came he was grieved and ashamed to see so many of the congregation standing dumb, as if completely uninterested. Similar requests for the same reason came from Cooke, Thompson of Salem, and Griffith, who wanted his people to join in the psalms.²⁷

Thousands upon thousands of Prayer Books were given to people who could not afford to buy them. Chandler ordered a lot for his own mission, and especially for Sussex County, where they would be most useful and the people were deeply grateful for them. Isaac Browne also requested Prayer Books

and tracts for his needy ones. The poor settlers at Musconetcong constantly importuned Frazer for Prayer Books, and he only increased the demand by giving away the few he brought from England.²⁸

The people were usually eager to see the church suitably furnished with a massive folio Bible for the desk, and a big Prayer Book for the holy table. One of the first things many newly-arrived missionaries did was to ask for them. The Society practically always supplied them to new churches like Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly. The parsons' letters contain requests or thanks for the tomes from Waterford, Salem, Trenton, Allentown, Spotswood, New Brunswick, Second River, Perth Amboy, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Piscataway. Trenton was obliged to borrow the sacred volumes, and those at Spotswood and New Brunswick, given by private generosity, had been read so much that they were shamefully decrepit. The many expressions of thanks show how genuinely such gifts were appreciated, especially by smaller parishes.²⁹

They were a tiny trickle in contrast to the mounting flood of small devotional books. It may fairly be said that the Society had no rival as a promoter of reading in New Jersey and other colonies. Every missionary on his outward voyage took £5 worth of tracts to give to the poor, who received them with genuine pleasure and gratitude. The demand for small books constantly increased, and the pastors sent hundreds of requests to the Society for tracts on baptism, communion, prayer, worship, temperance, and swearing. It would be hopeless to try to estimate how many poured into New Jersey, but they certainly amounted to tens of thousands. The bundles, usually wrapped in stiff brown paper, came through New York or Philadelphia, and reached the parsons' hands through captains, traveling merchants, arriving missionaries, friends, or parishioners.

The cry for books sounded from the beginning of the Society's work. The laity sometimes took the initiative, as

when the wardens and vestry of Burlington wrote to the Bishop of London for Prayer Books and catechisms. Chaplain Sharpe reminded the Society of the need for books and parish libraries in New Jersey. Lewis Morris called for sermons on the Prayer Book to give away, and Jeremiah Basse wanted volumes in defense of the Church. The clergy emphasized the need in 1704, and in 1705 recommended printing of the Prayer Book and the psalms in New York by William Bradford. Talbot tried to promote Church literature by favoring him, a convert from Quakerism, and spent over £10 from his own pocket to print small books for places where he could not stay, "that the Church might be served and ye Printer employ'd without seting forth those that are erroneous."³⁰

Most of the books were intended for the poor, who welcomed them as "a great Present." Such reports came from Nathaniel Evans, Robert Blackwell, John Pierson, Andrew Morton, Abraham Beach, Isaac Browne, Edward Vaughan, and William Skinner, who many times sent the Society the grateful thanks of their people. The poorly educated settlers in new regions were especially delighted when the minister brought a parcel of little books in his saddle bags or sent them by messenger. Wood of New Brunswick sent tracts to people he had visited on the frontiers of New Jersey.³¹

Churchmen of today, who often find a well-stocked literature rack in the church vestibule, cannot imagine the difficulty of getting books in colonial times. There were no book stores in the smaller places, no book-mobiles, no order cards to tear off and mail, no public libraries. It took months to secure a shipment from London. Campbell was worried because in November he had not received some tracts the Society had sent in April by way of New York, and begged for them by Philadelphia as nearer and quicker. Philadelphia was the favorite port for books, and Houdin got Bibles, Prayer Books and tracts through Dr. Robert Jenney, while Odell

ordered through Dr. William Smith. Even with all precautions, packages went astray with distressing frequency, and Beach once feared that such had been the fate of a parcel for his poor people.³²

The bundles so eagerly awaited generally contained books that retained their usefulness and popularity for generations. Among the most prized were Lewis' *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, Beveridge's *Sermon on the Excellency of the Common Prayer*, and *The Reasonable Communicant*. Wall's *Abridgement of his History of Infant Baptism* was a veritable arsenal of arguments for parsons who confronted "Anabaptists." Another stand-by was Archbishop King's *Inventions of Men*. Much needed in the colonies was Beveridge's *Discourse on the Necessity of Frequent Communion*. The famous *Whole Duty of Man* was widely read, and was specially requested by several New Jersey parsons. Holbrooke of Salem, surrounded by a flood of Quakerism, sent for the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield's *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. After the "Great Awakening" and the spread of "Enthusiasm," missionaries began to request such works as *Observations on the Conduct of the Methodists*.

One of the oldest and most cherished favorites was *The Devout Companion*, which Cutting wanted to instruct the flock at Piscataway. Other best sellers were the *Lambeth Prayers*, and *The Religious Man's Library*, which Skinner described as "a glorious Performance surely." The *Supplement to the true Account of the Doctrine of Christ* had circulated in his mission and had done such "wonderfull service" that he begged for a few more copies. He had lent the pious Bishop of Sodor and Man's *Knowledge and Practice of Christianity*, Berriman's *Youth the Proper Season for Discipline*, and Clayton's *True Account*. All these, he wrote, were "going about, and speaking for themselves."³³

Edward Vaughan was one of the busiest distributors of books, and gave away unknown thousands. He once told the

Bishop of London that he could give the poor 200 Prayer Books and as many of *The Whole Duty of Man* or other "practical" works. In one year, he received from the Society 60 Prayer Books, 40 small tracts, and Lewis' *Exposition*. The poor flocked to get them from all over town, and he could have used hundreds more.

Chandler was forever ordering books and tracts. In 1761-70, he asked the Society for *The Reasonable Communicant*, Prayer Books requested by the poor, small tracts, *The Englishman Directed in the Choice of his Religion*, Lewis' *Exposition* for the poor, the Society's *Abstracts of Proceedings*, Beveridge's work on the Prayer Book, and Wall's *Abridgement*. As attacks upon the Church increased, he requested a tract on the nature and constitution of the Christian Church, the necessity of clerical authority derived from Christ, and the nature of schism. He believed that in such a case reading would do more good than preaching.³⁴

The clergy contributed little to the torrent of religious literature, because they were too absorbed in the daily round and the common task. After George Keith, the only one who wrote much pious literature was the "Methodistical" Uzal Ogden. His tracts, especially for young people, began to appear in the 1770's and ran into thousands of copies. As a popular writer, none of the other clergy approached him.

While most of the clergy wrote little for publication, many read widely and deeply in the Society's libraries, which they frequently opened to their people. The "parish libraries" were an inspiration of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), founded by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, commissary to Maryland, whose ambition was to have a well-selected library in every colonial parish.³⁵

In those collections were such deservedly well-known works as Bishop Lancelot Andrewes on *Devotion*; Dr. Ashton on *Visiting the Sick*; Bishop William Beveridge's *Exposition of the Catechism*; Dr. Bray's *Lectures on the Catechism*, the *Bap-*

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tismal Covenant; Bishop Gilbert Burnet's book on the Thirty-nine Articles, the abridgement of his *History of the Reformation*; William Cave's *Lives*, and *Primitive Christianity*; the works of William Chillingworth (a pleader for religious freedom); Bishop Compton's *Episcopalia*; Charles Drelincourt's treatise on death; a book against the Socinians (Unitarians) by New England's great divine and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards; *Faith and Practice of the Church of England Man*; Henry Hammond on the New Testament; Richard Hooker's famous *Ecclesiastical Polity*; Benjamin Hoadly on schism; *Life of God in the Soul of Man*; Robert Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals*, Jean F. Ostervald's *Causes of Corruption*, and his *Catechism*; Bishop John Pearson's classic book on the Creed; Bishop Simon Patrick's *Christian Sacrifice and Comments on the Old Testament*; Rogers on the Thirty-nine Articles; Bishop Edward Stillingfleet's *Ecclesiastical Cases*; the sermons of Archbishop John Sharpe of York; Dean Stanhope's *Thomas à Kempis*; Dean William Sherlock's book on death; Archbishop John Tillotson's *Sermons*; Whilly on the New Testament; Bishop William Wake's work on the Church catechism, and *Word of God the Best Guide*.³⁶

LIBRARIES FOR PARSON AND PARISH

Within a few years after the missions began, Chaplain Sharpe called attention to the lack of libraries, and suggested sending some, with catalogs to prevent loss and note additions. When starting on his fatal trip to England, Moore left his library for the Church in New Jersey. Talbot and Sharpe discussed erecting a library building in Burlington, and the latter was willing to sell one part and give the rest of his own library to the Society, upon his death or removal from the country.³⁷

Nearly all the missions eventually had libraries, which the clergy were supposed to catalog and to leave *intact* to their successors. But parsons sometimes neglected or forgot the rules, and lent books to other missionaries or to parishioners, who

illustrated Sir Walter Scott's saying that friends are likely to be poor mathematicians but good book-keepers. The succeeding rector might inherit only a pitiful remnant of the original collection.

The fate of the library at Burlington was only too common. After Horwood came, Talbot and his widow denied any knowledge of it, although the new parson found a catalog of 197 books in the parish register, revised by Talbot and the former schoolmaster! The Society had to send another, which Horwood cataloged for his successor. Brooke of Elizabeth Town had a library, but when Chandler succeeded Vaughan, the parish could find only two books, and the Society shipped a new library and stopped £10 from Vaughan's salary to make good the loss. Some of the few books at Perth Amboy were "embezzled" in Portlock's ministry, but the parish inherited Brooke's private library, except what his wife took or gave to his best friends. Haliday described the books as "a very pretty Collection and with what We have already make a Library where a Student may spend his time wth satisfaction." Woodbridge tried to be careful, and used the gift of a guinea to build a "press" for books. James Parker, the faithful layreader, learned of the kindness by a letter from his "worthy Friend," Benjamin Franklin, and showed it to the people at evening prayer.³⁸

The Society sent a library to Newark by Vaughan, who presented it to the wardens. Browne expected to bring his own from Long Island, but as his successor would leave his in New Haven, he asked for a new one. New Brunswick had been a mission for many years when McKean came, but he could find no library, although Seabury had requested one in 1754. The wardens told Beach that none had ever come—but they were wrong, as it was safe in the rectory at Hempstead, Long Island, where Cutting had taken it for safe-keeping. The books eventually got back to Christ Church, but Beach suspected that some had been lost during the vacancy and asked the

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Society for a catalog. Although Trenton had been a mission for about twenty years, Thomson had to ask the Society for a library, requesting the secretary to revise the catalog to make it as large and useful as possible. The Society sent a library to Salem when the mission started, and apparently it still existed when Thompson succeeded Pierson, whose widow was ordered to yield it.³⁹

Nowhere were libraries more needed than in the north-western missions, and nowhere was it harder to keep them. When Lindsay was cashiered, he promised to give the books to his successor, Locke, but later refused to his brother's face, and after five years had yielded only part of them "after a great deal of Trouble & Threatening." Craig asked the Society for another order and even threatened to sue, and eventually was ordered to transfer the library to Locke. One cannot but wonder how those books looked after being so kicked about. The Society sent a library to Amwell and Kingwood; but the second pastor, Frazer, found only two books, couldn't discover what Morton had done with the rest, and hoped that the Society would make good the loss. The Society might have been excusably irritated by so much carelessness or worse, but continued its bounty and sent Ogden of Sussex a "judicious collection of Books."⁴⁰ One cannot help wondering how some of the libraries looked after being passed from hand to hand, and transported from rectory to rectory.

BUILDING THE SANCTUARY

The people who eagerly welcomed the Society's books and tracts were often too poor to contribute much if anything to build churches. But in spite of that, the Episcopalians of New Jersey succeeded in erecting and furnishing more than a score of churches, and sometimes had good reason to be proud of them. Building a decent and comfortable one was not easy, the people approached the venture cautiously, and in 1706 Brooke complained that nothing had been done about *pro-*

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posed churches at Cheesequake, Piscataway, Perth Amboy, and Freehold.⁴¹

Even getting a lot was frequently difficult. Especially in older places, unless a rich man gave it, the land might cost more than the parson's annual salary. Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, was unusually lucky when three landowners deeded a lot to the wardens and vestry. Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, had trouble in getting a clear title from the son of the donor, Colonel Townley, and Vaughan hurried to have it recorded as if he still feared some slip-up.⁴²

Building was so costly that subscriptions and gifts often ran far behind the expenses, and parishes had to resort to lotteries. In that way Second River raised nearly £1000, New York currency (£600S.). Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, got the Assembly's permission for a £1000 drawing to repair the church and endow the mission. The government allowed Saint Mary's, Burlington, to have one to repair the church and the parsonage, and Saint Thomas' at Kingwood held a small lottery to finish the church.⁴³

Parishes often took years to complete very modest little churches, while impatient missionaries wondered if the business would ever end and apologized to the Society for irritating delays. British restrictions upon colonial manufactures made it hard to get glass, nails, hardware, oil, and paint. Churches sometimes stood for years without glazing or interior finish—barren, uninviting barns.

The history of Saint Mary's, Burlington, illustrates the almost incredible difficulties of building and maintaining a church. The people raised a subscription in 1703-04, but could not complete the building without help, and had to use is uncovered, unfloored, and unplastered. Help came from outsiders, particularly generous Francis Nicholson, and the wardens and vestry appealed to friends in England for glass, nails, linseed oil, lead, solder, colors, a bell, and furnishings for the Communion table and the pulpit. After all the striving, it

was only a tiny brick chapel, 40'x22', with pews on the ground floor and a "fair Gallery" at the west end.⁴⁴

Repairs and improvements were endless. They included roofing and shingling about 1742, a "handsome" cemetery fence of planed cedar posts and boards costing £40, repairs to the steeple about 1745, and plans to spend £120S. for a rectory and a lot. The parish's growth required a larger church in the 1760's, and the result of that lengthy task was a virtual rebuilding. Enlarged by a third to 63'x33' and neatly finished inside, the new Saint Mary's justified Odell's regarding it as an ornament to the town. He personally solicited funds, appealing to his friends in Philadelphia and elsewhere, gave £10 from his own pocket, vainly asked as much from the Society, and refused a salary subscription until the work was done.⁴⁵

The story of how other parishes built their churches is one of contrasting lights and shadows, generosity and hardship. The comparatively wealthy congregation at Mount Holly put up a handsome little wooden church, spent at least £50S. on finishing the inside with a cedar ceiling, pulpit, altar, rails, and reading desk, and in a few years built galleries all around. Aided by rich neighbors, Trinity Parish in Newark spent £1000 New Jersey currency to build a church "according to the rules of Architecture, So that it will be the best & most compacted Building in the province." It was huge for that time, 63'x45', of large fine hewn stone, with walls 26' from ground to eaves, a tower 20' square, a steeple soaring 95', and a roof of cedar shingles. It was considered "the finest (that) has been seen in these parts," and the wardens proudly wrote to the Society, "we may say it Exceeds any Country Ch: in these parts." Vaughan delightedly described it as "a Beautiful, Stately, & magnificent Fabrick."⁴⁶

One of the best colonial churches was Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, which Chandler asserted was the handsomest in the province. The distinction was attained after a long and

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costly struggle that began in 1704-05, when the people planned the building and raised £400. Colonel Townley gave the land and most of the materials, and John Brooke laid the "foundation" on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, 1706. The building, described by Governor Cornbury as "very pretty," was covered and glazed by the fall of 1707, but not finished inside. It was of brick, 50'x30', and 21' from the floor to the foot of the rafters, and had nine windows, including a large one at the east end, two on each side, an oval in each end, and one over each door near the west end.

About 1716 the people raised £30 to have it repaired, well glazed, and "decently Pewed," and a former Quaker gave 2000 large square bricks for the floor. In 1717, the building still had no pews or pulpit, and Haliday accused his enemy George Willocks of holding back money, but eventually the workmen put on the finishing touches. In 1749, the parish got a 500-pound bell to replace the small broken one, and raised money for "decent Repair." In 1761, the people collected subscriptions and gifts for very costly and thorough repairs, including new windows, paint, crimson velvet hangings, and a handsome fence for the yard, and ordered a marble font. Within two years, Chandler was talking about enlargement, and in the fall of 1773 the parish decided to build "the largest and handsomest Church in this Province." But only the foundation was laid before the Revolution broke out.⁴⁷

Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, also was the worthy result of a struggle against adversity. Plans and a subscription were made in 1705, and about a year later much of the material was ready to build a stone edifice, 54'x30', in the spring of 1707. But the project lapsed for years, because the managers chose a site with a pretended mortgage that had to be lifted by court order, and George Willocks kept the funds. Not until 1721 did the parish surmount its troubles and erect "a very goodly regular uniform decent & well compacted structure in

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stone & brick," dedicated "to ye memory of the Apostle S^t Peter" and completed enough for services. The church was in "a very ruinous condition" in 1763, but the parish raised funds to repair the interior, resash and reglaze the windows, and weatherproof the building, and planned a new steeple and an additional gallery.⁴⁸

New Brunswick at first planned a wooden church, but when the "New Lights" declined, decided to build in stone and "lime." Aided by some former enemies of the Church, the parishioners subscribed funds and set to work in the fall of 1743. About a year later they saw the walls about eight feet high, and planned to close the building by the summer of 1745. The goal was won in December, and the people flocked to worship in their fine stone sanctuary, 56'x40', hopefully planned to be lengthened for an increased congregation. Seabury described it as "handsome" and capable of holding 600 people, which latter estimate was excessive. It was still unplastered in the winter of 1750-51, but the pews had been finished and rented for five years at £40 a year (currency) to complete the church and the rectory. The people planned to finish all work in the summer of 1755, but in 1760 were still talking about a steeple, and McKean wrote, "Works of this kind, I find by experience, go slowly on." Not until 1772 could Beach report that the people had thoroughly repaired the church, nearly finished the steeple, and hung in it a bell of 700 pounds.⁴⁹

For such a small parish, Allentown did surprisingly well, and in the fall of 1745 had a neat little wooden church, "very handsomely finished out & all Lately sashed." In the 1760's only about seven families repaired it at considerable cost, and Thomson of Trenton called it "plain & neat."

Another weak parish, Salem, also showed what zeal and generosity could do. Plans in 1704 came to nothing, and not until after Holbrooke came in the 1720's did the people contribute "very largely in proportion to their circumstances"

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to erect a small brick church. It was started in 1725, nearly finished by September 1726, but still unglazed in November 1727. Help came from good friends in Philadelphia, and Governor Burnet sent £10. The church was hardly more than a chapel, 40'x28', but was considered a very neat specimen for materials and workmanship, and must have been a welcome change from the Salem County courthouse. Even the tiny congregation at Greenwich erected a small brick edifice, and about 1772 the Churchmen around Mantua Creek built "a pretty neat church."⁵⁰

These places were luckier than some parishes that struggled for years to get even a makeshift building, or never built one at all. Second River raised over £1000 by lottery, but many years later nobody could tell the parson what had become of the funds, and for twenty years Browne preached in a building as open as a barn and excessively cold in winter. In 1773, the vestry decided to finish a well-built stone dwelling, 50'x20', and 20' high to the base of the arch. They planned to erect a belfry 16' high at the east end, and to install a pulpit, a reading desk, and seats or pews for 200-300 people. The work lagged, and in the spring of 1775 completion was still two or three months away.⁵¹

Saint James', Piscataway, also had a long and hard row to hoe. The first "church" was the Dissenters' old meeting-house, repaired enough to look fairly respectable. Brooke did not like it, and raised about £100 to build a timber church, but the people wanted to wait a year and use stone. Haliday was disgusted to find that the rickety and leaky old shack belonged to the town and was shared with the Baptists, and had no Communion table, no Bible, and no surplice. In spite of George Willocks' objection to the site, in 1713 it was decided to build on the town common, workmen began to make bricks, and the people hoped to finish in a short time, with outside help. But they became tired of Haliday's antics, and

stopped work when the walls were a foot or more above ground.

In 1717 there was still no church, and Haliday claimed that he had agreed with John Burrows to build for £100, but that Vaughan broke the contract and insisted upon brick, then built of timber and spent all the subscriptions for only a frame. For years the people worshipped in Burrows' house until they finished the church, which in 1724 Skinner called "a handsome wooden chapel," but without a Bible or a Prayer Book. Cutting in the 1760's described it as small and as neat as the parish could afford, and in 1772 the people subscribed for much-needed repairs.⁵²

Woodbridge, always one of the smallest and poorest parishes, secured a decent church only after heartbreaking years of frustration and disappointment. The little flock at first met in the house of Benjamin Denham (or Dunham), a convert. Vaughan collected funds and got a license and a gift of £5 from Governor Hunter. Progress was delayed by Denham's death, but by the fall of 1716 the workmen had finished "a large & convenient timber frame" covered with clapboards, on a lot given for church purposes by Governor Phillip Carteret at the first settlement. The building cost nearly £100, but still had no floor or glass, and in 1722 was contemptuously dismissed by Skinner as a sorry affair with badly nailed clapboards and no inside finish, hardly tolerable in winter. It fell to ruin from neglect, and in the 1750's was replaced by another, which in 1761 was only "a bare shell," but was completed about 1769.⁵³

The Churchmen of Freehold planned a building in 1706, but in 1717 still had none, and as Haliday wrote in his peculiar style, had to "creep into the Corner of some Countrey house." They used the old Quaker meeting-house at Toponemus, which was not completed until about 1750, and by 1771 was "vastly out of repair." Ayers used the courthouse in Freehold, and as most people found that more convenient, they started to

build a new frame church (the present one) in the village, but it was still unfinished when the Revolution came.⁵⁴

The northwestern missions had the hardest time of all. As late as 1759, Amwell and Kingwood still had only "two small Houses." About eight years later, Saint Andrew's, Amwell, was only "the shell of a small Stone Church," built some seventeen years before and still unfinished. Saint Thomas', Kingwood, was "an old Log building in a very shatter'd Condition," so open and uncomfortable that Frazer feared he could not "perform divine worship in it in the winter time with any degree of decency." Musconetcong (Delaware) had no church and the people gathered in barns and houses, but planned a temporary log church, intended to be completed in the spring of 1769, but not built until fall and even then not finished inside. Kingwood, ashamed of the dilapidated building, decided to build the finest church in the region, on an acre lot given by the pious Lewis Stephens. Frazer expected the materials in the summer of 1769, but autumn came without even a start, because many disliked the old location and wanted it in the village. Work didn't begin until after harvest in 1771, and the impatient pastor waited until October, 1773, to see the stone church, 30'x40', "in a fair way of being decently and comfortably finished," with a floor and glazing, and the walls and ceiling "plaistered" and whitewashed.⁵⁵

The Episcopalians of Knowlton didn't even own their place of worship, but had a *share* in the building proposed in the summer of 1771 for use next fall. Newton Churchmen met in the Sussex County courthouse, having no church until after the Revolution. Episcopalians about the Falls of the Delaware proposed a building in 1704, but old Hopewell church was not erected until about 1709. It was used only about forty years before being replaced by Saint Michael's, Trenton, planned in 1747 and built by a £300 subscription. The Episcopalians at Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) never had a church, and Treadwell by invitation used to preach in the Presbyterian

meeting house. His successor, Thomson, in 1771-72 used to visit the small Princeton congregation, who subscribed over £130 for a church, but were prevented from building it by the Revolution.⁵⁶

Time, fire, the elements, and changing taste in architecture have left little that suggests the appearance of the colonial churches. Most of the present buildings date from the nineteenth century. One sees second or third buildings at Newton, Belleville, Elizabeth, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Perth Amboy, Spotswood, Middletown, Lambertville (Amwell), Salem, Clarksboro, Delaware (Knowlton), Trenton, and Mount Holly. Only the colonial towers remain at Newark and New Brunswick. Saint Peter's, Freehold, is *said* to contain some material from the original church, but has been greatly remodeled. The old churches at Amwell, Hopewell, and Greenwich disappeared long ago, and Saint Mary's, Colestown (Waterford), burned down in 1899.

The only pre-Revolutionary churches remaining are Saint Thomas', Alexandria, old Saint Mary's in Burlington, and Christ Church, Shrewsbury. The first is a plain little stone edifice without architectural distinction. The second, St. Mary's, Burlington, regarded as the oldest Episcopal church building in the state, is an interesting relic of early Georgian colonial design. It is far from being the original edifice, because enlargement and extensive alterations shortly before the Revolutionary War made it practically a new church. It is now covered by gray stucco, with white trim, and has a slate roof crowned by a short louvred lantern, with small slotlike transom windows. It is used for the Church school and parish gatherings, while the congregation worships in a Gothic church, designed by Richard Upjohn, the noted architect of Trinity Church, New York City, and completed in 1854 under the leadership of Bishop George Washington Doane.

The only colonial church in fairly pristine state is Christ Church, Shrewsbury, but even this is not the earliest building.

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Churches were proposed for Shrewsbury and Middletown in 1704. Colonel Lewis Morris intended to build one at Tinton Falls, but in 1709 ruefully wrote that the enmity of Governor Cornbury had balked him. The people met in houses until 1730, and then erected a "very handsome" brick church, with the hearty aid of many former violent enemies of the Church. Vaughan called it "a very decent & magnificent Structure." Middletown also erected a "neat" building, used for worship by 1748.

Shrewsbury rapidly outgrew the church, in 1763 the vestry talked of enlarging or rebuilding it, and in 1769 decided upon a new one. The people subscribed £500 (currency) and planned a frame building, 60'x36' and 24' high, with an elegant cupola. The cost was £800, but the difference was made up by outside gifts. In the spring of 1769, timber had been drawn to the spot, shingles and boards were "engaged," and the carpenters were ready to begin. In spite of lack of materials and money and delays of workmen, the church was ready in the spring of 1774, and Cooke proudly described it as "one of the most compleat and best finished Churches in this Province." All accounts had been settled, the materials were paid for, and the workmen were "satisfied to the uttermost Farthing."⁵⁷

Churches in colonial New Jersey were never consecrated, because there was no bishop. Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, was formally *dedicated* in 1717, but Vaughan does not describe the ceremony. The *dedication* at Shrewsbury, as related by Cooke, was an event worthy of the handsome building. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty came from New York, Beach from New Brunswick, and Ayers from Spotswood. A crowded congregation was much pleased by the solemn service, and after the sermon gave a handsome collection for the church's benefit.⁵⁸

The venerable building is practically the same as when the people inspected it on that glad occasion. Because Shrews-

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bury has grown relatively little, there has been no strong temptation to tear it down and build a prodigy of fake Gothic. There it stands, with its tall arched windows, a Georgian tower in three stages, and an octagonal belfry with a domed cap supported by columns and arches. The weather vane is surmounted by an iron British crown, pockmarked and perforated by bullets fired by angry patriots during the Revolution. The interior retains a quaint flavor, with carved canopies over pews once assigned to the provincial governors and the rector's family. The chancel steps came from a huge oak that served for many years as a belfry. The architectural distinction of this church is indicated by the photographs, floor plans, and detail drawings in the records of the Historic American Buildings Survey at the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

THE PEOPLE AT CHURCH

Christ Church was more ornate than most Episcopal churches, which today would seem starkly plain, even to the "Lowest of the Low." It is difficult now to imagine how difficult and expensive it was to secure good church furnishings in the colonies. John Brooke lamented the dearth of them, and said that he must import bells, glass, pulpit cloths, cushions, and communion plate from England. Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, found it very costly to "finish" the church and build a pulpit, a reading desk, and an "altar," but as early as 1711 the parish owned "a pretty sett" of plate. Some churches, because of growing attendance, had to pay for the expensive luxury of galleries. Perth Amboy did it "to perfection" in 1742, Trenton planned one in 1765, and Spotswood in the 1760's added one "with proper seats."⁵⁹

The people generally sat in cushionless pews or on hard benches, and had no heat in winter, except what they themselves could bring in tiny stoves. In bitter weather, after being closed all the week, the buildings must have been cold, clammy,

and cheerless. They had no cellars, and were often floored with flat bricks or flagstones. Any distraction from the service and the sermon was *not* aesthetic. The congregation usually faced a plain and often somewhat grim wooden pulpit, a clerk's desk, and a Communion *table*. The missionaries occasionally mention *chancels*, but ordinarily they meant not recessed ones, but merely the enclosure about the table. There was no bishop's chair, and the people never witnessed the impressive services of ordination, confirmation, and consecration.

Many British immigrants probably missed the rich adornment of their old churches—stained glass, wood-carving, stone altars, and lecterns. Reredoses, tabernacles, elaborate frontals, brass or gold and silver vases, candlesticks, crosses, chasubles, and copes were unknown in New Jersey. Often the poor little churches did not even have a pulpit cloth, a "properly fringed" cushion, or decent linen for the Communion. Sometimes, behind the pulpit, the people saw a feature that might not be amiss today: wooden tablets inscribed with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

To modern Episcopalians, accustomed to open churches and many services and activities, the churches would seem to have been little used. If the missionary could devote a whole Sunday to one church, he read morning and evening prayer. If he had several churches, he tried to serve each one at least once a month. Some parishes for many years had mostly weekday services and used layreaders, like Woodbridge and Piscataway, when the parson was absent. Whenever they could, the clergy tried to follow the general colonial custom of having both morning and afternoon services, with preaching at the former and instruction at the latter. Vaughan used to preach at Elizabeth Town on Sunday morning and evening, and Ayers had morning and evening prayer on alternate Sundays at Spotswood and Freehold. On the Sundays when McKean visited Piscataway, he arranged to return to New Brunswick in time to read service in the evening. Many missionaries traveled ex-

tensively to hold weekday services, and Ogden once reported that during the past year he had read prayers and preached forty times on weekdays in different parts of his mission and the adjacent country. Daily services, now accepted in most places, were almost unknown. John Talbot read the offices every day at Burlington when he was in town, and believed that his practice was unique in the American churches.⁶⁰

The services would not appeal to many Churchmen of today. The ardent Anglo-Catholic would find them colorless, and even to the average worshipper they would seem to lack warmth, zeal, inspiration, and "significance." They were *read*, never intoned, from folio Prayer Books. Every parish tried to have a clerk (pronounced "clark") who read the responses from his desk, as there were generally few Prayer Books in the congregation. The people often took slight part in the services, and merely behaved "devoutly" or "decently."

Frequently the officiant did not even wear the surplice. The gift of such a vestment is sometimes mentioned in the missionaries' reports as if it were an unusual event. They rarely refer to any kind of vestments, and Campbell noted it as a special kindness when the people at Mount Holly gave him a surplice and gown, so that he would not have to bring them from Burlington.⁶¹

At the Holy Communion there were no vested acolytes or servers, and that service was always *said*. A sung Eucharist, with secret prayers, ablutions, incense, the sign of the cross, and eucharistic vestments, would have been utterly unthinkable, "popish" to the last intolerable degree. Many a priest and layman meant precisely what he said in "Holy Catholic Church" when reciting the Creed, but that had nothing to do with "ritual practices."

Occasionally there were special services, as in 1759, in thanksgiving for the capture of frontier posts and of Quebec in the French and Indian War. The Church people gathered

to show their gratitude to God, and to the King and his wise council and ministry.⁶²

If a modern Churchman could experience those colonial services, he would find them strangely quiet. In many places he would not even be summoned to them by the tones of a bell. Bells had to be imported and were so expensive that some congregations could not afford them, although all wanted them, remembering the merry peals and solemn curfews of old England. Before Saint Mary's, Burlington, was even finished in 1703-04, the wardens and vestry wanted to know whether benefactors in England would send "a Bell to be heard at some Distance." Eventually the parish got one, and when a lady in England gave £40 for a bell, the rector and wardens after a long correspondence with the Society used the money to buy a rectory and a garden. Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, in 1743 got a bell worth £25 as a gift from Colonel Peter Schuyler, and hung it in a steeple that cost at least £400. When Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, completed its long-proposed steeple in 1765, a new bell was founded to replace the old broken one. Mr. Watson of Perth Amboy paid for the completion of the church in Woodbridge and gave it a bell.⁶³

If the people had to gather without sound of the "sweet church bell," they often found the service as unmusical as their welcome. There was a general lack of good and suitable music. Hymns were generally regarded as "enthusiastic" and "Methodistical," and it is impossible to imagine Episcopalians of that day singing "Crown him with many crowns," "Jesus, lover of my soul," or John Newton's "Safely through another week." The psalms and a few canticles were considered "meet" for public worship, and only a few well-worn tunes were generally used.

From time to time the clergy tried to improve the singing. In the fall of 1705, the pastors of New York and New Jersey wanted to promote knowledge of psalmody, and had engaged the New York printer, William Bradford, to issue the

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Prayer Book with the Tate and Brady version of the psalms, by license from Governor Cornbury. The printer had promised delivery by next Easter, and they wanted the Society to pay him for the number needed in the missions.⁶⁴

Improvement in congregational singing came mostly from the Society's schools. In 1709, Jeremiah Basse suggested that in appointing a teacher to New Jersey the Society should make the services "more comely" by sending with him "some ingenious ladd that understood singing . . . to attend and Assist him and instruct the Scholars in the arts of writing and Psalmody." In 1716, the Society reported that the catechists and schoolmasters—including Ellis at Burlington—enabled the children "by proper Instructions given them on the *Sabbath-Days* in the Evening, to joyn with the Congregation in Divine Service at all Times; and teaching them the Use of *Psalmody*, which is new in some Places, and to which the People were sometimes very averse."⁶⁵

The school in Burlington gave musical instruction, and after the Society abandoned it, people began to complain that music was falling into neglect because the young people were no longer taught to sing. The elders evidently leaned upon their youngsters to lead them in making a joyful noise unto the Lord. When begging the Society for a successor to Ellis, Campbell remarked that the young folks were giving up singing, and that he could not teach them, because he had three churches on his hands. Later the parish was in contact with the musician, Francis Hopkinson, who lived in the neighborhood. Christ Church, Shrewsbury, had the good fortune of a school run by Christopher Reynolds, who was noted for his "good knack in Psalmody," and imparted it to the children.⁶⁶

Even when the people could sing, they often had no accompaniment, as few colonial churches had organs. The expensive instruments were mostly imported from Europe, and only large and wealthy congregations could afford to buy one,

or to pay an organist to play anthems and render "voluntaries"—preludes and offertory music. New Jersey missionaries rarely mentioned organs in their letters to the Society. In January, 1762, Dr. Chandler of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, reported that the parish had purchased an organ in the preceding summer, but without mentioning the builder or where it came from.⁶⁷ When Saint Mary's, Burlington, was enlarged in the 1760's, room was provided for the organ, in a gallery.

What the service lacked in music, was abundantly made up by reading and preaching. The Puritan Dissenters enjoyed no monopoly of long sermons, and Anglican ones were likely to be prolix, rational, dignified, didactic, and dry. Extemporary preaching, gestures, emotion, and dramatic effects smacked of "enthusiasm," and were regarded as suitable only for sensationalists like Whitefield, Gilbert Tennent, John Davenport, or some other "son of thunder." While preaching the clergy customarily wore the full black robe called the "Geneva gown."

Yet with all the "high and dry" features of Anglican services, there is evidence that people sometimes crowded into the churches, including even many Dissenters. The missionaries' letters frequently mention large numbers of "hearers," and comments by them on the "decency" and "order" of Anglican worship. Sometimes it was the only worship in town. In 1767, for a year or more, there had been only Church services in Perth Amboy, and several persons of other faiths came regularly.⁶⁸

If Church life then seems formal and dull, it should be remembered that the people knew nothing else but "enthusiasm." There were no parish houses, with their yearly round of teas, suppers, sales, and club meetings. Our many guilds, fellowships, brotherhoods, youth organizations, and service leagues were unknown. There were no Church schools as we know them; only the German Pietist sects were beginning to experiment with Sunday schools. Our vast and

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complex administration of religious education—its boards, superintendents, literature, teachers' meetings, and annual institutes—was unheard of. Religious life was not "institutional" and "efficient," and it was not emotional. As "enthusiasm" began to spread and become a typically American religious expression, the masses generally regarded Anglican piety as bookish, "high-brow," formal, and too dignified. In its relations with the people, the Church was destined to remain a *tolerated* minority in New Jersey.

CHAPTER TEN

The Church and the People

WHEN the average American considered religion, he thought not of liturgy and tradition, but of spontaneous and emotional preaching, revivals, and sudden conversion. The Episcopal Church did not fit that pattern, and to most people seemed to offer only a "cauld clatter of morality." Some turned to the Church when disgusted and disillusioned by the clamor of "enthusiasm." But the mass of religious folk were mesmerized by the revivalists, and few had the intellectual training to be critical, or the sensitiveness to be repelled by the sound and the fury. They had no idea of

"... such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam."

"HEARERS" AND "PROFESSORS"

Eminent Churchmen, who did not appreciate the American religious temper, were often painfully surprised that the Church failed to grow faster. Lord Cornbury was disappointed because churches did not spring up as he had hoped, and Jeremiah Basse mourned over churches unfinished and congregations "left as Sheep without a Shepherd." After thirty years, the Church had only three priests among East Jersey's 18,000 people, who according to Vaughan were "overwhelmed wth gross Ignorance of ye First Principles of X^{tianity}." Deluded by sectarians, they sometimes ran into profaneness, irreligion, and infidelity. As late as 1745, Commissary Vesey reported that although the Episcopal churches were "commonly filled with hearers," there were only nine of them!

Alas, the "hearers" were many, but "professed" Churchmen remained few, and were far surpassed in wealth and pres-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

tige by the Quakers, the Presbyterians, and the Reformed Dutch. It is impossible to give accurately the Church's numerical strength at any time, because statistics in the missionaries' reports are incomplete or unreliable. Although the commissaries and the Society's secretary urged full reports, the figures often were only uncertain estimates.² The number of families is not a safe criterion, as one does not know how large the average family was. Baptisms are a risky basis for estimate, as every pastor baptized swarms of children whose parents' religion was purely nominal. Reports of large congregations are meaningless, as they included many Dissenters who happened to have no services or liked the parson's pulpit manner.

Whether accurate or not, all reports indicate that nearly everywhere Anglicans were a small minority. In 1716, Haliday estimated only 600-700 "hearers" in East Jersey's population of about 10,000, and described the Church as a handful of English and Scots, with not over 60 families in any parish.³

Reports from individual parishes give the same general impression. Although considered a strong mission, Perth Amboy in 1724 had only 70 families and from 20 to 24 communicants, while Piscataway had about 150 "hearers" and 14 or 16 communicants, and Woodbridge could count but 50 in the congregation. In 1742, Perth Amboy and Piscataway had 600 Churchmen and 51 communicants, and in 1751-52 there were only 550 "professed" Anglicans at those two places and Spotswood together, among "innumerable" Dissenters and "Infidels too many." In 1764, however, two-thirds of Perth Amboy was Anglican, probably the largest percentage ever attained anywhere in New Jersey in colonial times, but Woodbridge still had only 50 people and 12 Church families.⁴

The reports from Elizabeth Town are rather complete, and show that while Saint John's was one of the largest parishes, it was only a modest fraction of the town. In 1739, there were 250 Churchmen and 84 communicants in a popu-

lation of 2000 or more, against over 1400 Dissenters. The percentage varied slightly before the Revolution, and in 1743-46 the 200-250 "heathens" and "infidels" were not far behind the Churchmen. Nearby New Brunswick in 1750 counted over 100 Episcopalians and 23 communicants, surrounded by about 500 Dissenters.⁵

Burlington, generally considered a Church stronghold, makes a surprisingly poor showing in the statistics. In 1728, most of the people were still Quakers, and not over 40 families in the town and vicinity belonged to the Church. Although "Industrious in yr respective Trade & occupations," they had little chance of becoming wealthy, as the Quakers had a long head start. As late as 1767, only about one-quarter of the 200 families were Churchmen, the rest being mostly Quakers and a few Presbyterians.⁶

South of Burlington the Church became fairly lost in a mass of dissent and indifference. In 1766, Gloucester and Waterford mission contained about 6000 people, the majority Quakers, the rest divided about equally between Churchmen, Swedish Lutherans, and Presbyterians. Salem mission in 1742 had only 250 Churchmen, less than ten per cent of the people, and only 16 communicants, against 2390 Protestant Dissenters and 50 Roman Catholics.⁷

Missionaries along the upper Delaware told the same story. Trenton in 1739 had only about 16 Episcopal families and 11 communicants, and the few "professed" Churchmen were surrounded by many "ubiquitarians" (who went everywhere) and great numbers of Dissenters. Vast Sussex County in 1771 contained only 63 Anglican families, so scattered that some could seldom attend church. An anonymous New Jersey writer in 1764 must have been thinking especially of his own province, when he told the Bishop of London that four-fifths of the people from Maryland to Halifax were Dissenters.⁸

A rough survey of the Church's strength is the census of places of worship by counties, in Samuel Smith's history of

New Jersey, published in 1765. The Church had 21 out of 165, against 55 Presbyterian and 38 Quaker; and no churches in Sussex, Morris, Bergen, Somerset, Cape May, and Cumberland. Most Episcopalians lived in a fairly populous belt from Newark to Burlington, the only other stronghold being Monmouth County, with four churches. The number of regular communicants was always small, a parish like Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, being exceptional with 100-120 in the middle of the century. Probably the total in 1775 would not have exceeded 1,000 by the most optimistic calculation.

ATTENDANCE UNDER DIFFICULTIES

Judging by general attendance gives a brighter picture, as the people sometimes came to church in spite of obstacles hardly conceivable now. They had trouble going to Burlington in winter, because of icy streams—but there was no other Episcopal church within fourteen or fifteen miles! In early years most of the people lived ten or twelve miles from the church in Freehold, and they and their horses were so “hard Wrought” in spring and harvest time that they could scarcely come every Sunday—yet the congregation sometimes was 200. Wood's flock at New Brunswick was scattered along the Raritan, and some in good weather rode fourteen or sixteen miles to service.⁹

A serious handicap to the growth of older parishes was constant migration. As the trade of Burlington declined, because of Philadelphia's more favorable location, young Churchmen unwillingly went elsewhere. After the French and Indian War, the newly opened back country attracted swarms of young people. Parishes suffered heavily from removals of prominent laymen. Saint Peter's, Spotswood, sustained a “very great loss” by the removal of Andrew Johnston and Andrew Smyth, both gracious patrons, the latter having been its chief promoter. Chandler noticed “the yearly Migration of Families into the

back Settlements," and Blackwell lamented the departure of one of his best families at Waterford. On the other hand, the fluidity of the population aided frontier missions, while older parishes lost ground. Lindsay was pleased when three families from Fairfield, Connecticut, settled at Trenton and were admitted to Communion. "They appear a very Regular & orderly People & never miss the Service of the Church when I attend there."¹⁰

The most serious obstacles to regular attendance were long vacancies after the deaths or removals of missionaries. The members of Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, expressed their uneasiness at a long vacancy after Skinner's death, because losses to the Dissenters would certainly result. Saint Michael's, Trenton, was a notorious example of the evil. When Locke visited there in 1746, he discovered that there had been *no Church of England service for two years!* Treadwell found few Church families, because a long vacancy had led many to join the Dissenters. Thomson discovered that, because there had been no regular services for years, many professed Churchmen seemed indifferent, and Chandler sharply reminded the Society of the damage.¹¹

New Brunswick was a tragic example of the depressing effects of frequent removals and long vacancies. The people mourned that their parish appeared to be a mere corridor to other missions, and declared that the Church would never gain ground and convert wavering Dissenters that way! The wardens and vestrymen admitted that their "little Church" had been happy with the missionaries, "but always unhappy in their too early Removal," and added that such frequent changes were discouraging. Would the Society appoint Beach with the understanding that he would stay for some years? He agreed that frequent removals and long lapses accounted for the fact that for several years the Church had increased little if at all.¹²

In spite of all obstacles, attendance was surprisingly good.

Missionaries sometimes reported congregations of hundreds, packing small churches to the doors. Several parishes had to install extra pews or hastily build galleries to hold the crowds! As early as 1741-42, the churches at Piscataway and Perth Amboy had become too small. Morton reported *very* large audiences, and McKean wrote that his congregations at New Brunswick, Spotswood, and Piscataway were increasing. In 1764, the wardens and vestry of Piscataway were delighted to see their little church jammed with people of all denominations, who behaved decently, listened with great attention, and expressed much satisfaction with the solemnity of the worship and the Church's doctrine.¹³

Encouraging reports came even from the struggling southern missions. Treadwell of Trenton wrote that his people were coming to church more constantly, and later noted with pleasure that his congregation was very regular, and seemed desirous to promote the Church's interest to the limit of ability. Thomson declared that attendance often greatly exceeded the number of professed Episcopalians. In 1769, there were only 20 families, but the church was filled on Sundays with devout worshippers. Waterford church in Evans' ministry was "commonly well filled," and on special occasions was always greatly crowded. At Salem the Great Awakening probably inspired a sudden and surprising increase of attendance about 1742. Pierson noted improvement, especially among younger people, and those who did not know the liturgy were trying to learn it and to join in the prayers.¹⁴

Parsons sometimes observed a distressing carelessness and lukewarmness among *nominal* Churchmen. Chandler believed that he had the largest Episcopal congregation in the province, with at least 100 families and 80 communicants, but they were so scattered *and many were so careless* that he seldom saw more than two-thirds of them together. But he admitted that in good weather Saint John's was well filled.¹⁵

CHURCH MANNERS AND CHRISTIAN LIFE

Lack of instruction and Dissenting influences made many unfamiliar with Church ways and awkward at service. Frazer found a great many families who called themselves Episcopalians because their ancestors had been, and were completely ignorant of the Church's prayers and discipline, but behaved seriously during service, although hardly knowing what to do. Forbes found the people "wild and fluctuating" in religion, "rude and uncultivated in the plainest things relating to morality." But there were many exceptions, and the form of religion had been preserved, people joined the Church, and many seemed eager to embrace it.¹⁶

There are many references to devout behavior in church, and to improvement in Christian living. In Piscataway, the people showed "a due sense of their Duty to God, and a pleasure in discharging it, according to the prescript and beautiful Usage of the Church of England." At Perth Amboy Skinner noted that the congregation behaved devoutly. The professed Churchmen in New Brunswick seemed to be serious and zealous, attended constantly, and were devout during service. McKean of Perth Amboy was pleased to write:

"The People are generally regular in their attendance, decently devout in the Public Worship, and pay a reverent Regard to the Offices of Religion. Many of them, I am persuaded, are really what they thus profess."

Cooke was so pleased with the devotion and genuine affection of his people, that he declined pressing calls to other parishes. He praised their regular attendance, pious and exemplary behavior at services, steady conformity to divine ordinances, and zeal for worship.¹⁷

Such devotion often was a renewal of old loyalty, as at Spotswood, where the people were chiefly descended from

members of the Church, and were very eager to be taught the religion of their fathers. That deep-rooted loyalty sometimes surprised the missionaries and made them regret the Church's inadequate efforts. Skinner wrote that if the Society would furnish laborers in proportion to the harvest, schisms would disappear in a few years, the Church would be "universally established" in New Jersey, "and the very Crown would thereby be better secur'd in the Allegiance of the Subjects."¹⁸

Devotion sometimes opened into the fine flower of truly Christian life. Pierson in Salem knew "Sundry Persons who have amended Some faults of their former lives." Lindsay observed, "Some indeed are become more Sober, & Seemingly Religious, whose lives were none of ye fairest." Campbell noted converts from a "prophane" life: "Several to outward appearance God be thanked; and a loud Cry of many more that I'm unwilling to name."¹⁹

The gentle Evans, a good example to others, reported a change for the better in his flock. Some unchurched persons, dissatisfied with Dissenting worship, started to frequent Church services, appearing to be "much pleas'd with that purity of Devotion & liberality of Sentiment which breathes through the Liturgy of our Church." As there had never been an Episcopal minister in the county, they knew very little about the Church's doctrine and discipline. Even Anglicans, by contact with Dissenters, had become very indifferent and awkward at service, very few knowing how to use the Prayer Book. He soon saw a great improvement, while the liturgy gained favor, and many even came twenty miles to church. Although some continued unbaptized, they were evidently reformed in their behavior and conversation. Although his success had not been as great as he at first expected, he did not consider his labors entirely in vain. Many had been "sensibly touch'd with Religion," and showed it by the fruits of good living and the practice of unaffected piety.²⁰

CONSECRATED LIVES

Such consecrated lives were the Church's mainstay, as the Society well knew from the examples of some of its supporters in New Jersey. The keen interest and devotion of Jeremiah Basse appear in his many detailed letters concerning the Church's condition and progress. Another shining light was Colonel Lewis Morris, who labored and wrote untiringly in behalf of his beloved Church.

Colin Campbell was prone to note colonial deficiencies, and declared that Americans were "naturally like the Climate changeable," but he admitted their capacity for devotion and thanked God for the continued love and affection of most of his people. He lamented the death of Peter Baynton, a personal friend and a benefactor of the Church, who with three others was drowned in the Delaware River within sight of his house, when the small vessel carrying them from Philadelphia was capsized by a February gust. He also felt keenly the death of his warden, Joseph Hewlings, and wrote that one could not easily fill the places of such men, "as worthy as ever I knew here of any Society."²¹

Missionaries repeatedly praised the great devotion of laymen and mourned their passing. Lindsay was depressed when death took some of his best and most helpful people, particularly Colonel Daniel Coxe of Trenton, a member of the Society, who encouraged the Church and influenced others by his example. Vaughan acknowledged that the Church's founding in Newark was due largely to the care and energy of Colonel Schuyler, one of the wardens and the "main Spring and promoter of that work," a man of affluent fortune and "a Good heart & generous Soul, to Do good with it for the benefit of mankind." John Grandin and Charles Coxe of Kingwood offered to build a decent and comfortable church on an acre of land to be given by Charles Stewart, a nearby Dissenter.

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Robert McKean was deeply grateful for the help he received from laymen at New Brunswick and Woodbridge.²²

One could continue almost indefinitely, naming pious laymen who helped to sustain the Church in an unfriendly environment. They included some of the most eminent persons in the province, such as Governor Francis Bernard and Governor William Franklin, who became members of the Society, paid dues, and made gifts to its fund.

FAITHFUL LAYREADERS

One of the greatest services laymen performed was that of reader, saying prayers and reading sermons when the parson was sick or absent, sometimes for months at a time. Talbot used to send a schoolmaster to read services at Springfield in Burlington County. Lindsay's congregation at Cranbury shared a meeting house with the Dissenters, and as he could visit them only at long intervals even in summer, the sober and religious people had a layreader.²³

The tiny congregation at Woodbridge was held together for many years by a reader, James Parker, the noted printer. He used to read prayers and a sermon every Sunday when the missionary could not come. When he decided to move to New York, McKean feared that his place could never be as ably supplied. When he was ill and other clergymen could not go there, one of the vestrymen always conducted the service, so that when he returned there were as many people in church as usual. Because Preston could visit Woodbridge only every third Sunday, Mr. Tingley, a warden and "a regular well disposed man," kept the people from "frequenting the neighboring conventicles."

The frequent and much-lamented vacancies at New Brunswick were partly filled by the services of a devoted layreader. He was Edward Antill, one of a family long noted for its faithfulness and generosity to the Church, and the

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father-in-law of McKean, who described him as "a man of most exemplary life and singular piety." During one of the lengthy waits for a new missionary, he used to read the liturgy on Sunday at New Brunswick and Piscataway. The Society's secretary sent special thanks to the two loyal readers, and in a long report about the history and condition of the church in Woodbridge, Parker expressed his gratitude to the Society for their notice of "my Trouble, or rather imperfect Services."²⁴

In frontier regions, before the establishment of missions, the layreader was indispensable to the Church's existence. When Episcopalians began to move into the wilderness of Sussex County, Chandler urged the appointment of a reader or catechist to minister to the scattered flock. One of them kept the memory of the Church alive by reading the liturgy to his brethren in private houses on Sunday. Chandler served as a layreader at Elizabeth Town before he became a catechist and later a missionary.²⁵

CARES AND RICHES OF THIS WORLD

The genuine piety and loyalty of many laymen partly soothed the hurt feelings of missionaries who saw much worldliness and lukewarmness. Haliday, who was not a model of propriety, was disheartened by so much irreligion.

"The People," he wrote, "live in a Manner Insensible without concern, and their thoughts Arise no Higher than ye Affairs of their Plantation, but the Eternal Infinite cravings of a Soul can never Sitt Satisfied in things so mean and unproportioned to its nature, so that sometimes they take discontent and remorse (which I wish were more General). One Woman pticularly told me that almost this year she had been much dissatisfied at ye way of life among the Country People . . . she testified her resolutions of taking care of herself & children and desired my Assistance for her Instruction, hoping that some time this summer she may be fitted for Baptism."²⁶

Several missionaries pointed to the example of merely nominal Churchmen as a brake upon the progress of religion. Holbrooke of Salem wrote: "The men that act with great Candour & Integrity are I think those y^t join with us, but among those there are some I fear that are only nominal Brethren." Evans was painfully aware of the same condition, especially at Gloucester. The promised church was not built, as there were only about six steady Churchmen, who were "pretty good Livers." Other wealthy men had relapsed into the supineness he hoped they had shaken off. Some, although willing to help, were so poor that the few with zeal and spirit were not able to erect a building.²⁷

The approach of trouble between the colonies and the mother country increased the tendency to worldliness that appeared during the disorders of the French and Indian War. Shortly before the Revolution, Browne of Newark lamented the careless attendance of some people, although they lived in the greatest harmony and friendship with him. He thought that "the Pleasures and Vanities of the present Life seem to have ingross'd all their Affections, and the Love of the World left no Room for other Things." Campbell reported sadly that most people had "bent their minds in a more than ordinary degree, after the world," too much neglecting the bread that perishes not, because of the temptations in those confused times.²⁸

Worldliness was not necessarily wickedness, and even when it was, the clergy could not deal with it through ecclesiastical courts, because there were none—for which the colonists said with one voice "thank God!" The clergy had no influence or control over private morals, excepting their own examples, teaching, exhortation, and advice. Occasionally an outraged parson refused Communion to somebody whom he considered a notoriously bad character, as in the case of the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore and Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby.

Clerical efforts to enforce stricter moral standards were

not likely to attain success, particularly respecting marriage and family life. Haliday, who was anything but diplomatic, aroused ill will by admonishing some who were leading scandalous lives. He accused one man of living openly with a mistress while his wife was in England, and of never coming to church. He even wrote him a reproving letter, and was naively surprised when the gentleman was furious and threatened to injure him in England. Haliday pleaded that he had been doing his duty, but the secretary admonished him to use "a great deal of Prudence and Circumspection."²⁹

This critical parson, who deserved such a warning, declared that the Society's missions were "a great curb to Wickedness," and dreaded to think what the country's condition would be without their influence. He believed that the clergy would be more respected if they were appointed as justices of the peace, so that they could more effectually suppress immorality and recommend the interests of religion in their charges to juries. Their education qualified them to serve, "much better . . . than those Plowmen & Millers who are now put in because ye Country affords no better."³⁰

Pierson of Salem also had moments of discouragement about popular morality. He found it easier to persuade people to attend church than to live up to a profession of religion, as the country was "very much addicted" to profanity, intemperance, and similar vices. He could not vouch for conversions from disorderly life, but hoped "that a True Sense of Religion does revive in ye hearts of Some who are more constant & Serious at the publick worship and exemplary in their Lives than heretofore."³¹

Browne of Newark became deeply disheartened by the apparent prevalence of moral laxity, especially after the French and Indian War. "Vice & Immorality still abound among us, and are not to be subdued by my feeble endeavours." Some of his depression was due to age and illness and to unpleasant differences with his parishioners. On the other hand, Vaughan

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and Skinner declared that Churchmen in Perth Amboy and Piscataway behaved well, and Skinner once paid a handsome compliment to his flock: "Those of the Church (thanks to God) are regular in their lives and honest in their dealings. This with the rectitude of their principles makes their number increase."³²

THE PASTOR AND HIS FLOCK

The decent conduct and moderate attitude of most Churchmen maintained generally pleasant relations between pastors and people. Friendliness was encouraged by pastoral visits, and Haliday (always full of suggestions) even thought that the Society ought to make them compulsory and include Dissenters, but he admitted that it was "hardly practicable," because of the sparse settlement.³³

Many of the clergy tried to visit all their people, and spent endless hours in tiring horseback rides. Lindsay sometimes traveled about, preaching in homes, and Dissenters then brought children to be baptized, although they would not come to church because they disliked suretyship and sponsors. To accomodate several very distant families, Chandler lectured in homes and christened children there. Preston traversed the greatest part of his mission to visit all professed Churchmen, and even Dissenters when they invited him. Ogden managed to call on most of the Episcopalians in vast Sussex County, read prayers in fourteen dwellings on week-days, and visited many dissenting families, who received him kindly. On such occasions he tried especially to win the young people, instructed them in the faith, and imparted to them a sense of religion.³⁴

Friction occasionally flared up between the missionary and his people, or between him and the vestrymen, and sometimes the people quarreled among themselves. At Newark a faction made Isaac Browne so uneasy that he was eager to move, because they resented his practicing medicine. Chandler displeased some of his parishioners by barring Whitefield from

his pulpit, but the little tempest soon blew itself out. A very serious rupture occurred at Shrewsbury, about the time the new church was built. Prominent and ambitious Josiah Holmes, offended at the conduct of that business and personally mad at Parson Cooke, resigned from the vestry in a huff and was not reelected because of the radical political tack he was taking. In a few years he got his revenge, leading the Patriot party that exiled Cooke and persecuted his Loyalist parishioners.

Clashes between pastors and people were comparatively rare. They generally concerned finances, as when Campbell fell out with his Mount Holly people, who wanted to be a separate mission and refused to agree to the salary he expected. The difference was finally composed by an agreement with his successor, Jonathan Odell.³⁵

Now and then the rector was painfully embarrassed by a row between two parties in his flock. Cutting ran into a complicated and painful fracas at Piscataway, about the title to some land. The majority pretended to appeal to him, but he soon found that they expected him to favor them, although he felt that the minority was right. They were so irritated by his declining to interfere that they abandoned their pews and forsook Communion. He finally persuaded the chief parties to accept arbitration, but some wanted him to excommunicate their opponent, whom he considered one of the best Churchmen. He tried to use the influence of leading men in the county to compose the quarrel, for it was injuring the Church. With the aid of his friends, he induced the people to settle in an amicable manner, and finally was pleased to report that both parties were "something mollified." He had found it harder to settle their temporal than their religious affairs, but was encouraged because the "better sort" were determined to prevent the Church from suffering because of their worldly concerns.³⁶

Such episodes seldom distressed the clergy, and most of them contrived to get along well with their flocks. Vaughan did not want to leave his people, because by long and intimate

acquaintance he had won their affections, and besides, he had taken a wife there and acquired a valuable plantation and a house. Forbes was said to live in complete harmony with his people in Monmouth County. The lovable McKean lived in concord and unanimity at New Brunswick, and at Perth Amboy enjoyed "the happiness of living in a very harmonious and affectionate manner with my Parishioners." Even when the Revolutionary movement was beginning to seethe, he mentioned the good relations between himself and his people, and the peace and good will prevailing among them.³⁷

Other parsons could rival him in that respect. The wardens of Burlington mentioned the mutual love and respect between them and Campbell. That harmony generally continued to the end of his ministry, together with the good will of those outside his flock. Odell paid tribute to his parishioners, who highly pleased him by regular attendance and "Christian temper of amity and kindness." Long after the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles in which he took part, Chandler rejoiced that he had the "Happiness of living in the greatest Peace" with his people, and had no reason to suspect that it would not continue.³⁸

INDIAN MISSIONS

In spite of much prejudice against the Church, the clergy generally were on good terms with groups outside their parishes, including the abused and despised Indians and Negroes. They often honestly tried to fulfil the Society's early ambition to bring the Gospel to the heathen and the slave, and found some governors eager to help them. Governor Hunter proposed to establish Indian schools to teach English and religion, and the Society instructed its schoolmasters to teach Negro slaves and Indians. Governor Franklin declared that the conversion of the Indians could not be accomplished without governmental help. He joined with Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs, in approving a plan drawn up by Dr. Charles Inglis

of New York, to promote religion and British influence among the tribes.³⁹

By the middle of the eighteenth century there were few Indians in New Jersey to convert. Only a miserable remnant of the once powerful Delawares had survived the inroads of war and disease. Two famous Presbyterian missionaries, David and John Brainerd, ministered to most of the poverty-stricken natives, from 1745 until John's death in 1781. After that the mission declined, and early in the following century the few remaining Delawares left the state.

Anglican efforts, by comparison, seem slight and sporadic. Early in the spring of 1750, about 140 Indians from the New Jersey frontiers went up to the Mohawk country for protection. Ogilvie, the Society's missionary to Albany and the Mohawks, promised to do his best to instruct them, as they seemed to be almost entirely ignorant of religion. That discovery does not indicate that the missionaries in New Jersey had made serious efforts to convert the red men. Their reports rarely mention the Indians or baptisms among them, and generally appear to include them among the irreclaimable heathen.

Campbell made efforts to win the few around Burlington, and in 1744 reported the baptism of two adults. Browne of Newark noted the baptism of an Indian child in 1770. Chandler at that time was interested in Indian missions, and stated that the religious and political necessity of converting the savages was becoming more evident every day. He sanctioned the plan drafted for consideration by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, by Dr. Myles Cooper, Charles Inglis, and Sir William Johnson, and even suggested collecting a fund to support it. Later he admitted that the motive must be chiefly political, as religious considerations would pull little weight with the statesmen!⁴⁰

THE CHURCH CHERISHES THE NEGRO

Politics had nothing to do with a far more successful

phase of the Society's work that is still little known—its mission to the Negroes. The clergy made early and persistent efforts to win them, and to beat down opposition by the masters. Bishops in their anniversary sermons to the Society urged them, as well as the schoolmasters and catechists, to do their utmost. Many masters were obstinately unwilling, fearing that conversion, followed by baptism, would mean freedom for the slave, but the Society insisted. Under the auspices of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a law was drafted "For Converting the Negroes &c In the Plantations." It stated that neglect had been caused by "a mistaken Opinion that the Interest of the Master in his Negro or Servant, is taken away or Lessen'd by the Negro or Servant becoming a Christian," and provided that baptism should not entail any diminution of property right.⁴¹ Colonial assemblies enacted laws providing that admission to the Church should not entail freedom.

In New Jersey, interest in the Negro varied widely from one parish to another, but the total accomplishment in conversion and education is impressive. Saint Mary's, Burlington, began its Negro mission early, on the foundation laid in the schoolroom of Rowland Ellis. Horwood observed that there were no large plantations about the town and therefore few Negro slaves, and that the people were mostly traders and kept white servants. The few parishioners who owned Negroes—not over one to a family—at his suggestion sent them to church on Sunday to be instructed for baptism, and he hoped that in time they would all embrace Christianity.⁴²

Throughout his long ministry Campbell strove to give the Negroes careful instruction, sometimes with pleasurable success. One Easter Even he baptized in church a young Negro man and woman, who could read and gave such good answers in their examination that he thought he had never been more satisfied with anyone. Later he reported several other baptisms of grown Negroes who could give a good account of their faith

before the congregation. Odell also noted many baptisms of Negro children and adults.⁴³

Scores of letters from other missionaries mention Negro baptisms, and even though many parochial reports have been lost and the exact total can therefore never be known, the recorded number amounts to more than 350. New Brunswick led with 84, followed by Newark with 76, Elizabeth Town with 62, and the Sussex County mission with 54 down to 1782, including many adults in the total.⁴⁴

Several of the clergy made special efforts to meet the Society's ideal of an active Negro mission. Skinner followed the instructions concerning education and baptism, and in sermons urged his Negro-owning parishioners to do their Christian duty. Chandler, when beginning his ministry as a catechist, used to instruct the Negroes in Elizabeth Town. Baptism did not mean merely what some of the Dissenters rather contemptuously called "sprinkling," because the clergy insisted upon evidence of good character and passing a public examination. Browne of Newark showed the general attitude when he visited Morristown and baptized a Negro whom he described as "a very sensible fellow and of a good character." At another time he baptized a Negro boy about ten years old, after he had learned the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and part of the shorter catechism.⁴⁵

Other priests also tried to set a high standard, like the scholarly and conscientious Thomas Thompson of Monmouth County, who yearned to convert the Negroes. His successor, Samuel Cooke, used to insist upon a "reputable" public examination, and proudly reported baptizing a woman, "after being examined and giving a good & satisfactory Account of her Christian faith." His neighbor, William Ayers, used to catechize Negro men, women, and children on Sunday afternoons in the milder seasons.

Lindsay found a great many unconverted blacks in his mission, and claimed that he did his best to win them. One of

the most interesting accounts of a Negro baptism comes from his pen. He catechized a woman publicly at Trenton, and found her replies "very Satisfactory." The congregation consented to her baptism and recommended her for good behavior in her service. At another time, after several weeks of instruction, he baptized a mulatto woman twenty-two years old, who had been bred in a Church family and could read and recite a good part of the catechism.⁴⁶

Negroes were admitted to Holy Communion, when they gave evidence of devout behavior and Christian living. McKean reported a Negro woman among his communicants at Perth Amboy, and one of Browne's letters mentions two Negro communicants—"Men of Sober and virtuous Lives, and very well acquainted with the Scriptures & other good Books."⁴⁷

Perhaps the greatest harvests among the Negroes were in the Sussex County and New Brunswick missions. Looking back over the history of his ministry, in 1782, Uzal Ogden reported that since 1774 he had baptized 31 Negro children and 23 adults. Abraham Beach probably devoted more personal attention to the slaves than any other missionary. Between 1768-82, he baptized at least 42, including several adults, in New Brunswick, Piscataway, and Perth Amboy, and admitted some to Communion after instructing them in Christian doctrine. He used to gather as many as he could in his home every Sunday evening, to read and explain the Bible before Evening Prayer. This kind, personal attention paid dividends, for some of them became "sincere & orderly Christians."⁴⁸

There were disappointing results in some missions, especially at Salem, where even the Negroes apparently were affected by Quaker indifference to doctrinal teaching and the sacraments. There were plenty in the region, for Holbrooke counted 150 in his religious census of Salem County in 1727, and 12 belonged to six of his parishioners. He had recently baptized a Negro woman, and tried to bring the rest to the font, but had been balked by the indifference of both masters

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and slaves. Pierson used to give catechetical instruction to illiterate servants, Negroes, and others on Sunday afternoons, but the attendance did not equal his expectations, because masters and heads of families were so careless, and few slave-owners belonged to the Church.⁴⁹

In spite of such callous neglect, the Church made a real impression upon the Negroes. It was one of the few institutions that tried to do anything for their education and welfare. Negro children, servants, and slaves were welcome in the Society's schools, and those who toiled all day came to evening classes. The Church's humanity opened for them almost their only door to improvement, and this almost forgotten phase of the colonial missions shows that the Church cannot be regarded as an exclusive society of the privileged classes, and of the English.

A COSMOPOLITAN CHURCH

Although this view of the colonial Church has been almost universally accepted by religious and secular historians, the parish records and the missionaries' reports tell a different story. They show conclusively that in New Jersey the Church embraced various social classes from the highest to the lowest, and people of diverse national origins.

More than a third of the missionaries bore names that certainly do not sound English. Vaughan, Weyman, the two Evanses, and David Griffith were Welsh. Innes, Keith, Haliday, Skinner (whose real name was MacGregor), Campbell, Lindsay, Craig, Frazer, Forbes, Panton, McKean, and Sharpe were Scots. Michael Houdin was French, and others were Irish or Anglo-Irish. The clergy were not by any means all or mostly foreign-born, as is sometimes believed. A constantly increasing number were natives, educated in the colonial colleges. Odell and Blackwell graduated at Princeton, Nathaniel Evans at the young College of Philadelphia. Yale was well repre-

sented by Treadwell, Seabury, Browne, Chandler, Beach, and Pierson.⁵⁰

The cosmopolitan character of the laity appears strikingly in the hundreds of names on petitions, parochial reports, testimonials for the clergy, and subscription papers. Just a few of these records prove how completely false is the notion that the Church was a select group of Englishmen. Among the vestrymen of Burlington in 1704 we find the Irish names—Budd and Berry—Scottish Edmund Stuart, and two Frenchmen, William Martineau and Thomas Perchee. Perth Amboy from its settlement had a strong and persistent Scottish strain, that appears in a petition for the removal of Thomas Haliday, bearing the names Gordon, Campbell, Sharp and Barclay. Petitioners for the appointment of Robert McKean included Irish Kearney, Scottish Johnston, and French Barberie.⁵¹

Christ Church parish, New Brunswick, was a league of nations. Petitioners for missionaries there include such remarkably non-English persons as Bernardus La Grange, Francis and George Brasier, Francis Costigan, James Van Horne, Joseph Jamain, John Dennis, James Collins, and Cornelius Low. The incorporators under the charter included men of Irish, French, Dutch, English, and probably German origin.⁵² The parish reflected the mixed character of New Jersey's early settlers.

That this was generally true of Monmouth County appears in petitions for and against the removal of the missionary, John Milne. They bear French, Dutch, Scottish, and Irish names, including Anderson, Rue, Perrine, Campbell, Dennis, Rogers, and Pintard. The wardens and vestrymen of Spotswood and Freehold, who thanked the Society for appointing William Ayers, included Perrine, Johnson, Rue, Lott, Corne, Johnston, and Gradin—French, Scottish, and Dutch.⁵³

Another melting-pot of immigrants was the Amwell mission, where the parson heard the accents of Holland, France, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany. The petitioners for

a missionary included men named Rounsavell, Grandin, and Van Horne. Among the 70 Episcopalians in Hunterdon County, who signed a testimonial for Morton, were John, Philip, and Elinor Grandin, Richard Rounseval, Edward and Sarah Parlier, Constantine and Esther O'Neill, Mary Cooly, John and Mary Quin, Daniel Cahill, Lazarus and Mary Adams (Welsh), and Andrew and John Van Buskirk.⁵⁴

In the southern counties, also, nationalities mingled freely in Anglican churches. Swedish influence was prevalent in some areas, and Saint John's in Salem grew accustomed to being served by a Swedish pastor. Nineteen signers of a certificate commending a Swedish priest to the Society included the Swede Sandbell, a Frenchman named Lowrain (or Lorain), an Irish or Scottish Walker, and the Hollandèr, Van Hist. The vestrymen of Saint John's, who signed a certificate for the Rev. Erik Unander, included Scottish Matthew Morrison, John Owen, a Welshman, and Irish Mathias Sullivan.⁵⁵

The Church in New Jersey was a part of the American "melting-pot," comprising all the people of Great Britain, with the old settlers from Holland, more recent German immigrants, French Protestants, hosts from northern and southern Ireland, and Swedish Lutherans. They intermarried and formed a new nation—American. Most New Jersey Episcopalians of the eighteenth century would have been surprised to hear that their Church was exclusively English!

WINNING THE DUTCH

Almost from the beginning, the Society's missions tried to approach and win non-English groups, including even the sternly Calvinistic Dutch. As early as 1704, Colonel Lewis Morris called attention to the three or four Dutch towns, and recommended sending a Dutch-speaking missionary with Prayer Books in that language to give away. About 1712, instigated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Society "with the utmost Care and Diligence" prepared a new edition of the

liturgy "printed Column-wise" in English and Dutch for the Hollanders who felt inclined to join the Church, "of which sort there are not a few, about *New York* and the *Jersies*."⁵⁶

The Dutch attitude towards Anglican missionaries depended largely upon the faction one belonged to, in the sorely divided Reformed Church. The cause of the row was that stormy petrel, the Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen, a red-hot evangelist and a heart-searching preacher, whose public denunciations of sin and unconverted members were embarrassingly personal. Before long his congregations split violently into formalists and anti-formalists. He insisted upon personal religious experience and conversion, defined in his own uncompromising terms. He sympathized with the Presbyterian revivalists led by the Tennent brothers, particularly Gilbert of New Brunswick, and between them they made the valley the hotbed of the Great Awakening and a storm center of controversy between "Old Lights" and "New Lights."

The row among the Dutch was complicated by other quarrels, about an American organization and a college to train ministers. When the factions came to an open breach, the evangelists formed the Coetus (convention) and their opponents formed the Conferentie (conference) and promoted the project of a chair of theology in Episcopalian King's College, New York. Of course the Americanizing group won, for time and the masses were on their side, and they founded Queen's (Rutgers) College in New Brunswick, and eventually united with the other party to establish an American synod.

Another sore spot was the question: what language shall be used in services and preaching? It was becoming acute by the middle of the eighteenth century, because Dutch was fighting a stubborn rear-guard action and the young people were pleading for English sermons. The vastly annoyed conservatives regarded Dutch as the hallmark of loyalty and respectability, but its doom was sealed by 1770, when the mother church in New York City called a pastor to preach in English.

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Half a century later, the old tongue was heard only in those remote Dutch communities loved by Washington Irving.

The various quarrels caused long and bitter schisms. Parishes and families split, neighbors parted with stinging words, churches were locked against rival parties, preachers were rudely interrupted in their sermons and in turn publicly upbraided members of their flocks. Factions, meeting on the road, would not turn out to let each other pass. In one New Jersey church, the precentor announced the 119th Psalm—the longest—to prevent the domine from preaching. Every issue provoked a war of ink, a blizzard of fat pamphlets. Many people became so disgusted that they stayed away from church or joined another faith. In New York, some opponents of English growled, “Well, if it *must* be English, then *let* it be English!”—and trooped off to the Episcopal church or to the Presbyterian meeting.

In New Jersey, the Dutch congregations suffered considerable losses, especially in Monmouth County, where long vacancies in the pastorate and the steady advance of English caused secessions to the Episcopalians. Some of the Dutch in New Brunswick, who couldn’t bear Frelinghuysen and the Tennents, supported Christ Church and eventually conformed, and they included a few prominent families and individuals. The local Churchmen tried to take advantage of the situation, pointing out that the age of the minister and the lack of services would encourage conversion, and urging the Society to hurry, before the young people who wanted English sermons joined the Presbyterians who were about to have a new minister.⁵⁷

A striking invasion of Dutch territory at Second River brought many more into the Church. Vaughan told the Society in 1743 of a “great prospect” that the Dutch there would conform. Their pulpit would soon be vacant and the patronage was vested in Colonel Peter Schuyler, who wanted an English-speaking minister. Vaughan warned that it would not be

"prudential" to have too much publicity, which might cause alarm. From his house at Newark, Isaac Browne watched for a favorable moment, which came when the conservative Schuyler party shut out the others, who defiantly held services on the church steps. When the majority won, the colonel and some others joined the Episcopal parish in Newark. Some of the seceders became regular subscribers, John Schuyler became a warden, and George Vrieland served as a vestryman. Browne regularly gave a third of his time to Second River, taught the catechism and lectured to a crowd of young people.⁵⁸

Colonel Peter Schuyler was a prize, one of the Church's most lavish patrons. At Newark he contributed heavily to build the church, and gave a glebe and a rectory costing about £500 currency, for which the Society wrote him its glowing thanks. He was personally popular because of his kind treatment of troops he commanded for an expedition against the French in King George's War. The parishes of Newark and Second River were plunged into deep mourning by the death of this "very worthy Friend and Benefactor," after an excruciating and patiently borne illness from cancer. Browne believed that he died as "a very serious and devout Christian, after having liv'd a brave Soldier."⁵⁹

The parishes in New Brunswick, Newark and Second River owed much to the Hollanders, but they did not generally move into the Episcopal fold. They were closer to the Presbyterians than to the Anglicans, and English influence was not so pervasive as in New York City. The missionaries rarely penetrated large Dutch areas, such as old Bergen County, which had no Episcopal church until the founding of Saint Matthew's, Jersey City, about 1805. The great Dutch farming region of Somerset County remained nearly untouched by Anglican influence, without any parish until one sprang up at Somerville in 1851.

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SOME HUGUENOT LEAVEN

The Church received some valuable converts from another traditionally Calvinistic group—the French Huguenots. Persecuted in their motherland after King Louis XIV abolished the edict of toleration in 1685, they escaped in large numbers to Holland, Prussia, Great Britain, and the American colonies, where they scattered from Massachusetts to South Carolina.

Some Huguenots settled in New Jersey before 1700, and one group founded a church near Hackensack. Others located in the Raritan Valley, in Monmouth County, and around Burlington. The stricter Calvinists among them favored the Reformed Dutch and Presbyterian churches, while some of the more liberal were friendly towards the Anglicans. French names appear with surprising frequency in the parish records of New Brunswick, Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Burlington. The Pintards, Perrines and Rues of Monmouth County, the DeCous of Burlington and Trenton, the Grandins of Hunterdon, and the La Granges and Brasiers of New Brunswick were staunch Churchmen and sometimes served as wardens and vestrymen.

GERMAN FRIENDS

The Church also made some close and friendly contacts with German settlers in the central and western counties. The Amwell mission included a large number of Lutheran and Reformed Germans, who kept in touch with their more numerous brethren in New York and Pennsylvania. Some tended to slip away from their traditional religious allegiances, because of infrequent pastoral visits, unpopular ministers, and long vacancies due to the shortage of German clergy.

When the Society established its mission in Hunterdon County, many Germans showed a friendly interest and offered to help. The "Dutch" Lutherans sometimes worshipped in Saint Andrew's at Amwell, and even promised to assist in com-

pleting it, as they had no settled minister. Frazer granted them that favor, after consulting his brethren, who showed what they felt about Lutherans, by stating that he might do it "with the greatest Safety." As he did not let their service conflict with his own, the Society gave its blessing.

In Sussex County, Uzal Ogden found German families who were "particularly desirous" of associating with the Church.⁶⁰ But the number of real converts probably was small, because like the Dutch, the Germans regarded their own church as a bastion of their cultural identity.

A FEW JEWISH CONVERTS

With them and with some other immigrant groups, a few Jews occasionally wandered into New Jersey and settled in the towns. Conversions to the Church from Judaism were not unknown in the colonies, and were reported to the Society by Samuel Johnson of Stratford and Henry Caner of Fairfield, Connecticut. One of the missionaries in Georgia was a converted Jew from Greece, named Ottolenghi. A report from Thomas B. Chandler, rector of Saint John's in Elizabeth Town, mentions a convert from the Old Testament faith.⁶¹

CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH THE SWEDES

Of all the non-British groups, the most cordial toward the Church were the Swedish Lutherans. They were descended from Swedes and Finns who settled before 1700 on the Delaware lowlands from Gloucester to Cohansey, and even as far east as Egg Harbor, where the missionaries found them. A traveling Swedish botanist, Per Kalm, in the middle of the eighteenth century, found many still speaking the Swedish tongue at home and sending their children to Swedish parochial schools. Their churches—Holy Trinity in Swedesboro (Racoon) and St. George's at Pennsneck (Churchtown)—were founded between 1700 and 1720 by a mission supported

by the established Church of Sweden. As members of a state church, the Swedes were naturally sympathetic towards the Episcopal Church, which they often respectfully called "the High Church." Many intermarried with the English, adopted their customs, and even Anglicized their names.

The Swedes gratefully remembered that some of their missionaries, passing through England, received help from the Church. An especially touching instance occurred in 1725, when the Society received a petition from Peter Tranberg and Andreas Windrufwa, who were shipwrecked on their voyage to America and taken by a French ship to Norway. They found their way to Holland and England, living upon charity. Having saved nothing but their lives, they appealed to the S. P. G. through the Swedish envoy to England, and received help in getting to New Jersey.⁶²

One of the happiest relations between the sister Apostolic Churches was the kindness of Swedish priests in supplying vacant Anglican pastorates. In the 1720's, the Society granted £10 each to the Rev. Messrs. Hesselius and Leidenius for holding services at Saint John's, Salem. Tranberg loyally repaid the Society's kindness, when Holbrooke requested leave to visit England in 1727, by offering to take his place, as he lived only twelve miles away and understood English "pretty tollerably." In the interval between Holbrooke and Pierson, 1729-33, Tranberg preached sermons and administered Holy Communion at Salem as often as possible. Nineteen parishioners, with Pierson and Commissary Cummings, gratefully informed the Society that his efforts and sound doctrine had rescued their almost perishing church, and recommended him for a worthy reward. In sending an account of his services, Tranberg declared that he would serve vacant Episcopal churches to the utmost of his power. It is not pleasant to record that he had not received 40s, although his travel expenses had been very heavy.⁶³

After the Society abandoned the Salem mission about

1751, Saint John's leaned almost entirely upon the Swedish clergy, particularly the Rev. Erik Unander. Upon his return to the motherland, the wardens and vestrymen informed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Society that for seven years, out of "pure compassion," he had been their sober, zealous, and faithful pastor, by preaching, reading prayers, teaching the catechism, and visiting the sick. Because they could not suitably reward him, they hoped that the Church in England would. Unander told the Society that for eleven years (1749-60) he had served pastorless Episcopalians in New Jersey, read the liturgy, preached on Sundays and weekdays, taught the catechism, and baptized over fifty adults and several hundred children. He hoped that the Society would recognize his devotion, but they were by no means over-generous in giving him a gratuity of £20.⁶⁴

The Churchmen of Gloucester and Waterford also had good reason for gratitude to the Swedish clergy. Before Nathaniel Evans came, they invited Dr. Wrangell of Philadelphia, provost of the Swedish churches, to preach to them occasionally on weekdays. Because some of his parishioners lived around there, he gladly came for more than a year, awakening many to a serious consideration of religion and winning back principal families who had almost forgotten their Church and begun to lapse into sectarianism, without the sacraments. The good doctor also visited the Episcopalians and the Swedes at Egg Harbor in the spring of 1766. In the autumn Evans returned the favor when he traveled to Cape May, Egg Harbor, and along the coast, ministering to the Swedes and the English.⁶⁵

Other Anglican missionaries also showed that Christian charity should not be one-sided. A few months after his arrival at Salem, Pierson planned an early visit to the Swedes and the English at Maurice River, about thirty miles southward. When Saint George's, Pennsneck, had no regular pastor, 1744-50, Pierson and Thompson abundantly repaid the Lutheran ministrations to Saint John's. By special invitation, Pierson

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added the parish to his "Ridings," visited on Sundays and holy days, and expected the Swedes and the English to form one congregation. While the days were long, he preached at Salem in the morning and at Pennsneck in the afternoon, and in winter he visited Saint George's every third Sunday and generally had a larger turnout than at Salem. Upon invitation, Thompson went there one Sunday a month until a Swedish priest arrived in December, 1749.⁶⁶

The cordiality continued throughout the colonial period, and after the Revolution brought sorely needed help to the badly shaken Church. Because Swedish speech and customs had long been fading, the Swedish Church decided to abandon the American mission within a few years after the war. Cast adrift, the parishes eventually adopted the Prayer Book and formally joined the Episcopal fold. Shortly after the Revolution, Holy Trinity parish in Swedesboro built the handsome brick church that is still the town's chief ornament. In the 1810's and 1820's, the parish had the largest communicant list in the Diocese of New Jersey. The reason was that in 1809, for the first time in the history of the province and state of New Jersey, confirmation was administered to 251 persons by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania in that parish, and this was the turning point in the revival of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey. Descendants of the Swedish pioneers still attend services there and at Saint George's in Churchtown, near Pennsville.

THE QUAKERS GROW FRIENDLY

The Church's most important religious and social relations were with the British Dissenters. Depending largely upon personal and political conditions, they varied from downright hostility and bitter controversy to something like cordiality. In the long run the essential factor was political, and that was especially true of relations with the Quakers, whose hostility toward the Church was sharpened by the conversion of

George Keith and his friends. Episcopalians, on their part, made no secret of the fact that they regarded the Friends as hardly Christian, and resented their political influence among the proprietors of East Jersey and their dominance in the southern counties, complaining bitterly of their power in the Assembly, the courts, and education. Churchmen also accused the Friends of using their social and economic prestige to injure the Church in a quiet way.

The chief center of friction naturally was Burlington, the little Quaker capital, and also the home of that intrepid champion of the Church, John Talbot. Almost at once he challenged the Friends to an argument and gave out several hundred copies of Francis Bugg's *Bomb*, a violently anti-Quaker book. They replied by publishing *False News from Gath*, which the parson intended to answer under the highly provocative title, *True News to Gath, Ashdod and ye Rest of the Uncircumcised, Unbaptiz'd Philistines*. He assailed Quaker doctrines at a meeting in the church, and several Friends appeared but did not answer. He even hired a room for Quaker books and hoped to convert one of their ministers by refuting them. Chaplain John Sharpe was so eager to smite the Friends that he took a copy of the *Bomb* into their meeting and read a dare to debate. Samuel Jennings, a minister, put him off very neatly by standing up and crying "Friends, let's call upon God." After prayer, the meeting broke up.

The result was a blizzard of "scandalous" letters from Quakers, all indicating a plot to oppose the Church. One came from Keith's old enemy, William Rakeshaw, who had strenuously opposed him at the last yearly meeting in Philadelphia and even snatched a paper from his hand. He said that the *Bomb* was a lie and that he would answer it in person, but never appeared. Talbot and Sharpe replied by preaching thunderous warnings against Quakerism, and by helping to support Keith's "Christian Quaker" yearly meeting in Philadelphia.⁶⁷

That hurly-burly set the unhappy tone of relations be-

tween Churchmen and Quakers for many years. When there was nothing else to complain about, Talbot and Weyman accused the Friends of appropriating Church lands, and with good reason. Campbell told the Society that the Church could expect no justice, while Quakers dominated the courts and the juries. Couldn't they prevent such enemies from thrusting themselves into places of trust and profit? It was useless to expect support or even respect for the clergy! If he did not have the success he wanted, it must be the fault of Quakerism, "in its Zenith of pomp and power." Even converts cherished the idea of an unpaid ministry, so that without the Society's bounty a poor parson would starve!⁶⁸

Salem mission could make little headway against pervasive Quakerism. Holbrooke declared that the Friends were five times as numerous as all others together, fairly overrunning the country, so that the Church was "eclipsed" and cut "but a poor figure." The missionaries were "under the same Conflict S^t Paul was at Ephesus." Pierson frankly stated his conviction that nominal Quakerism was the open door to infidelity. Many Quakers were so profoundly ignorant of religion that the "meaner sort" showed "a direct Tendency to Barbarism," while the more intelligent were "making the natural Transition from Enthusiasm to open Infidelity and Libertinism."⁶⁹

Relations between the two groups later became somewhat more friendly, because both were generally Loyalist and openly feared the growing political power of Presbyterianism. Presbyterian influence contributed heavily to Quaker loss of political prestige in Pennsylvania, and to the defeat of Anglican efforts to secure colonial bishops. In the 1760's, missionaries in the southern counties remarked upon the growing Quaker friendliness. Campbell wrote that Churchmen lived in the esteem of their Quaker neighbors. Evans, a conciliatory gentleman, frequently saw a considerable number of Quakers in church, although they did not receive the sacraments. He

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lived with the Quaker majority "in great harmony, and in an intercourse of mutual Civility."⁷⁰

The parsons even reaped a modest harvest of conversions from the meeting houses. Pierson delightedly reported baptizing a woman "of Good Repute," and prayed that God would "bring into the way of truth all those that have erred & are deceived." Skinner baptized three converts, and Browne "sprinkled" a former Quaker about thirty-five years old, and a woman of nearly seventy, "who had been bred a Quaker, But a Person of a very good moral Character." Wood once baptized a whole family of Friends in Elizabeth Town. Cooke reported a convert whose experience probably was typical of many. He baptized a woman beyond sixty, who had been brought up as a Quaker and had professed that faith until a few years past, when she began to attend Episcopal services constantly and soon wanted to prepare for baptism and Holy Communion.⁷¹

ARGUING WITH THE BAPTISTS

Contacts with the Baptists appear less prominently in the missionaries' reports, and the reason is not far to seek. As a group they were far less numerous than the Quakers, and were less interested and prominent in politics, business, and education. They had little wealth or social standing, and their democratic and loose-jointed government made them far less cohesive than the Quakers and the Presbyterians. But they were stronger in New Jersey than anywhere else in the Middle Colonies, and the Church occasionally ran head-on into their influence. As early as 1704, Colonel Lewis Morris was annoyed because Andrew Bowne, a member of the provincial Council, had encouraged Baptist preachers in Monmouth County. He urged the Society to send a good missionary there in a hurry, to keep the new converts in line.⁷²

The Baptists of Piscataway were a thorn to the clergy for many years, because their opposition to infant baptism

made even their Episcopalian neighbors very reluctant to have their children "sprinkled." When Vaughan looked that way, he was disturbed by "the Prevalency of the Errours and Heresies of the Anabaptists and Sabbatarians." The latter kept Saturday and, as he put it, *judaized* in their way of celebrating it and insisted upon working on Sunday. The preachers, he scornfully noted, were a carpenter and a shoemaker who had been promoting their doctrines for many years.⁷³

The fiery Welshman's denunciations proved far less effective in mollifying Baptist prejudices than the friendly approach of Leonard Cutting. He was not ashamed to say that he lived on "very friendly terms" with the Baptist minister at Piscataway, and agreed with him to visit there every third Sunday when he was absent, so that the Baptists could then flock to Saint James' Church—and they did! Other parsons also were so agreeable that a few Baptists occasionally decided that the Episcopal Church was not "mere rags of Rome." Skinner even used to find little Saint James' crowded with Baptists who wanted to hear the "priest" preach, and he reported baptizing a woman and two of her children at once.

Lindsay encountered a strong Baptist influence in the western mission, but persuaded some parents to let him "sprinkle" their children four or five years old. Morton received some converts from the "Anabaptists," as he liked to call them; and Frazer, a gentle and persuasive character, once threw strict custom to the winds and baptized a man and his five children on Good Friday.⁷⁴

Sometimes the clergy were ready to admit that the "illiterate" Baptist preachers were on the ground long before the Church's missions, and occasionally their popular appeal edged Anglicanism out of the picture entirely. When Uzal Ogden began his long and successful mission in Sussex County, he discovered that the only ministers of religion who had preceded him were some Baptists.⁷⁵ In South Jersey Baptist doctrines spread rapidly after the middle of the eighteenth cen-

ture, and their popularity was one of the reasons for the early demise of the Episcopal church in Cohansey.

"PAPISTS"—A FEW

The southern counties also were one of the few places where Anglican missionaries encountered Roman Catholic influence. "Papists" are rarely mentioned in the hundreds of reports to the Society, and then usually as "few," "none," or "none professed." The cause of the obscurity was the harsh penal laws against Roman Catholics, passed after King James II (1685-88) had tried unsuccessfully to bring England back to papal obedience. They applied to the colonies, which passed severe laws of their own, and except in Pennsylvania and Maryland, "Papists" were a small and rather furtive minority, occasionally visited by traveling Jesuit priests like "Father Farmer" (Ferdinand Steinmeyer), who used to pass through New Jersey. Most of the faithful were German glass workers around Glassboro, miners at Ringwood in Morris County, and Irish servants on farms and in trading towns and seaports.

As the eighteenth century wore on and poverty-stricken Ireland grew ever more crowded, many "Teagues" sought a haven in America, often through the harsh ministrations of the white-slave dealers. Pierson of Salem reported a steadily growing number of imported Irish "Papists," and by 1740 some sixty or eighty such poor people were scattered through his parish. He believed that if there had been no church at Salem, many of them would have been in danger of "becoming a Prey" to priests in Pennsylvania, who sometimes crossed the Delaware. The number of Roman Catholics must have grown vastly within a few years, because in 1727 Holbrooke had reported only one family in Salem County.⁷⁶

Probably because of its nearness to the German regions of liberal Pennsylvania, Lindsay's mission along the Delaware contained a few Roman Catholics, but he wrote that they kept "under disguise." Strangely enough for such a usually

well-informed parson, Thomas B. Chandler as late as 1762 made the amazing statement that there were *no* "Papists" in New Jersey. It is an obvious inference that he had not bothered to look for them.⁷⁷

BRITISH DISSENTERS

The good doctor was too busy waging his battles with the group which Churchmen generally regarded as their "chief Enemies"—the Calvinistic British Dissenters, by which they usually meant the Presbyterians and the "Independents" or Congregationalists. It was generally a losing battle, for, as he confessed, they were three times as numerous in his parish as the Anglicans, and even worse, were "more active against us than our Friends are for us." Like many another missionary, he frankly accused them of laboring to undermine the Church while making the fairest professions of friendship.⁷⁸

Similar complaints came from nearly every mission, and often lumped together all Dissenters as foes of the Church. Haliday, who was very suspicious anyway, saw plots everywhere to put Quakers and other Dissenters into places of public trust, "to the Manifest ruine and Detriment of the Church in the Jerseys which by the designed change of the Councill might in all likelyhood be effected." Many years later, the wardens of Saint Peter's sounded the same note, complaining that the Church's enemies were "Ready to Seize every Opportunity and Improve the Least difference in Opinion among us, to Serve their own Purposes." They must have been referring to the "Swarms from New England and Ireland" who, as Skinner wrote, came to New Jersey every year and were embittered Dissenters.⁷⁹

Where Dissenters were overwhelmingly predominant, as in strongly Puritan Newark, they even indulged in petty persecution that drew complaints from the wardens and vestrymen. Browne discovered that *The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to Mr. White's Three Letters* had been circulated in Newark

"as a sure Antidote to prevent the growth of the Church," and that the adversaries were continually "employing all manner of Artifices" to keep people from embracing Anglicanism.⁸⁰

The same unpleasant situation occasionally arose at Woodbridge and Piscataway, where the few steady Churchmen were engulfed in an ocean of Dissent. Skinner warned the Society not to neglect the poor little flock in Piscataway, as it was "Surrounded with the Terrors of New England & Geneva (I mean Dutch & Independents) & intermixt with Anabaptists & Quakers in great Numbers." Later James Parker and other Churchmen in Woodbridge lamented the growing and dangerous breach between them and the Presbyterians, and particularly the controversy between Jonathan Mayhew, the Boston Congregational divine, and the Rev. John Beach of Newtown, Connecticut. The local Dissenters were showing an envious disposition and an un-Christian spirit of persecution, claiming a liberty of conscience which they seemed to be unwilling to allow to others. "We do not trouble them: but they will not eat their Bread in Quiet with us."⁸¹

On the frontier, where "New Light" evangelism reigned supreme, opposition sometimes became nearly intolerable. Churchmen lived in actual fear, like those of Amwell and upper Hopewell, who in petitioning for a missionary wrote about "the Hetrodox doctrines, of such dangerous Sectaries, & Separatists; with whom we live." Lindsay reported that Quakers and other Dissenters were so numerous around him that he did not dare to breathe the word "contribution." They all differed among themselves and united only in opposing the Church, and in frightening the ignorant by talk about bishops' courts and tithes, and abusing the liturgy.⁸²

Opposition increased to new intensity when a settled pastor came to that region. Andrew Morton found himself surrounded by a host of Puritans, "New Light" Presbyterians, and infidels, all scrapping among themselves but all inveterate enemies of the Church. And before long he became the victim

of a "conspiracy" to blacken his character by accusing him of fornication. His troubles, followed by a long vacancy, left poor Frazer with only a few Church families at Amwell, while the Presbyterians had three meetings within ten miles, so that he despaired of ever seeing the parish restored to its once flourishing state. The Dissenters, he reported, never failed to plant their ministers where they thought the Church would be likely to prosper, and always strove to prejudice the popular mind. That was why he kept finding nominal Episcopalians forty years old, who had never heard a Church minister!⁸³

The weak southern missions had an even tougher time in trying to hold their ground against Dissent. How lonely they were appears from the fact that in 1727 Saint John's, Salem, was the only Episcopal church in the stretch of 140 miles from Burlington to Cape May, while the congregations at Cohansey (Greenwich) and Maurice River were small. There were only 250 Churchmen among the 4,000 souls in Salem County—lost in a sea of Lutherans, Quakers, Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists, and "Papists." Pierson later commented on the difficulty of approaching the poor servants and slaves, because of "the stupid Biggotry & prejudice of the Sectaries whose authority many of these poor People are obliged to obey."⁸⁴

The most critical spot in relations with Dissenters was Elizabeth Town, after Chandler's defense of the Church and promotion of an American episcopate became hot political issues. He asserted that they were "using all their Dexterity" to win people from him, while political circumstances put the Church on the defensive and brought abuse upon the Society, if the clergy said anything in their favor. If they said nothing, their people grew moderate or indifferent, and his own parish was an example. He had always lived on good personal terms with Dissenters and some of them were his friends, but others always tried to malign him and to bring the Church into disrepute by their insinuations. The Presbyterian minister gave

evening lectures and pleased some Episcopalians by his appearance of zeal and piety. Dissenters triumphantly pointed to the number of sudden conversions among them, and asked: why were there none in the Church? The good doctor confessed that he hardly knew what to do, because to attack openly would stir up bitterness, and in a crisis the Church would be deserted by many pretended friends!⁸⁵

It is amazing that, under such conditions, the Church attracted so many converts from the Dissenters. Even poor Morton, when bitterness was at the explosive point, thought that the loss of a few "dissolute & disorderly Persons" from the Church would be amply made up by converts! As bleak a prospect as one could imagine confronted Brooke when he arrived in Elizabeth Town. His parish from there to Freehold was one mass of Dissenters, and yet within a few years many conformed to the Church. Vaughan even claimed that recent converts from Dissent were much more zealous in promoting their new faith and more constant at services than those who had been brought up in the fold. He frequently visited Dissenters in their houses and discovered that an affable and even temper could win them, especially Baptists and Quakers. Preston of Perth Amboy, a hearty and likeable man, made great inroads into the Dissenting ranks. After he had been there a short time, the wardens declared that if the Church continued to increase so fast, there would not be a Dissenting family left in town. Some from every family came to church every Sunday, and the parish had to build a new gallery!⁸⁶

Christ Church, New Brunswick, had unusual success in softening the hearts of Dissenters, perhaps because many were tired of being in the center of "New Light" revivals, and wanted peace. When the people asked for a missionary, they noted that many former Dissenters were "well affected" towards the Church, and Seabury wrote that when there was no Dissenting minister, several persons of various faiths attended services. Several even became friendly enough to rent

pews. McKean thought that even if the parents never conformed, their children probably would. Churchmen avoided controversies as much as possible, and Dissenters therefore began to lay aside their old bitterness and even to like the decency, order, and solemnity of the liturgy, the Church's pure doctrine, and the congregation's devotion and courtesy.⁸⁷

The friendly atmosphere in New Brunswick was due mostly to the liberal and generous mind of Robert McKean, who made friends for the Church throughout the Raritan Valley. Among his more remarkable conversions was that of a large family in Woodbridge. The father was a tradesman and farmer of good reputation, who had become a Dissenter or lapsed into complete indifference, although his parents were Episcopalians. After attending services for some years, he asked McKean to officiate at his home, seven or eight miles back in the country, and after service presented for baptism seven of his children, including two adults.⁸⁸

The babel of sects in Monmouth County offered to the Church one of its most stimulating challenges. Skinner declared that religious differences were greater there than anywhere else in the province. The Dissenters were angry when any of their number turned to the Church, and he wrote, "when they can no longer stand their ground, they will Maintain a Running fight, and I heartily wish the Missionary may be qualified for a Pursuit." The right man appeared in Samuel Cooke. Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians all liked and came to hear him, and he even dared to hope that a few would eventually join the Church. Until the Revolutionary troubles burst upon him, he found it natural to live in peace and quiet with the people of all other persuasions.⁸⁹

One of the most hopeful aspects of conversion from Dissent was the ever-increasing number of candidates for holy orders which attracted public notice. Churchmen in New Brunswick assured the Society that its support was winning the best students, children of sober and worthy Dissenters, to

declare for the Church and to seek her orders. A surprising number of the New Jersey missionaries were converts from Roman Catholicism or from Protestant denominations, and included Isaac Browne, Jonathan Odell, Robert McKean, William Thomson, Michael Houdin, Thomas B. Chandler, John Pierson, and Abraham Beach, not to mention the great Keith.⁹⁰

"MODERATION"

More friendly relations were due partly to the mellowing spiritual temper of the eighteenth century. It became more and more "latitudinarian" (broad) as the bitter religious intolerance of the preceding age receded and rational views gained favor in Great Britain. Voltaire, the French philosopher and reformer, was agreeably startled by the liberal religious climate of England, even early in the century. The English, he cracked, had one hundred religions and only one sauce. Outside of the strictest "New Light" circles, Dissenters became more "reasonable" and cooperated with Churchmen in educational and humanitarian movements. Many Dissenting ministers favored the liberal and undoctrinal Christianity of Universalism and Unitarianism.

That temper steadily spread in the colonies, and not all church folks had such angular elbows of conviction that they could not occasionally sit side by side at the same table. In the very heat of the episcopate controversy, the Anglican clergy obtained help from Dr. Francis Alison, a noted Presbyterian minister, in establishing their Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen. They consulted Dr. Richard Price, an English expert on annuities, without balking at the fact that he was a pillar of Dissent. Churchmen and Dissenters collaborated in founding the New Jersey Medical Society. Isaac Browne of Newark joined with Pastor Alexander MacWhorter of the Presbyterian meeting to help in establishing and governing the local academy. Churchmen and

Dissenters attended the same schools and sometimes agreed on public questions.

When politics did not blow the bellows of intolerance to inflame smoldering fire, every missionary could point to instances of Dissenting "reasonableness." In spite of his intense dislike of "Enthusiasm," Campbell lived in peace with Dissenters, and he hoped to win them when the "madness and folly" subsided. Browne declared in 1750 that his parishioners had a good understanding with their neighbors of other churches. At Perth Amboy, McKean noticed that former Dissenters frequented the church and began "to evidence more than common Regard to our Way of Worship." In Preston's time there were only two Quaker and a few Presbyterian families, but the latter frequently came to church, because their meeting house had not been open for two years. So many of his flock were new members that there were only 30 communicants. At Woodbridge also, the congregation was larger when the Dissenters had no meeting.⁹¹

The religious diversity of New Brunswick did not keep people from living together as friends, "fond of cultivating, and cherishing Peace, & Brotherly Love, one with another." When the Dutch had preaching only every third Sunday and the Presbyterians had none, they flocked to Christ Church. Cutting dared to hope that in time even the Presbyterians might become reconciled. Beach adopted a kindly and candid attitude as the most likely way of inducing Dissenters to regard the Church with "Coolness & Impartiality," and saw the success of his trial in several conversions.⁹²

The later missionaries in Monmouth County did not find the Dissenters hopelessly settled on the lees. When Ayers visited Cranbury, Middletown Point, and Bordentown, he was astonished to find that most of his hearers were Dissenters. In the milder seasons many crowded into his churches at Freehold and Spotswood. When the old church in Shrewsbury was demolished to make way for a new one, the Presbyterian

minister and his elders offered the use of their meeting house, which was gladly accepted by Cooke and his vestrymen.⁹³

There were few places where Dissenters were so hot against the Church as in Hunterdon County. Yet Houdin reported that in Amwell over 200 Presbyterians and some Baptists joined with Episcopalians in summer services. Many of them, "observing the Peace and Charity among our Congregations, and the Troubles and Dissentions among others," contributed to finish the church. When Hunterdon Churchmen petitioned for a missionary, people of other faiths declared that they were ready to promote building a church, if they could get an Episcopal minister. Morton was delighted because many, who at his arrival appeared to hate the liturgy, heartily joined in it and decently made the responses. Unreasonable prejudices were fading every day, and on the frontier people were amazed that Episcopal doctrine and discipline differed so much from what they had thought. When Saint Andrew's Church, Amwell, was being repaired and finished, Frazer wrote: "Several moderate and well-meaning Dissenters have not been backward on this Occasion." The Presbyterians even came to church steadily after the death of their minister, Mr. Kirkpatrick.

"This Gentleman's good Sense, benevolent disposition, and Catholic Spirit seem to have their proper effects upon his Congregation—who are not any ways tinctur'd with that rigid Severity in their Religious notions so peculiar to some Dissenters."⁹⁴

The region about Trenton was a Gibraltar of Presbyterianism, but in the 1730's Joseph Morgan, the minister at Maidenhead (Lawrenceville), was agreeable towards the Church. He even asked Edward Vaughan to send one of his writings to the Bishop of London, to whom it was dedicated! Agur Treadwell was sometimes invited to officiate in the meeting house there, and always used the full liturgy. When the Dissenters in Trenton had no pastor, several promised to

help support a missionary, and William Thomson certainly did not find it hard to live on good terms with them.⁹⁵

Nathaniel Evans could live peaceably with almost anybody, and preached wherever he was likely to get an audience, often to many Quakers and other Dissenters. On an exhausting tour to Cape May, Egg Harbor, and other shore places, he preached twice in Dissenters' meeting houses by request and used the Anglican liturgy, which apparently pleased the people, who seemed well disposed toward the Church but desperately needed instruction. During the short time he ministered at Salem, Thomas Thompson sometimes looked out over his congregation and saw a considerable number of Quakers and other dissenters.⁹⁶

At the opposite end of the province, Uzal Ogden, a man of ecumenical disposition, inspired the same spirit in others, and actually sought friendship with the Dissenters. He accepted invitations to read prayers and sermons on weekdays in their meeting houses and homes, and they came to his Sunday services in droves. Many who had never seen the Episcopal service, and had considered it as "Papist," came to like it, attended constantly, and subscribed to build churches and pay his salary. People of all denominations attended at Peppercotten, nine miles from Newton, and Churchmen united with Dissenters in building a community church there.⁹⁷

Even in Elizabeth Town, that storm center of the perennial conflict, relations were not always cold. Brooke reported that the Presbyterian minister had died in the meeting house while "railing against the Church," but the Dissenters later let him use the building upon his promise not to read any Church prayers. He complied, but stipulated that he might read the psalms, the lessons, the epistle, and the gospel, and then said all the rest of the service from memory! People came in hordes, and liked it all so much that they invited him to preach until his own church was completed. Most of them stayed to hear all the Episcopal services, morning and after-

noon. Vaughan discovered that although most of the inhabitants had been brought up in "the Congregational way," they were not too rigid to join in worship and even Communion. Even after Chandler had courted displeasure by his part in the episcopate imbroglio, he could say that he had always lived on good terms with Dissenters, and that lately they had become more friendly, came to church more frequently on particularly occasions, and sometimes outnumbered the Churchmen in the congregation.⁹⁸

THE DIFFERENCE IS FUNDAMENTAL

Friendliness sometimes reached the point where "high-flying" Churchmen began to be uneasy and to wonder what would happen next. Dr. Chandler thought that "moderation" was becoming dangerously prevalent, and attributed the static condition of his parish to the so-called harmony with Dissenters. The Church had really gained ground in controversy, but seemed to be only marking time when "Charity, Candor & Moderation seem to have been studied, or at least affected on both Sides." It was truly alarming to hear Dissenters say that they saw no advantage in conforming, because there was "no material Difference between ye Church & themselves." The good doctor fairly trembled to think that such a situation would compromise the Church's very principles.

"I fear that such is ye Moderation of ye Church, as to return ye Compliment in their Opinion of ye Dissenters. And possibly in Time we may come to think, that ye Unity of Christs Body is a chimerical Doctrine—that Schism is an Ecclesiastical Scarecrow—& that Episcopal, is no better than ye leathern Mitten Ordination."⁹⁹

Chandler was by no means alone in his doubts, for there were many on both sides who perceived clearly the essential differences between the Church and Dissent. The fundamental incompatibility became painfully obvious during the bitter

political and ecclesiastical controversies preceding the Revolution, when Chandler's intransigent high churchmanship made him a refugee. So long as the Church in the colonies was a part of the established Church of England, Episcopalians in the northern provinces inevitably regarded Dissenters as republicans, disloyal to the King, and were regarded by them as high-flying Tories and "prelatists."

The pre-Revolutionary agitations revived all the "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago," and added fresh sources of contention. Episcopalians remembered that where they were greatly in the minority, the Dissenters had persecuted them; while the Dissenters recalled bitterly that the Church had generally opposed the Great Awakening. Many of them regarded themselves as the "elect" and criticized Churchmen as worldly, formal, and "unconverted."

The "New Lights" never could forgive Episcopalian opposition to their efforts to establish the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1746. Governor Lewis Morris, a strong Churchman who disliked all Dissenters and particularly "enthusiasts," refused to grant them a charter, pretending that his instructions "inhibited" him, and was loathe to offend the missionaries, his fellow Churchmen, and the Bishop of London. When the Dissenters obtained a charter from his successor, Hamilton, the Anglican clergy charged that it was all a plot, that the governor had exceeded his authority as temporary incumbent, and that he was an old dotard! They even threatened to attack the validity of the charter—to the unbounded anger of the Dissenters. Skinner expressed the general Episcopalian attitude when he complained that the college would be "of ill consequence to the Church," and that the Dissenters would be "trusted with the education of our youth, will endeavour to warp them from all their principles and form them according to their own."¹⁰⁰

That unpleasant incident rankled in the hearts of Dissenters and Churchmen for many years, and made Presbyter-

ians and other groups all the more determined to thwart the Church at every possible turn. When the endless episcopate controversy was added to this and other causes of friction, persecution of the Church during the Revolution became inevitable. The Church's unpopularity at that time was the culmination of more than seventy years of steadily accumulating irritation, which no amount of superficial "moderation" could remove.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Schools of the Prayer Book

BEFORE the democratic ideal created a public school system, New Jersey's common schools were sadly neglected. Teaching was regarded as a casual trade rather than a respectable profession. Where schools were not supported by the church or by organized charity, they were left to shift for themselves. Newspaper advertisements for schoolmasters painfully revealed the low place of the ordinary school and its teacher in popular esteem.

In most places the desk was filled and vacated in a casual way that would give a modern school administrator the "screaming meemies." When the birch-wielder departed, with or without leave, the neighbors had a newspaper editor run a notice that they would like a good common schoolmaster, preferably unmarried and willing to take a small salary. People generally were not interested enough to sacrifice for the cost of a married man who would settle down and raise a family. They wanted somebody to "teach cheap," and too often they got somebody even cheaper than they thought possible.

Even in the most favored places the standard of learning was very modest. If the teacher could "spell well and write a good common hand," most people thought he would do, provided he were "well recommended" or "qualified"—terms that could be easily stretched. Simplicity and economy were the watchwords, and the greatest of them was economy.¹

Ordinary school teachers were generally of low social rank, and many were indentured servants. Some were decent fellows who had run into hard luck, but too many were jail-birds—shiftless, unreliable, and occasionally too light-fingered or too tough to be good company on the road at night. An Anglican missionary at New Castle, Delaware, described the

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

pitifully low condition of servant schoolmasters in his parish. Jonathan Boucher, a prominent rector in Maryland, declared that at least two-thirds of the little education there came from indentured servants or transported felons!

“Not a ship arrives either with redemptioners or convicts, in which schoolmasters are not as regularly advertised for sale, as weavers, tailors, or any other trade; with little other difference that I can hear of, excepting perhaps that the former do not usually fetch so good a price as the latter.”²

The situation in New Jersey resembled that in the neighboring colonies. The blame for the tragic situation rested upon easy-going popular endurance of low moral and mental standards, and miserable conditions of work, acceptable only to servants and wanderers. Though it is hardly credible that schoolmasters were always raked from the dregs of society, the references to so many bad ones suggest a slight popular respect for their calling.

The government's well-meant efforts to require licenses did not purge the profession of its dross. Excepting a few New England settlements where town meetings supervised education, the schools were wholly unorganized. There was no “system,” the common school drifted from teacher to teacher, and the provincial government ordinarily let schools take care of themselves. Township charters and some laws in East Jersey, relating to town schools, distantly foreshadowed the common school system of the nineteenth century. But action depended entirely upon local interest and private philanthropy. West Jersey provided for education of the helpless and dependent, and favored the *idea* of free schools, but actually left them to the care of churches, Quaker meetings, and towns.³

The royal government did nothing but license teachers, occasionally protect Anglican schools, confirm titles to school lands, and grant college charters. The Assembly begrudged

public funds for education, as Governor Belcher bitterly noted when he tried to raise funds for the College of New Jersey (Princeton). For a long time the legislators even frowned upon lotteries to benefit schools, but later relented in special cases.⁴

A law of 1746 temporarily exempted schoolmasters from militia duty. Quaker humanitarianism gradually quickened a public sense of obligation to educate the poor, helpless, and dependent, and the poor laws of 1758 and 1774 provided for education of poor, bound children.⁵ In 1762 an anonymous writer, "Jersey Man," published a curious dialog essay, advocating improved education of children. He flayed parents for allowing their offspring to grow up ignorant and wild, innocent of the first things in religion and morality. He proposed teaching trades to neglected poor children, and suggested a general system of elementary education.⁶

His was one of the first voices crying in the wilderness of educational neglect which the early Anglican missionaries found in New Jersey. George Keith lamented the want of Episcopal schools, and probably through his influence the Society in 1704 announced a plan to promote education, and later instructed missionaries to encourage parochial schools. The ideal was to get competent, well-bred teachers who would take the children to church, drill them thoroughly in the catechism, gently mold their manners, and foster respect for the clergy and the Church. They were expected to consult the pastor about school affairs, to teach Negroes and Indians and especially poor children, and to make detailed reports of their work. Missionaries were ordered to help by catechizing the children, and by distributing religious books and tracts, especially among the poor.⁷

The Society's schoolmasters were dedicated to religion. Many served as layreaders, and all would have been in deacon's orders if it had been possible to ordain them in America. The Society soon decided to prefer catechists and schoolmasters already in orders or intending to become candidates, and thus to

provide for worthy young men educated in the colonial colleges.⁸

The Society paid many colonial schoolmasters, who taught the three R's, the catechism, and the usual prayers and graces for use at home. The cornerstone of religious instruction was the catechism, originally intended to prepare the young for confirmation. As that sacrament was never administered in America, the catechism became simply the primer of popular religion. In its eagerness to redeem very poor children from barbarous ignorance and gross impiety, the Society tried to transplant the English charity school, to prepare boys for apprenticeship and other employments, but expected parents to pay tuition when they could. The Society's schools helped greatly to remedy a scandalous lack of education for apprentices, servants, slaves, and poor children. By helping to accustom people to the idea of free education for the masses, they somewhat lightened the task of the later reformers of the common school.⁹

BURLINGTON

John Talbot, rector of Saint Mary's in Burlington, was not looking so far ahead when he demanded a parochial school. He thought only of training children in churchly ways, and had a powerful ally in his neighbor, Jeremiah Basse, who deplored the prevalence of ignorance and illiteracy:

"I wou'd humbly propose that all imaginable encouragement may be given towards the settling of good ffree Schools for the Education of our Youth that if possible the growing Generation may be timely leaven'd with the impressions of true piety and Religion, and I cannot but lament that in this Town we have no such thing as a Schoolmaster for the education of our Youth, tho' I doubt not had we some sober and discreet person, he wou'd not, nay cou'd not want encouragement and it wou'd render one part of the service of God more comely amongst us,

if when any such Gentleman came over he cou'd procure some ingenious ladd that understood singing and writ a good hand out of the Hospitals to attend and assist him and instruct the Scholars in the arts of writing and Psalmody."¹⁰

The "sober and discreet person" turned out to be Rowland Ellis, who appeared at the office of the Society in 1711 and accepted the appointment as schoolmaster in Burlington at £ 20 a year. Vexing delays in the sailing of his ship with the "Virginia Fleet" kept him waiting for a long and costly time in London and Portsmouth, and he did not leave until June, 1712. His hardships must have been lightened by a warm welcome from Talbot and the townspeople and the Society's gift of 40 shillings "for such Books as might enable him the better to discharge his Office." He got to work promptly and soon gathered twenty pupils. The Society was delighted by his kind reception, and the secretary, when mailing him the recent standing orders concerning schoolmasters, hoped that by care and diligence he would win the rector's and the people's "Love and Encouragement."¹¹

That hope, in spite of Ellis' faults, was fulfilled in the place he came to occupy in the esteem of the parish, where he served for a quarter of a century as teacher, and became a vestryman and the progenitor of a numerous Church family. His many detailed reports reveal the routine of a typical Society school. Every day after morning prayers, the school read a chapter or two in the Bible, then divided into classes for reading, writing, arithmetic or ciphering, and Latin, while the small children spelled and read. At eleven o'clock, all but the Quakers went to church in Saint Mary's. In the afternoon, the pupils drilled in reading and writing until four, devoted an hour to spelling, and then closed the day with evening prayers. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, Ellis drilled the Church children in the catechism, including the others when allowed, and every Sunday catechized in church, probably

in the presence of the parents, who could swell with pride when their offspring were letter perfect—and blame the schoolmaster if they weren't. He was nothing if not thorough, and taught the catechism with the aid of expositions and the Bible.

The day school generally included some 30 or 35 children, mostly of the Church, but with a good sprinkling of Quakers and Presbyterians. Ellis was especially proud of his evening school of about 15 or 20 adults, mostly apprentices and servants, including Negroes, who could come in the long winter evenings when their services were not demanded. The parishioners of Saint Mary's were so pleased with his work that they built him a schoolhouse. Ellis was proud also of his winning converts to the Church, even from the Quakers, some of whom threw their prejudice against formality to the winds and learned the Church catechism by heart! To speed up the good work he used to send home to the Society for Bibles and small devotional tracts. In spite of numerous troubles, he educated hundreds of poor children and won many souls to the Prayer Book. The Society was delighted with him, and gave him a special accolade in its report for 1715, mentioning his good work in teaching the catechism, and getting children to join in the services by chanting the psalms, "which is new in some Places, and to which the People were sometime very averse."¹²

The parents must have appreciated his good work in preparing their children to fend for a living in the hard colonial competition. In one summer six lads he had taught were bound out as apprentices. He concentrated on reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and the catechism, the things people valued as fitting their hopefuls for trade and perhaps heaven. There were no frills in Saint Mary's parochial school. Rector Talbot and the Society naturally looked for evidence of growth in the parish through his labors, and Ellis succeeded in pleasing them. The Society, especially, regarded him as a lay missionary and literature agent, and in 1717 sent him half a dozen Bibles,

a dozen copies of the *Christian Monitor*, a dozen tracts by Woodward on drunkenness, another dozen on swearing, and some on lying, with this typical advice:

“with Great Caution Distribute them where there are the most promising hopes that they will have a good effect upon their Lives and Conversations.”¹³

The faithful schoolmaster ran into plenty of troubles in seemingly quiet Burlington, for common school teaching in New Jersey was a harsh occupation. In 1716 the benches of his little school were sadly depleted by the fierce ravages of smallpox. The whims and prejudices of cranky parents were often as annoying as an epidemic. Some would allow their children to learn only the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Some lads went further on their own account, encouraged by his tracts and religious books, but Ellis wrote, “we are Oblig'd to keep it private from their uncouth parents who would soon revert their Opinions.”¹⁴

The Quakers used to have a saying, “No cross, no crown,” the title of one of William Penn's books. To Ellis the Quakers in Burlington were all cross. He found their children “kind and affable,” but their parents would not allow them to hear any Church of England teaching. But that was not the worst. The Quakers set up a rival teacher, in spite of the act of Parliament requiring teachers to be approved by and in communion with the Church of England, and in defiance of his license from the Society and the Bishop of London as *the* schoolmaster in Burlington. Ellis complained to Governor Hunter, but got no redress, and believed that he was not likely to, so long as that worthy favored the Quakers and disregarded the Church. He fumed against “a great abuse to ye Church, a great imposition upon the Hon^{ble} Society by lessening their Authority and rendring their Endeavours useless & last of all a great hardship & Incroachm^t upon my Priviledge—besides destructive to Christian Education.” His loss amounted to

many pounds, and the fees from Quaker pupils had helped a great deal when there were no other contributions. Rector Talbot also appealed vainly to Governor Hunter, and Ellis frankly told the Society that if he could not get justice, he would leave a place where "Justice & Equity are both kicked of (f) ye Stage."¹⁵

Daniel Coxe, a benefactor of Saint Mary's, even went to England to complain to the King himself against Hunter's government. Ellis complained bitterly to the secretary of the Society against Hunter's "heavy lash and Tyrannicall Administration," and his injury to the school by allowing a Quaker teacher, and vowed that his troubles were "enough to discourage any man." The Society took pity on him and requested Governor Hunter to help him. The rector, wardens and vestry of Saint Mary's praised his "Prudence, Modesty, Sobriety and Diligence," in spite of many hindrances, thanked the Society for sending and supporting him, and sought their help in persuading his royal majesty to instruct the governor not to permit Quaker teachers.¹⁶

The poor pedagogue's troubles with Quaker parents must have seemed endless. "With y^e Offspring of w^{ch} . . . inflexible people I have tried and used Several ways and means to bring them to the Knowledge of the fundamentals of the Christian religion, to w^{ch} The young ones were willing and tractable, but dare not by reason of a Strict Charge from the parents to the Contrary." The irate parents threatened that if Ellis tried to teach their youngsters the Church catechism, they would yank them out of the school at once. Ellis finally became tired of struggling with "sectaries having no knowledge and yet obstinate," in a barren and dry land, where apparently "all things but Christianity have a quick growth." He urged the Society to give him a school or some other service in England, where he would be near his parents and relatives.¹⁷

His complaint about the Quakers was published in the Society's report for 1719, and when some of the Quakers saw

it they began to make things so hot for him that he had to explain that they had never interrupted him in catechizing, but that the few who patronized him had merely asked him not to catechize their children, while others sent their hopefuls to other teachers. He even had to send certificates attested by the wardens and by William Harrison, the missionary at Hopewell. To offend the politically powerful Friends in old West Jersey was no light matter for a May morning.¹⁸

Some of the schoolmaster's crosses were laid upon him, alas, by those of his own household. When Rector Talbot proposed to go to England in the summer of 1719, he hired a layman to read services and teach a school. The rival probably was Michael Piper, later mentioned by Nathaniel Horwood as "formerly schoolmaster," who in 1719 helped Talbot to revise the catalog of the parish library. Amazed and angry, Ellis sharply reminded the Society that there had been "some Intruder or another" ever since he had come to Burlington. The latest had taken all but twenty-five of his pupils. "As our people are soe are the children, of many minds, and much for a new face." By next summer the new face was tired of his admirers and they of him, and Ellis hoped to have a good school again. But his income, besides the Society's salary, was still "very small and insignificant," because the people were so fickle.¹⁹

More than a year later the little school was still "in an indifferent Condition," as many of the parents were too poor to buy firewood and so kept their children at home, except in the summer and fall. In 1723 Ellis was teaching constantly, but with only Episcopal children, because the Quakers had their own school. About seven years later, the wardens informed the Society that he was behaving "with prudance, Sobriety and diligence, with constant attendance on his School, which is in a good thriving Condition and daily Increasing," in spite of competition from a Quaker schoolmaster and several women teachers.²⁰

Ellis always had to contend with enemies, who from time to time tried to get him ousted by charging him with gross neglect of duty. In 1715, during the fracas with Governor Hunter and perhaps by his instigation, the Society reprimanded him sharply. He hotly protested that he had not been idle and had not neglected the standing orders by not reporting constantly, that he had done his duty diligently and to the utmost of his ability, and intended to keep on that way. He imputed the charge to miscarriage of his letters, and Talbot hinted that Governor Hunter was to blame. The pastor stood by his teacher, declaring that he had "behaved himself Piously and Soberly, & hath been & still is circumspect and careful in his Calling, with constant attendance on the Business committed to his Care," in spite of abuses and opposition, and with little or nothing but the Society's salary. He was not in the least neglectful, as Secretary Taylor had charged.²¹

After Ellis had been teaching for over fifteen years, Talbot's successor, Nathaniel Horwood, called him "a person of application & Industry & highly qualified for y^e Employ." If the school was small, it was because there were comparatively few Church children, and because the Quakers had their own school and gave him no encouragement.²²

Enmity finally caught up with the aging schoolmaster, and about 1739 the Society believed stories that he was negligent, dismissed him, and stopped his salary. They had been instigated by Robert Weyman, the missionary, who in 1736 wished that the Society would order an inquiry into Ellis' behavior and usefulness. Later he complained that Ellis slighted his duty, and sometimes did not have even the appearance of a school for six months together, and he therefore had refused to sign his certificate.²³

Vaughan, the missionary at Elizabeth Town, joined in the opposition to Ellis, apparently without fully knowing all the circumstances. He forwarded to him the Society's letter of dismissal, and received the courtesy of an acknowledgment.

He thought Ellis had more reason to blame himself than the Society for his hard fate, and wrote to him, begging him to consider seriously whether he had not deserved the punishment sooner for his "notorious neglect of Duty," which Vaughan said he had witnessed. He had repeatedly reproved Ellis sharply and warned him to attend to business, and when asked by him to join with the clergy in West Jersey to request his restoration, declined to meddle and bluntly told him the reasons.²⁴

Ellis could be a spitfire in his own defense, and indignantly petitioned for redress, declaring that he had taught both rich and poor children for many years, and was distressed to be so brutally cut off when "farr advanc'd in years," as the Society's salary was almost all he had to support himself, a wife, and seven small children. He got strong support from Colin Campbell, who succeeded Weyman as missionary, from the wardens and vestrymen, and from Commissary Archibald Cummings of Philadelphia. The latter stated that he had known Ellis for about thirteen years, and had been assured by people in Burlington that he had taught as many children as were sent to him, and that, upon Ellis' promise to be diligent, he would recommend him.²⁵

Ellis continued to hammer away at the Society to restore him. If he had been as careless as Weyman had represented, would so many people have been willing to recommend him? Weyman, he said, had curtly refused to sign his certificate, saying, "I know nothing about it, make the best defense you can"—which differed widely from the parson's explanation to the Society. Vaughan had been in his house only once, and not in his school in twenty years. Mrs. Weyman (ah, *cherchez la femme!*) had set her husband against him, and Vaughan had been duped into signing a complaint, and later had declared that, had he known the facts, he would as soon have had his hand lopped off. Ellis claimed that his family had already suffered from the injustice, and wrote that if he were restored, he would use the salary due to him to help pay for

his house. Nearly five years after his dismissal, he was still denying Weyman's charge, and although without hope of restoration, thanked the Society for past favors and requested £15 he claimed as due to him. He requested the letter by Vaughan, who had denied writing anything against him. He had lost £27 by the death of an insolvent agent. "These things," he wrote, "are hard dealings with a poor man."²⁶

Perhaps one should give the poor old teacher the benefit of the doubt, as the affair has somewhat the look of a plot to get rid of him. It is painfully obvious that Edward Vaughan, a minister of the Gospel, was lying when he stated that he had written nothing against Ellis. It is hard to see how the commissary, the wardens and vestrymen, and Campbell could all have had been deceived with regard to his character. Campbell was bitter about the loss of the school, and demanded that the Society appoint somebody in Ellis' place, since he could not recommend him again. Church people had to patronize the three Quaker teachers in town, or go without. Lack of a school would soon undermine his work as a missionary, "and prove of dangerous Consequence to the Church." All the teachers he had thought of recommending were inadequate, and if he could get a small increase in salary, he would undertake the job himself, rather than have no school. The Society would not relent, and in 1743 told Campbell that the school would not be revived.²⁷

SPRINGFIELD

Talbot tried to establish a Church school at Springfield, a few miles from Burlington. About 1722 he engaged Mr. Searle, a schoolmaster, to read prayers and preach on Sunday, and lent him some of Archbishop Tillotson's and Bishop Beveridge's sermons. Several Quakers came to hear him and said "they never thought the priests had so much good Doctrine." Talbot considered him a better cleric than William Harrison, the missionary at Hopewell, and hoped that the Society would

appoint him a "half pay officer."²⁸ But there is no evidence that the Society ever did.

SHREWSBURY

They listened favorably to a petition in 1743 from 36 Churchmen in Monmouth County, who mourned because their children were being "perverted in their Religious Principles" by Dissenting teachers, particularly Quakers and Anabaptists. They wanted an Episcopal schoolmaster to teach "reading, writing and a little cyphering," and "the true Principles of Christianity according to the Worship and Doctrine of our most holy Church." They recommended Christopher Robert Reynolds, "an old England man well quallified for a Schoolmaster and firmly attach'd to the interest of the Church," who for many years had spent his time and money in serving the Church in Monmouth County. He was "a Person of such Sobriety and moderation" that they could certainly increase the Society's salary enough to give him an adequate support.

If ever a teacher came well recommended, Reynolds did. The powerful Lewis Morris called him "a Very fit man," having known him well and seen his "much pains" in teaching children to read and training them and older people to sing the psalms. Commissary Robert Jenney of Philadelphia gave him an "exceeding good character," and thought he would greatly help the Church as a teacher at Shrewsbury. William Skinner, the missionary at Perth Amboy, had been eager to get him as a catechist, praised his long service in Monmouth County, and confidently recommended him after an acquaintance of almost twenty years. John Milne, the missionary in Monmouth, declared that the Society could not spend its money better, as he had long served the Church just as much as if regularly employed, enjoyed the universal good will of the people, and needed the work because of poverty due to misfortune that was not his fault. "The man has been very useful in instructing Children in the first principles of Christianity; and by his

means several adult persons have been brought well instructed to receive Baptism of me." In thus recommending Reynolds to Edward Vaughan (who had met him at Milne's house), Milne was paying a debt, as Reynolds had joined with other members of Christ Church, Shrewsbury, in defending him against charges of misconduct.²⁹

From all he had heard while on a visit to the county, Vaughan was perfectly willing to endorse Reynolds, declaring that he had served as a precentor, without pay, during the ministries of Forbes and Milne and had done a great deal of good, and was a past-master in teaching psalmody. And after all, the governor and the chief justice approved him.³⁰

Backed by such a formidable array of sponsors, Reynolds got the appointment at £10 a year from September, 1744, with a gracious recommendation to the care of the new missionary, Thomas Thompson, who personally handed him the certificate. The parish hailed the news with joy, and never had any cause to regret it during the seventeen years he served.³¹

His little schoolhouse stood in the churchyard at Shrewsbury, and from time to time the missionary and the parish officers used to look in to see how well the master and his flock were getting on in psalmody and the Church catechism. Reynolds kept school from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon, and gave special attention to music and singing. The school was never large, in 1752 having only 25 pupils, including 18 baptized in the Church, the rest being Dissenters. Part of the time he also had an evening school, with 14 pupils in 1743 and 18 in 1744, and in the former year made £4:10s by that alone. He boarded at the house of a Mrs. Nicholson, whose daughter Sarah once licked him with the rough side of her tongue by saying that they had nothing to do but take care of his things! Sarah married Daniel Halstead, who a few years later sat with Reynolds in the vestry meetings of Christ Church.

Reynolds was a tower of strength to the overworked mis-

sionary, Thomas Thompson, and in 1749-50 undertook a special mission for him "along Shore" south of Shrewsbury, "among a parcell of poor ignorant people void of almost any knowledge of even the grounds of any Religion at all." He went to the region of Manasquan and Manahawkin to battle mosquitoes and ignorance for about a year, hoping "to add a great Number to the most refin'd Church upon Earth." The people subscribed for 20 pupils, and he served as teacher and catechist, reading Archbishop Tillotson's sermons or other good books to them on Sunday. He brought a considerable number of people to baptism, and even won converts from the Quakers.³²

The years passed quietly for him, in his teaching and leading the singing at church, reading prayers and sermons when the clergy were not around, keeping accounts for his neighbors, and for a while serving as a justice of the peace. After many years of loyal service, he died in August 1760, and was buried by the Rev. Samuel Cooke. He evidently lived and died a poor man, as his tax in Shrewsbury was only 5s:4d. He probably was a widower, as he left all his little estate to his daughter, Mary, the wife of John Grimstead, a gauze-weaver at the Blue Ball, Nicholas Street, near Hare Alley, Shore Ditch, London. His will, dated April 8, 1760, was witnessed by three vestrymen of Christ Church: Timothy Halstead, James Russell, and Josiah Holmes, and the latter and John Grimstead were his executors.³³

His pastor, Samuel Cooke, paid him a tribute of respect which many schoolmasters of the period could not earn:

"He was, to do him justice, during his health, active & Faithful in the Discharge of his Duty, & steady and warm in the Interest of that Church, in whose Communion he Lived & Died. Indeed, the Latter part of his Life being much on the Decline & Infirmities encreasing with his years, render'd him less Active & Serviceable than He formerly had been; tho' He perform'd the Duty of School-Master within a few weeks of his Death."³⁴

Cooke discussed with the vestry the desirability of asking the Society for another teacher, and found the majority in favor, some indifferent, others opposed. He sided with the latter, believing that the Society could spend its money better, and that the school would be a needless luxury in Monmouth County. His comments throw a rare gleam of light upon the attitude of the masses towards education:

“People here seem very willing & desirous to give their Children some Education—Even those who are indifferent and careless in Religion, and unwilling to Contribute anything towards the Support of a Minister, are far from Backward to advance liberally to have their Children taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. As for the Poor, whose Children, I judge, are the design’d objects of this Charity of the Societys, there are none in this County so poor but whose Pride is so great as to prevent their acknowledging it: And I have known M^r Reynolds to have affronted & disoblig’d Several of the Congregation in Offering to take their Children Gratis, when at the same time I have thought them proper Objects of this Charity.”³⁵

The Society could take a hint, and never appointed another teacher there.

SECOND RIVER

The Society was especially anxious to help communities without schools, and in 1756 found a worthy one at Second River. The place, about three miles north of Newark, was then a compact village of about three hundred inhabitants, chiefly Dutch, who spoke English pretty well, but seemed “profoundly ignorant.” They had no teacher until about April 1755, when Isaac Browne, the missionary at Newark, induced them to hire Samuel Browne, a young Yale graduate, to be their school-master and layreader. They liked him very much, but could not support him without help from the Society, which put him

on its payroll at £10 a year. He stayed there until late in August, 1761, then suddenly disappeared without even saying goodbye to his friends. The pastor, himself a student, easily guessed the cause. "By the poor Gentlemans behaviour for some Weeks before he left the Place, there is but too much reason to believe his Head was a little turned, perhaps owing to too sedentary a life and too much application to Books." As there were so many children needing to be taught, Browne asked permission to appoint a suitable successor with the same salary.³⁶

In a few months along came the right man, young Ephraim Avery, another son of Yale, who took charge on December 1, 1761. He would be glad to stay, with the Society's salary and some help from the people, and upon Browne's recommendation the Society appointed him from Christmas, 1761, with the usual £10 a year. As he was well recommended by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, he had no trouble in quickly getting 27 pupils, including five on charity.³⁷

Avery stayed about three years, reading prayers in the makeshift church, and constantly teaching four or five charity pupils, who got along well. His heart was set upon taking holy orders, and in September 1764 he secured a recommendation as a missionary, from the clerical convention of New York and New Jersey. He left the school next month, and in the following February was ready to sail to England for ordination, with a recommendation for employment in New Jersey, from Dr. Thomas B. Chandler. He was ordained by the Bishop of London and appointed to the vacant mission at Rye, New York.³⁸

Again Parson Browne had to look for a teacher, and at first thought he could get the brother of Samuel Seabury, Jr., later Bishop of Connecticut. But he accepted another place, and Browne temporarily appointed a Mr. Dow, "a sober, sensible Man" and a justice of the peace, who took charge of the

school shortly after Avery left. He was not acceptable to "some of the principal of the People," as they thought his Dutch education did not qualify him to teach an English school. Dow hoped the Society would hire him, as the stingy parents had not given him five shillings. Browne tried to console himself with the thought that if the pupils hadn't made any great progress, at least they had been kept from losing what they had learned. After waiting patiently for recognition for several years, poor Dow ventured to ask the Society for as much of the salary as they would grant.³⁹

Although Browne protested that he had done his best, the Society was irritated, and was not soothed by his statement that, if Dow had not taken over, the children would have lapsed into primitive ignorance. Dow was *not* well qualified, and was frequently interrupted by his duties as a justice of the peace, but Browne believed he had tried to do justice to the parents and their offspring. The children were not very regular, and in spring and summer many boys had to help their fathers in the fields, so that attendance fluctuated rather widely.

To add to the trouble, one William Stuart appeared and offered to keep school, although his sole recommendation seemed to be that he could not resume his old job in an English woolen mill. He got some of Dow's pupils, and taught the three R's so well and behaved in such a Christian manner that the people generally wanted him. As Browne could not find anybody better, he recommended his appointment to please everybody, especially as he had the welfare of the school "very much at heart," and the people greatly needed "Instruction of every kind." If the Society would only continue the charity, he would keep an eye on its condition as long as he stayed in the mission.⁴⁰

Poor Dow readily resigned by the Society's advice and Browne's suggestion, and Stuart got the job, and was so thankful that he kept the school diligently and everybody was happy. He generally had six or eight charity pupils, mostly very promising youngsters, who he hoped would be "a credit to

their Instructor and Ornaments to their Families." Their parents were too poor to afford any education that would keep them above "the lowest kinds of drudgery," and always shared their children's humble and hearty thanks to the Society. (*See below.*)

The school flourished almost constantly until the winter of 1776-77, when Stuart got into hot water because of his loyalty to his King, and to the British Constitution, under which he hoped "to see the Continent of America again firmly united." The American troops seized his school for a guard-house, and imprisoned him for opposing their use of the church at Second River as a barracks. Hating to abandon the school and see the churches abused and the country occupied by the "rebel" soldiers, he finally escaped to New York at the risk of his life. There he couldn't find work, and the cost of living was so extravagantly high that he couldn't support his family without the Society's charity. He pathetically hoped to continue in their service, and they paid him throughout the war.

His old pastor didn't desert him, and begged help for him, even when badly in need of it himself:

"He made his Resignation upon Principle, I make no Doubt, and modestly consented to starve rather than not act uprightly; but I verily believe he is distress'd with Want, he has made known to me as much indeed, and I cannot learn, that he has any Employment to preserve him and his Family from the Horrors of Famine & Nakedness. Agonizing Thought for an Head of a Family! Can he have any Relief?"

Help finally came, and we leave poor Stuart thanking the Society "with utmost Gratitude," because the generosity of his old patrons had saved him from utter destitution. His devotion to the Church is one of the most touching features of its long history in America.⁴¹

AMWELL

For a short time before the Revolution the Society pa-

tronized a school at Amwell. William Frazer, the missionary, was eager to get a regular schoolmaster, and praised the long and faithful services of Thomas Craven so highly that the Society in 1772 granted him a gratuity of £10. In sending them his thanks through Frazer, Craven stated his intention to continue teaching, and hoped that as soon as their funds would permit, they would constantly support his school, which he wanted to make "an Honour to the Church." His name does not appear among the Society's official schoolmasters, and the school, dependent upon the small parish in Amwell, probably disappeared in the confusion of the Revolutionary War.⁴²

PERTH AMBOY & PISCATAWAY

The Society's officially supported schools were only part of the Church's educational mission. Some of the clergy had been teachers, and eagerly promoted schools in their parishes. Thomas Haliday of Perth Amboy, an alumnus of the University of Edinburgh, had lived for many years as a tutor in the home of the brother of his patron, Bishop Gilbert Burnet of Salisbury. In recommending him to the Society, the good bishop wrote that Haliday seemed "to have a Genius for teaching a School," and intended to teach in the colonies under their patronage.⁴³

While serving at Perth Amboy in 1718, Haliday wanted to teach a school to increase his income and be more useful to the town. But through the influence of his old enemies, Willocks and Barclay, the vestry engaged and got subscribers for an usher from the Church school in New York City.⁴⁴ A few years earlier, about 1712, he had paid 40s to support a Church teacher in Piscataway, who wrote a good hand and taught well, but had to support a family on the pittance of £ 30 a year. Apparently without result, he suggested that if the Society would add another £8, it "would be very well and most Charitably disposed of."⁴⁵

When William Skinner came to Perth Amboy as mission-

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ary, Church education began to look up. For some years before his ordination he had taught Latin and Greek in a boys' grammar school at Philadelphia, and in 1720 appealed to the Bishop of London for the royal bounty and asked help from the Society. Several Swedish Lutheran and Anglican clergymen in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey recommended him as a diligent and satisfactory teacher, and Sir William Keith, the governor of Pennsylvania, declared that he had served in the public school "with extraordinary Success & universal applause."⁴⁶

Naturally Skinner was not disposed to let his parish go without a school, and throughout his service tried to maintain the educational prestige of the little capital of East Jersey. He soon discovered that Thomas Gordon, George Willocks, and John Barclay had given land for a public school and a teacher's house, whenever one "of suitable Abilities" should appear. In 1728 Willocks bequeathed two acres in the town to support a schoolmaster in case of a long vacancy in the mission.⁴⁷

In 1724 Skinner lamented that there was no public school in Perth Amboy, Piscataway, or Woodbridge, and tried to persuade the Society to patronize Mr. Savage, who kept a private school in Perth Amboy.⁴⁸ Four years later he was still hammering on the lack of support for a teacher in the town, telling the Society plainly than nothing would contribute more to his own satisfaction and the success of his mission than a good teacher:

"A pious and Sober man in that Station would by Diligence and a faithfull discharge of his Duty lay y^e foundation of religion and make Such early impressions of Vertue . . . that time cou'd hardly wear them out."

His extensive travels forbade him to teach, as he was hardly ever in one place for two days at a time. What with no assistant teacher and careless parents, vice and "the rant peculiar to this Country" generally got a fatal head start. Perth

Amboy then had a faithful schoolmaster, John Gifford, "remarkable for his Piety, Sobriety and other Christian Vertues, a Constant Communic^t: of our Church, taking particular Delight in his Office," and very useful to the Church. But he got so little support from the parents, and the demands of a wife and five small children were so great, that he would have to leave unless the Society would give him some help. There is no evidence in the Society's records that he ever became an official schoolmaster.⁴⁹

There are occasional tantalizing references to Church schoolmasters in and about Perth Amboy, until the Revolution. About 1738 Nathaniel Whitaker had been living near the town for over a year, teaching school, and behaving "prudently discreetly and Christianly," as a constant attendant and communicant at Saint Peter's. Skinner, Vaughan of Elizabeth Town, and Harrison of Staten Island joined in recommending him for holy orders.⁵⁰

Perth Amboy was hardly large enough to support a really good school, and as late as 1760 Governor Francis Bernard complained about the neglect. He eagerly supported the plan of Saint Peter's parish for a grammar school to be conducted by the missionary. When Robert McKean arrived in 1763, he took charge of the school and soon persuaded the vestry to build him a schoolhouse.⁵¹

NEW BRUNSWICK

While the Society never had an official schoolmaster in thriving New Brunswick, the Church there did not neglect education. In 1734, with the hearty support of Vaughan, the mayor, recorder and alderman—evidently all Churchmen or sympathizers—requested the Society to support a schoolmaster, John Cholwell, a loyal Churchman, for the sake of their city's poor children.⁵² One of the missionaries, Leonard Cutting, attempted to establish a preparatory school. He was well quali-

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fied by his education at Eton and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge University, and by serving for seven years as a tutor in King's College, New York. He noted the lack of good schools in the neighborhood to prepare boys for college, and as he wanted to increase his income, undertook the venture upon the advice of his friends. But the condition of the community and the attitude of the people soon discouraged him.⁵³

ELIZABETH TOWN

In the early days of his mission, Chandler conducted a small private academy in Elizabeth Town, partly in the hope of earning more money to support a growing family. But like other missionaries who tried it, he soon found that it took more time and interfered more with his pastoral duties than he had imagined it would.

"And when so many Doors are open for my being more useful, it is a great Unhappiness to me to be under Restraint—that when my Duty calls me abroad, my Necessities should confine me at Home, & to attend upon a School."⁵⁴

TRENTON

The missionaries at Trenton also mourned the lack of Church schools and even tried to undertake teaching. Michael Houdin had scarcely settled there, when he reported that a great many persons were unbaptized, not only through their parents' carelessness, but also because there had been no Church teachers to give them sound religious education. The neglect must have been well repaired by one of his successors, George Panton, who catechized constantly, and was well suited to teach, as he had received his bachelor's and master's degrees in Scotland, and had come over to America as tutor to a gentleman's children.⁵⁵

The Church's educational efforts never got much beyond the common school. The small private academies of the clergy

were short-lived, and the proposal to establish a college was a dream. John Talbot was eager to found a college or academy at Burlington, in the fine house which the Society had hopefully bought for a bishop's residence. His idea was occasionally revived, with plans for an extensive land endowment, but the founding of a school of higher learning there had to wait for more than a century—until Bishop George W. Doane founded Saint Mary's Hall for girls and Burlington College for boys.⁵⁶

In some respects the attitude of the missionaries and some Anglican civil officials towards education was irritating, and probably injured the Church more than it helped. They displayed an eagerness to extend episcopal supervision to teachers and schools, as part of their campaign to secure an American diocese. That alarmed and enraged the Dissenters, who dreaded the political influence of an episcopate with power over education. They bitterly remembered the English Schism Act of 1714, aimed to discourage all dissent from the Church of England by placing schools under strict episcopal control.⁵⁷

The Dissenters did not fail to notice that bishops patronized the Society's educational work and influenced instructions to colonial governors regarding control of schools and printing. At the suggestion of the Bishop of London, such orders went to several royal governors of New Jersey, including Montgomerie, Morris, and Belcher. In 1758 Governor Bernard, a firm Churchman, was ordered to forbid anyone to teach without a license from the Bishop of London or from himself. Two years later Governor Boone required magistrates to examine schoolmasters and give them certificates of approval before they could be licensed.

Although that policy aimed at a general improvement of teaching, it was favored with other motives by many royal officers and Anglican missionaries, who were not unwilling to use it to curb dissenting schools and academies. The consequent feelings of Dissenters disposed them to regard the Episcopal Church and its schools as tools of an increasingly odious

Tory government. That attitude often increased anti-Episcopal bitterness in the Patriot party, from which the Church suffered very severely in the Revolution. Teachers and priests, driven from their homes and schools, described the persecution and decline of the Church in appalling reports to the Society.⁵⁸

The Society wisely did not try to erect a complete educational system, but limited its charity to the important common schools, and tried to provide capable teachers. Its seven official schoolmasters in New Jersey included several college and other experienced men who were capable of teaching more advanced subjects. They sometimes served as layreaders or catechists, and thus fulfilled the Society's wish to win converts through education. The Society's schools were open to both white and colored children, and their ideal of reaching the poor was one of the many influences that slowly established the rule of education for all as a right rather than a mere charity. They marked a stage on the long uphill road to democratic education supported by the state. In spite of their obvious limitations, they helped many children, servants, apprentices and slaves to fight their way upward; they opened the door to many of the underprivileged. It would be a mistake and an injustice to dismiss them as mere proselyting agencies. Historians have not yet given them their due.⁵⁹

The Anglican Church which gave to the English-speaking world its greatest classic and its most influential book—the King James or Authorized Version of the Bible—was anxious that each generation in increasing numbers should be able to read it. In this desire most Dissenters shared. But the Anglican Church went beyond the non-liturgical churches. Its Book of Common Prayer—second only to the Bible as an English classic—requires the active participation of the laity in the public worship of God. The "parish clerk" was only a temporary solution of this requirement. Only a laity, every member of which can read and thus participate personally, will approach the ideal of corporate worship so nobly and so ex-

SCHOOLS OF THE PRAYER BOOK

plicitly set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. This has always been one of the deepest religious motives of the Anglican Church in the fostering of education all over the world as well as in America.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Prologue to Self-Government The Clergy Conventions

THE CHURCH had scarcely struck root in New Jersey, when the scattered and isolated missionaries felt a longing for occasional consultation and companionship. Without the supervision of a bishop, their problems in a frontier society compelled them to adopt some way of deciding policy on the spot. George Keith and John Talbot saw the situation at a glance, and apparently inspired the first of a long series of meetings. Such clerical gatherings were not unknown in the colonies. In 1690 Commissary James Blair of Virginia summoned a convocation at Jamestown, and Commissary Thomas Bray of Maryland convened his clergy in 1700. Similar meetings continued throughout the colonial period.¹

EARLY CONVENTIONS: 1702-1713

The clergy in the Middle Colonies did not wait for any commissary to summon them, but "by general Consent" met at New York during the week of November 9, 1702. Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia, their gracious instigator and patron, paid the expenses of the attending priests who did not live in the city. Among those present were Keith and Talbot. The meeting considered ways and means of promoting the Church, and made a long report on its condition in New York, Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey.²

The next recorded convention met in New York on October 5, 1704, upon the advice of Governor Nicholson and Governor Cornbury of New York. Twelve priests came from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, including Talbot

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see *below*, "Notes."

and Innes, and drew up a thorough report to the Society on the state of the Church in each province. They commented on the want of books, and lamented the fact that the Church in New Jersey was without Queen Anne's bounty or any legal establishment. New Jersey had been "most infested with the Leaven of Quakerism, but by God's blessing upon y^e labours of y^e R^d M^r George Keith & M^r Alexander Innes many see their Errors and Cry aloud *Transiens adjuva nos*."³

The clergy requested the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Society to acquaint Queen Anne with New Jersey's plight. The only resident minister there was Innes, who had "done more Service to the Church than any Missionary here, and yet has had no allowance either at home or abroad." The traveling missionaries had spent most of their time in New Jersey, which had the most need of them, and Keith had won many converts. But only John Sharpe, chaplain to the fort in New York, was still traveling there.

The third convention assembled at Burlington on November 2, 1705, with John Talbot as the leader. Thirteen other priests represented New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. They discussed chiefly the want of a bishop, and decided to send Talbot to England to present a petition for one, with a letter to the Bishop of London about the expediency of appealing directly to the Queen. They informed the Society frankly that the Church was losing possible candidates for orders among the Presbyterians and Independents. They also wanted ministers to preach in Dutch and French, and fairly demanded schoolmasters licensed by the governor, to teach English.⁴

An informal convention at New York on December 12, 1705, consisted of six priests, including John Brooke of Elizabeth Town and Thoroughgood Moore. They were deeply distressed by the lack of Church literature, and to the Society strongly recommended William Bradford, the New York printer, who had suffered greatly by his conversion from Quakerism

and helped the Church through his printing and otherwise. They had urged him to print, by license from Governor Cornbury, the Prayer Book and Tate and Brady's version of the psalms, and they asked the Society to order Prayer Books for the colonies from him.⁵

A meeting of the clergy from Boston to Philadelphia, including Talbot, assembled in New York on November 24, 1709. They addressed the Bishop of London and the Society for relief of the widows of missionaries, requesting a year's salary, so that "the daughters of Creditable Families may thereby be Encouraged to marry with the Clergy which will very much Contribute to Strengthen the Interest of the Church in these parts."⁶

Another convention of clergy from New York and New Jersey gathered in New York on May 14, 1712, at the advice of Governor Robert Hunter. Harmony was jarred by the absence of William Vesey, rector of Trinity Church, who violently disliked the governor and, according to Chaplain Sharpe, headed a party bent upon alienating the clergy from him. But the ministers declared that they bore him no grudge, and thanked him for various favors. At the same time they expressed discontent with the Church's imperfect legal establishment and requested his advice asking the Queen for a better one. Most significant of all was their request for permission to meet twice a year, which he granted, saying that their conventions would promote and maintain good understanding, and enable them to report their work to the patrons in England.⁷

The next recorded meeting in February, 1713, discussed a painful matter concerning the Church in New Jersey—a long letter from that good patron, Colonel Lewis Morris, repelling "slanders" by the Rev. Jacob Henderson of Delaware. While thanking him for his long interest in the Church's welfare, the clergy felt compelled to deplore his lack of moderation and temper. Governor Hunter addressed the convention, repeating his hearty agreement with their advice, so far

as his power extended, and promised to remedy anything amiss in his policy towards the Church. The clergy thanked him for favors, deplored attacks upon him, and assured him of their good will. Among the ten who signed the address were Alexander Innes, Edward Vaughan, and Thomas Haliday of New Jersey.⁸

New Jersey missionaries of that period occasionally attended conventions of their brethren in Pennsylvania. About September 1713, Talbot met with three of them to plead for a bishop and to attack Governor Hunter for his disfavor towards Vesey and other clergymen, including Haliday of Perth Amboy.⁹

After 1713, the conventions apparently lapsed for about twenty-five years. The death of "good Queen Anne" in 1714 and the accession of George I of Hanover inaugurated an administration less favorable towards the Church. It was good policy for the clergy not to offend the unchurchly administration of Sir Robert Walpole, who opposed a colonial episcopate, the most cherished project of the New York and New Jersey conventions.

REVIVAL: 1739

But Walpole's clique began to lose ground about 1739, and the Bishop of London and the Society therefore thought the time was ripe for reviving the conventions. According to their orders, Commissary Vesey of New York on April 2, 1739, issued a circular letter to the clergy, calling a meeting in New York on May 2. He specially requested them to bring reports of their parishes and incomes, to be sent to the Bishop of London and by him to the Society.¹⁰

Even after that fair beginning, the meetings were not regular. There is no certain record of another, with representatives from New Jersey, until May 1741, when Colin Campbell of Burlington and several Pennsylvania and Delaware missionaries met in Philadelphia. Differing from some of their

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brethren, they disapproved the appointment of the Rev. Richard Peters as rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, charging him with causing discontent there. They hoped that the Bishop of London would not risk destruction of the Church's peace and unity. The incident is a hint of the increasing assumption by the colonial clergy that they should give advice on matters of policy and appointments.¹¹

One of the most persistent grievances of the missionaries was the practice of justices of the peace in issuing marriage licenses by virtue of their direction "to any Protestant minister." The justices of the peace claimed that they were "ministers," and went blithely on their way, to the vast disgust of the clergy. A convention in May 1748 petitioned Governor Clinton of New York for redress, and he accordingly had the direction changed to "any Protestant minister of *the Gospel*."¹²

NEW JERSEY CONVENTIONS: 1758-1765

After 1705, apparently, no convention met in New Jersey for over half a century, and the clergy assembled with their brethren in New York or Philadelphia. A new era began in 1758, under the aggressive influence of the Rev. Thomas B. Chandler of Elizabeth Town. The missionaries gathered in November, and after long consideration decided to meet annually or oftener if necessary, and to cooperate to prevent what they most feared: that through the lack of a bishop the Church "would soon be born down in this Part of the Country, by the Weight of its Adversaries." Inspired by that conviction, annual conventions continued without interruption for over ten years. Missionaries from adjacent provinces also attended, and sometimes there were several *occasional* conventions in one year.¹³

The second New Jersey convention, at Perth Amboy on November 3, 1759, recommended a mission in the upper part of Hunterdon County, under the care of the Rev. Andrew

Morton, because that extensive region was filling up with settlers.¹⁴ The clergy were so delighted by the success of that meeting that they agreed unanimously to hold one each year, and called the next one for September 24, 1760, at the home of the Rev. Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury. He had long wanted a chance to entertain his brethren, and wrote to the Society a description of the gathering that probably would apply to most of them:

“We had an Exceeding Good Sermon on the Occasion at S^t Peter’s Church in Freehold by M^r Browne of Newark. After Service was over, we return’d Home, & proceeded to Business: But as nothing Occurr’d material enough for a Joint Letter, I was desir’d by my Rev^d Brethren, to acquaint the Ven^{ble} Society, that a mutual Harmony & Good Will happily subsist amongst us.”¹⁵

The annual convention and other special meetings became a ritual, and regularly reported their proceedings to the Society. Their discussions were not always so happy as in the congenial gathering at Cooke’s rectory. A meeting at Colin Campbell’s house in Burlington, in September 1762, gave most of its consideration to an accusation of gross immorality against Andrew Morton of Amwell. The clergy decided that he should suspend his public services until the matter could be cleared up. That was an assumption of authority that might well have startled the bench of bishops in England.¹⁶

But more was to come. Still wider powers were claimed by a meeting at Perth Amboy in December, consisting of Isaac Browne, Colin Campbell, Samuel Cooke, Thomas B. Chandler, Robert McKean, and Richard Charlton of Staten Island. They had already laid down the terms upon which the Churchmen at Mount Holly might have a missionary, and persuaded the people of Trenton to pledge support for one. They recommended that McKean of New Brunswick should take care of Piscataway, and sent the Society a testimonial for Morton from

his people. They mentioned the lack of a bishop, and *promised to watch over the Church's general welfare in New Jersey* as much as the demands of their particular missions would admit.¹⁷ Reading their report, the secretary of the Society must have wondered how far those colonial priests would go.

The next ten years showed that they were prepared to go very far in self-assertion and even to risk a whack from the crozier of his lordship of London.

The laity soon began to turn to the convention to settle parochial difficulties of all kinds. Through John Grandin, an eminent parishioner, the distracted churches of Amwell and Kingwood appealed to a convention at Elizabeth Town in October 1763, against their persecutors and in behalf of poor Andrew Morton. The sordid mess claimed too much attention from that meeting, as well as from others in September 1764 and January 1765, and kept the secretary busy with reports about all its lurid details. Saint Andrew's Church in Mount Holly turned to the convention for advice in its difficulties with Colin Campbell, and was plainly advised to give him more pay for a greater share of his services.¹⁸

INTERCOLONIAL CONVENTIONS

Meanwhile, the idea of intercolonial conventions had not been abandoned, and clergymen from other provinces attended the New Jersey meeting of September 1764. As far back as June 1758, a meeting of New York and New Jersey priests congratulated the new Archbishop of Canterbury on his accession, requested him to promote an American episcopate, and sought his favor for the newly founded King's College in New York. Cooke, Chandler, McKean, Samuel Seabury, Jr., and Browne signed the address for New Jersey.¹⁹

During the 1760's, New York and New Jersey conventions became more frequent and exerted heavy pressure for better organization and discipline of the colonial churches. The New

Jersey missionaries attended faithfully and played an important part in the proceedings. Browne, Campbell, Cooke, Chandler, McKean, Morton, and Cutting were present at Perth Amboy in October 1765. They signed addresses to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to the Bishop of London, and to the Society, pleading for the speedy sending of one or more bishops, and warning against the intrigues of unworthy postulants.²⁰

The reply of Bishop Richard Terrick of London, referring particularly to an American episcopate, was read to a joint convention of the two provinces at Shrewsbury, October 1, 1766, with Dr. Chandler presiding. To him, particularly, it must have sounded like a rebuke, as his lordship frankly stated that the address had been inopportune, "and from the peculiar Circumstances of the Times, tended to *throw difficulties in the way of Government.*"²¹

That convention was an uncommonly representative one, consisting of five priests from New York, three from Connecticut, two from Pennsylvania, and five from New Jersey—Cooke, Evans, Cutting, McKean, and Chandler. They might fairly claim to represent the Church in the Northern colonies, and their reply, drafted by a committee that included Chandler and Cooke, did not yield an inch on the episcopate matter. In fact, it displayed a refreshing degree of independent thought that foretold the eventual autonomy of the Church in America. They repeated their request for a bishop, opposed the appointment of commissaries as useless, and even claimed that the Church had been administered better by the conventions. Conventions had established "Harmony, Unanimity and Affection amongst ourselves," while commissaries had been "unfortunately the Occasion of much Contention and Discord." Continuing the office would look like an admission that bishops could never be had, and would only dishearten the Church's friends and comfort its enemies.²²

The convention proved to be utterly mistaken in assuming

that the Dissenters' fears would be allayed by the subsidence of the Stamp Act troubles, and by their own assurance that they wanted a purely spiritual episcopate. But they gained a very important point: their defense of conventions was so convincing that the Bishop of London appointed no more commissaries in the Northern colonies. The prestige of the conventions had become so strong, their powers over the churches so great, that when the bond with the mother country was ruptured, they readily developed into the diocesan convention.

ADOPTING A CONSTITUTION: 1766

The conventions already were in fact an organized government with a constitution and rules of order. On May 21-22, 1766, fourteen priests from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met at the house of Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church in New York, with the avowed purpose of making the conventions stronger and more regular. The Jerseymen present were Chandler, Cutting, and McKean. The convention addressed Governor Sir Henry Moore of New York, congratulating him on his appointment and safe arrival, seeking his "Countenance & Protection," and stating the purpose of the meeting:

"The Design of our convening at this Time, is to confer together, on the most expedient & proper Measures for promoting the Interest of true Religion, and our excellent Church; our general attention to which is the more necessary, as it still continues in an imperfect State in this Country, for want of a regular Discipline."

After electing Dr. Samuel Johnson, rector of King's College, as president for the ensuing year, the clergy adjourned to Trinity Church to hear Dr. Auchmuty's sermon. Then they got down to business and adopted "Fundamental Rules and Statutes"—in short, a constitution. According to these, the

annually elected president could not hold office for two years in succession. An annual convention must have nine members present, but an occasional one needed only seven, and the former opened with a service and a sermon. Three members might require a meeting, and the president could summon one in an emergency. Only annual meetings could make fundamental laws and regulations, but voluntary meetings could transact all other business, and any convention might make new rules. Decisions were made by majority vote, and clergymen present from neighboring provinces had the right to vote. Each annual convention named a standing committee of five, with three as a quorum, to correspond with neighboring conventions, prepare business, and report their proceedings to the next convention. The committee was the direct ancestor of the present standing committees of American dioceses. No member could recommend any man for holy orders, except in annual or special convention. Nobody could be recommended to supply a vacant parish and no man could move to another parish, until the people had pledged a proper support according to the Society's orders, and promised to meet their obligations, which the convention would do its utmost to enforce.

Each convention had a secretary, who was required to record all business in a minute book. The secretary of this important meeting was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr., the future first Bishop of Connecticut, who had served at Christ Church, New Brunswick. His minute book, containing the proceedings of the annual and voluntary conventions of 1766 and 1767, is a cherished possession of the Seabury family of New York. It is almost as legible as when the minutes were written.

The convention's rules evinced a disposition to exercise real authority, and its actions spoke even louder. It clearly informed the Society of the plan to hold annual meetings, and of the efforts of the Presbyterian synod to secure incorporation or establishment, which would injure the Church, as Dr. Auchmuty had already warned the Bishop of London. As an un-

pleasant reminder of the need for a bishop in the colonies, the convention grimly reported the deaths of two promising young men by shipwreck in Delaware Bay, and the loss of one fifth of the candidates who sailed to England for ordination.²³

MOVING TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

As the Society and other Church leaders in England could not help suspecting, the conventions more and more assumed practical control of colonial Church affairs. If they had any doubt about that, it must have been removed by the proceedings of a voluntary or occasional convention that met at King's College, New York, on January 21, 1767, with Chandler representing New Jersey. Chandler read its letter to the Bishop of Oxford, severely criticizing a sermon by the Bishop of Gloucester to the Society in 1766, recommending that the missions be withdrawn from New England. That, the clergy feared, would be "attended with the most fatal Consequences." The convention also appointed a committee to correspond with Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs, concerning an application for a large land grant to support widows and orphans of American clergymen. (See Chapter Thirteen.) With an evident intention of acting, the members considered a circular letter from the wardens of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, about certain difficulties in that parish, founded by the obstreperous Whitefieldian sympathizer, the Rev. William McClenaghan.²⁴

The frequent conventions during the remainder of that year displayed an obvious intention to *administer* the churches. A special meeting in New York on March 18, attended by Browne of Newark, bluntly asserted its right to interfere in parochial affairs, by discussing a quarrel between Colonel Frederick Phillipse and the Rev. Harry Munro of Phillipsburgh, New York, concerning the latter's salary. As Munro did not take the colonel's promises seriously, the convention referred

the matter to the Society, endorsed Munro's character, and recommended his removal to a vacant mission.²⁵

When it came to recommending men for missions, the convention was bold as a lion. Rumors were flying that one George Spencer, who had an evil reputation in New York, had contrived to secure ordination in England and intended to return and settle at Freehold and Spotswood. The convention took alarm, and at a special meeting in King's College on April 9-10, including Chandler and McKean, protested hotly to the Society and published a newspaper notice, denying that the clergy had any part in his obtaining orders, stating that he was accused of "many atrocious Crimes," and flatly refusing to recognize him. They feared

"That great Detriment will accrue to the Interest of the Church, should a person of his Character obtain any Mission or Living in these Provinces . . . we can with Truth affirm, that his general Character in this Country . . . is so odious and detestable, that we can not hold any Correspondence or Intercourse with him, without Ruin to our own Reputations & irreparable Injury to the Church & to Religion in General."

The power that was being assumed by the convention over parochial affairs appears in its communication of sympathy with the wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. The latter evidently had bowed to the convention's will, by promising not to accept any clergymen who had not been licensed by the Bishop of London. The members decided to adopt a formal title: "The United Convention of New York and New Jersey," or "of New Jersey and New York," according to the province in which it met. Two actions illustrate the growing power of the convention over the clergy in its territory. It granted a special testimonial to Chandler for his literary work in defense of the Church, and passed a rule that every priest in the two provinces should consider

himself obliged to attend the stated meetings. The president, thenceforth, should always be chosen from the province where the meeting took place.²⁶

The annual convention of 1767 met on May 20-22 in Trinity Church, New York, with thirteen members present, including Browne and McKean from New Jersey. It took important steps to tighten its discipline and to extend its power over the clergy. New rules forbade a member to quit a session without the president's leave, or to speak twice on the same subject unless new facts arose, and instructed members always to address the chair. In reply to a request from William Ayers of New Jersey for a copy of the minute of the last New Jersey convention concerning himself, it was unanimously agreed not to give a copy of any proceedings to a non-member without a particular order of the convention.

The convention's calm assumption of authority over candidates for orders might have caused some raising of eyebrows in England. Upon hearing the report of a committee appointed to examine William Frazer, the members decided to recommend him to the Society for ordination, and further recommended him by letter to the parish at Spotswood as a layreader, until the Society should reply. The standing committee approved him for ordination. The convention firmly disciplined Ayers by advising him not to read prayers and deliver his own sermons without consulting the missionaries in New Jersey, and to continue studying until the next New Jersey convention, which would give him "such Encouragement, as his regular & proper Behaviour shall entitle him to." The members recommended that Isaac Browne of Newark succeed Chandler if the latter should leave Elizabeth Town. They appointed McKean of Perth Amboy and Myles Cooper of New York to go with letters of introduction to Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland and the clergy there, to explain their plan for securing an American bishop and to secure support.²⁷

An occasional meeting, at Elizabeth Town in October

1767, drew up an address to the Bishop of London, referring to the colonial Church's sufferings and disadvantages without bishops, and to harsh criticism of the conduct of the clergy. A committee was appointed to frame a plan to organize a society for the relief of widows and orphans of clergymen. The Rev. Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury served with Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia, Dr. Auchmuty of Trinity Church in New York, and Dr. Myles Cooper, the president of King's College.²⁸

The Church authorities in England apparently had been watching the conventions with some alarm. What would those cocky Americans assume—independence? The clergy in New York and New Jersey also were disturbed about reports that they were engrossing too much power, and in December 1767 sent the Bishop of London a lengthy address, in which it is not hard to see that his lordship was inclined to criticize their meetings and to be fearful that they would usurp his functions. Carefully explaining their motives, they declared that they were not trying to seize the government of the Church in America. Their annual meetings were held only to attempt to solve its problems. They felt that it was their duty to continue them, and to answer criticisms of the clergy who, they felt, were being misrepresented, while the American Church was being neglected without a bishop. Far from encouraging ambitious designs of individuals, the conventions recognized no superior among them. Thomas B. Chandler signed for New Jersey, and Myles Cooper for New York.²⁹

The separate New Jersey meetings also asserted their authority in unmistakable terms. In October 1767, the clergy calmly informed the Society that William Frazer and William Ayers had *already* sailed for England as candidates for orders, and recommended them for salaries! They wanted appointments as soon as possible, as the convention had already settled the plans for missions at Spotswood and Amwell, where the parishioners were promising glebes and salaries.³⁰

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The New Jersey missionaries were keenly interested in the plan for relief of widows and orphans. A committee met in Perth Amboy on May 12, 1768, drew up a plan, and drafted a charter to be obtained in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Five months later, a voluntary convention at New Brunswick unanimously accepted the plan, subject to its approval by the Society.³¹

SCHOOL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

After 1768 the conventions apparently lost interest and tended to lapse. When the episcopate question became less pressing, they lost one of their chief motives. The missionaries were sure of their support from the Society, and recognized their responsibility to it and to the Bishop of London, rather than to each other. The meetings had no legal executive authority, and many valued them more for their social and inspirational than for their practical character. But meetings continued from time to time until the Revolution, and as late as October 6, 1775, some of the American clergy addressed the Bishop of London.³²

While they tended to fade out towards the close of the colonial period, the conventions had not met in vain. Although infrequent and irregular, they had promoted solidarity in the Church. They gave the clergy opportunity for conference, discussion, and exchange of ideas, and impressed on them a sense of common purpose and responsibility. Nominally, the meetings had no *official* authority to enforce their resolutions, and unlike the commissaries, they had no right to *demand* parish reports. But in practice the missionaries sometimes did report to them, and brought to their attention such problems as the filling of vacant missions and the promotion of new ones. The conventions informed the Society and the Bishop of London about local needs and suggested ways of meeting them.

As the Church in New Jersey had no privileges and in fact was an unpopular and sometimes persecuted minority, the local conventions often assumed an attitude of protest and defense. Their discussions and resolutions dwelt upon unjust disadvantages, discrimination, political oppression, persecution, and financial troubles. But the gatherings did not degenerate into mere grievance committees. They tried to extend the Church to the Indian and the Negro, promoted loyalty to the Crown, and encouraged piety and Christian living among the people.

In ability and character the priests who attended the conventions were well above the average. Eleven of the nineteen are included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and fourteen were college or university graduates. McKean had been tutored in theology and medicine by Dr. Francis Alison, a noted Presbyterian divine in Philadelphia. Eleven were native Americans. Most of them were ready to battle hard for their faith, and several were converts. They were forthright and aggressive, schooling themselves to be leaders in the future American Episcopal Church. Their temper appears in a letter from Chandler to Dr. Samuel Johnson, in November 1765:

“You will see that we have used great freedom with our superiors, but we were all of opinion that without speaking freely we might as well be silent.”

Standing upon their known character as ardent Churchmen and Loyalists, most of the clergy did not hesitate to speak out to those in power, in Church or State. If a bishop's opinions were disagreeable to them, they let it be known. They were not afraid to reject a man appointed by the Society, to champion a priest when they thought the Society was unjust to him, or to challenge a powerful “lay pope.” They even named examining chaplains and withheld recommendations from candidates for orders until the chaplains had approved them. They received and acted upon appeals from distracted congre-

gations, and appointed readers to vacant missions. But if the readers presumed to exceed their authority, they were reprimanded.

In one respect the conventions seemed to fail utterly—in their efforts to obtain bishops. But in the long run they were successful. It was no accident that Chandler, Cutting, Jarvis, Leaming, Provoost, and Seabury—all participants in the conventions—acted vigorously to reorganize the Church after the Revolution, and to obtain bishops, a constitution, and an American Prayer Book.³³ In their persistent demand for a purely spiritual episcopate, the conventions anticipated the consecration of Samuel Seabury. In creating the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, they anticipated The Church Pension Fund.

Finally, and most important of all, those gatherings were an inestimably valuable school for training in Church government. The clergy formulated their own rules of procedure and gained a certain sense of independence. That experience was priceless, when independence of their country forced them to fend for themselves. The clergy and the laity naturally turned to voluntary conventions as the only way to put the stricken Church back on its feet. The diocesan convention in a sense was the old clerical convention, plus some lay delegates, and eventually a bishop. The standing committee, a regular institution of the annual conventions, became an important and peculiar part of the American Church's government. It was anything but an accident that the first interstate meetings contemplating a national organization of the Church took place in the Middle States, where voluntary conventions had become an accepted custom. And the first of them was held at New Brunswick, to consider the affairs of the Corporation which the conventions had founded.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Widow and the Fatherless The Corporation For Their Relief

AMONG the permanent institutions of the American Episcopal Church, virtually founded by the colonial clergy conventions, not the least important is the "Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen," which anticipated the establishment of The Church Pension Fund by nearly a century and a half.

The Society missionaries had long felt the need of providing for their wives and children in case of death. Their salaries were comparatively small and parish contributions were uncertain. Most of them had families, sometimes large ones, and few could hope to emulate Edward Vaughan by "landing" a rich widow. Many could barely feed and clothe the parsonage brood, and the prospect of leaving them in comfort generally was "out of this world."

A widow could expect little but poverty if her spouse caught pneumonia on a raw spring journey, or yellow fever in dirty New York or Philadelphia. She could remarry or teach a dame school. She could ask the Venerable Society for back salary or a gratuity. But when that was gone, then what? The charity of friends? A dreary prospect! One thinks of the pathetic letters of the widow Weyman of Burlington and the widow Holbrooke of Salem.

Such thoughts haunted the minds of the missionaries, as instances of distress increased and prices continually rose. In convention the poor priests anxiously sought each other's opinions. Among those who worried was Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, who bluntly described the serious situation:

"The distressed circumstances, in which the Episcopal Clergy in the more northern provinces of America, (and especially the Missionaries in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,) have too frequently been obliged to leave their families, had long been matter of discouragement to many from entering into the ministry of our Church, as well as of regret to pious and worthy members thereof."¹

The matter at length came to a head in the annual convention at Elizabeth Town in October 1767. The "sundry overtures, from time to time" crystallized in the appointment of a committee "to frame some plan of provision for the distressed widows and children of such of our Clergy as should die in narrow or necessitous circumstances." The members were Dr. Smith, Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church in New York, Dr. Myles Cooper, president of King's College, and Samuel Cooke of Christ Church, Shrewsbury.²

They met at Perth Amboy on May 12, 1768, and drafted a plan, with three similar charters to be procured in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, "that there might be a body corporate, in whichever of these provinces we might have occasion to meet." A convention at New Brunswick in October accepted the plan and appointed Thomas B. Chandler, as president, to send it with a letter to Dr. Burton, secretary of the Society. Nineteen priests attended that historic meeting, and nearly half of them were from New Jersey: Chandler, William Thomson of Trenton, Jonathan Odell of Burlington, Abraham Beach of New Brunswick, William Ayers of Spotswood and Freehold, William Frazer of Amwell and Kingwood, Isaac Browne of Newark, John Preston of Perth Amboy, and Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury. The rest represented Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut.³

The plan gives evidence of anxious thought and long consultation, and was intended to extend eventually to all the

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

RELIEF FOR WIDOWS AND CHILDREN

colonies, as the title reads: "Plan for providing toward the Support of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America."

The provisions required a yearly contribution of from £3 to £6 from each priest, and annuities to widows and children at five times the annual subscriptions. A contributor might change from one rate to another, with the consent of the corporation. Ministers contributing, who were not missionaries, should give like the others, under penalty for default and forfeit of their shares if delinquent for a year. Each missionary should have £3*s.* a year deducted from the Society's salary, the corporation treasurer being empowered to draw on the Society. Any missionary who chose a higher rate could increase the deduction. To prevent loss to the fund, because of vacant missions, the Society should be requested to allow the £3 rate to be paid during vacancies, and let the rents of glebes or other income of missions be applied to the fund.

Annuities were not transferable, and no annuitant could be entitled to one until a year after the death of the contributor. Every contributor who might marry more than once should pay a year's extraordinary rate on every marriage, as such marriages might bring extra burdens upon the fund. If the husband or father of an annuitant should not have paid five annual rates, the widow and children would get only ten per cent a year for thirteen years on the amount of his contributions. Other complicated provisions concerned payments to annuitants under varying circumstances. When the capital would bear an addition of five per cent on each annuity, the increase should be made, with the consent of the corporation. Proceeds of gifts should be equally divided among all annuitants, without respect to difference in subscriptions or classes of contributors.⁴

Dr. Smith inspired this plan, borrowing the idea from a similar Presbyterian corporation, and sought advice of that body's leading member, Dr. Francis Alison. Smith had travelled

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in England in 1762-64, when annuities were being widely discussed. Later, in a sermon before the corporation, he said, "everything relative to this design, from the beginning, has passed through my hands, assisted by a few others, appointed for that purpose." The good doctor was being overmodest, as he probably did most of the work. His "worthy friend" Dr. Alison, vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia, gave him several useful papers and comments which he thought would improve the plan, and warned him of difficulties and deficiencies in the plan of the Presbyterian corporation.⁵

Through Benjamin Franklin, who lived in England as a colonial agent, Smith consulted Dr. Richard Price, a Non-conformist minister, and the most eminent contemporary authority on annuities and actuarial principles. Through Franklin his printed remarks were transmitted to the Corporation. He thought that the annuity should be four rather than five times the annual payment. His opinion, along with doubts of some of the members, inspired a campaign for gifts from the laity, which was so successful that there was no need to reduce the annuity or to increase the annual payments.⁶

While awaiting a reply from the Society respecting its financial obligations, two members in each province solicited charters. Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury and Jonathan Odell of Burlington approached Governor William Franklin, who granted a charter for New Jersey on March 29, 1769. Similar charters were obtained for Pennsylvania and New York. Attorney General Kemp of New York proposed some acceptable amendments which he thought would benefit the Corporation. Finally, the Society wrote to Dr. Chandler in May, 1769, generally approving the plan.⁷

In all the charters the names of the incorporators were the same, and those of the clergy stood according to seniority of degree among those who were doctors, and after them according to seniority of priest's orders. The incorporators for New Jersey were William Alexander, Esq., "claiming

to be Earl of Stirling," Peter Kemble, Charles Read, James Parker, Samuel Smith, and Frederic Smythe, Esquires, members of the Council; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, and the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Cooke, William Thomson, Jonathan Odell, Abraham Beach, William Ayres, and William Frazer; and Cortland Skinner, Daniel Coxe, and John Lawrence, Esquires.

They and their successors were empowered to receive, keep, and transmit property, and to administer funds for relief of widows and children according to their bye-laws and regulations. They might also use an official seal, and hold an annual meeting on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas, and such other meetings as they wished. Bye-laws and regulations should bind all members, if not contrary to English and provincial laws. The designated first president was the Rev. Richard Peters of Philadelphia, Jonathan Odell was the first secretary, and Thomas B. Chandler the first treasurer. All accounts had to be submitted to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London, or their deputies in America.⁸

The Corporation got off to a good start with the Society's blessing, which was duly published in its proceedings. Doubly gratifying was the practical "mark of their earnest desire to forward so benevolent an undertaking"—an annual gift of £60S. instead of the obligations first proposed in the plan. The treasurer might draw on the Society from the date of the charters and the beginning of subscriptions. Although Dr. Smith was somewhat miffed by the Society's change in his original plan, everyone else seemed satisfied and felt that forfeiture for non-payment would guaranty subscriptions.⁹

The first meeting began on October 3, 1769, in Burlington, but was adjourned to Philadelphia to secure a majority for adopting rules. Thirty-eight attended, including eleven from New Jersey: Charles Read, Esq., Frederick Smythe, Esq., chief justice of the province, Daniel Coxe, Esq. of Trenton,

John Lawrence, mayor of Burlington, Dr. Chandler, and the Rev. Messrs. Cooke, Thompson, Odell, Beach, Ayers, and Frazer. The rules provided for a sermon at each annual meeting, and that each clergyman should preach according to the order of his name in the charters. Dr. Smith's turn appropriately came first, and his sermon probably inspired many of the contributors to the collection of over £40, as well as generous gifts for many years to come from many who read it.¹⁰

Without "affectation of singularity," Dr. Smith selected three texts: (1) Job 29: 11-13: "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me, because I delivered the Poor that cried, and the Fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the Widow's heart to sing for joy." (2) Jeremiah 49:11: "Leave thy Fatherless Children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy Widows trust in me." (3) Epistle of St. James 1:27: "Pure Religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this—To visit the Fatherless and the Widows in their affliction; and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world."

By proofs from Old Testament doctrines of divine justice and judgement, Smith supported the Corporation's ideal of stewardship and benevolence. From the New Testament he explained its progressive revelation and culmination in the divine love as revealed in Christ. Then he showed its application by the apostolic writers, explained St. Paul's principles of faith, hope, and charity, and closed with an eloquent application to the case of the clergy. At the beginning he proclaimed that "through the whole inspired books of the Old Testament, as well as the New, we shall scarce find a writer that hath not made the cause of the Fatherless and Widows peculiarly his own." Then he deftly touched the benevolent emotions by quoting the appeal of the Widow of Tekoah to

King David: "Help, O king—I am indeed a Widow-woman, and my husband is dead." He continued,

"I say, if this story of feigned distress could so far prevail, surely the voice of real distress will have a still greater influence—the voice of Widows indeed! not pleading for lives forfeited to the law, but for themselves, and their children—for the names and remainders of your own Clergy, that they may not be wholly lost upon earth—the names and remainders of men, who have once been your dear friends in Christ-Jesus; men who, in their life-time, have administered to you heavenly counsel, and sweet comfort, in his precious word and covenant; and men who may have often opened your souls to flow in those godlike streams of Benevolence and Charity to others, wherewith those helpless remainders of themselves now stand in need to be relieved and refreshed at your hands."

After reviewing the precarious financial situation of the clergy and the frequent distress and humiliation of their bereaved families, he pleaded:

"To be Fathers, then, to such Fatherless children; to take them by the hand, and lead them out, through the snares of the world, into some public usefulness in life . . . I say to do this, and give some gleams of comfort to the afflicted widows and mothers that survive—must surely be one of the most delightful actions of a benevolent mind; and this, my brethren, is the glorious object of the charity for which we are incorporated, and which we have undertaken to solicit and conduct."¹

Even in cold print, without Dr. Smith's charm and eloquent tones, it is an inspiring sermon. Under its spell, followed by the fellowship of dinner, with the help of some "Gentlemen of the Law," the members framed their "Fundamental Laws and Regulations," including "Laws Relative to Annui-

ties," and certain bye-laws. Essentially following the plan of 1768, the rules

"allowed of one mode of contribution only, by annual payments to the corporation of either eight, sixteen, or twenty-four dollars, at the option of the clergyman contributing; and it stipulated to give relief to his surviving widow and children, and to either if there were not both descriptions of survivors, according to one uniform rule. The clergyman was bound to make his payment regularly in each year during his life, and to make fifteen annual contributions certainly, to entitle his widow and children to the largest rate of relief, namely, if he left a widow only, to an annuity of five-fold the amount of the annual payment during her widowhood, and if she married again, to one-half of the quintuple annuity for her life; if he left both widow and children, the annuity was divided between them—one-third to the widow, as aforesaid, and two-thirds of it to the children for thirteen years; if he left a widow and one child, the annuity was divided between the widow and child—one-half to the widow, as aforesaid, and the other half to the child for thirteen years; and if he left a child or children and no widow, the child or children took the whole annuity for the term of thirteen years. If the clergyman paid any number less than five annual contributions, his widow and children were entitled to only ten per cent per annum on the amount of his contributions, for thirteen years; and if he paid five or more, and less than fifteen annual contributions, they were entitled to only one half the amount of the full annuity, until the amount of the half retained by the Corporation, added to the five or more payments made by the deceased, without computing interest, should, together, make a sum equal to fifteen annual payments, at which time the full annuity became payable.¹²

The bye-laws required the election of a president, one

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or more treasurers, and a secretary at each annual meeting, and provided for election of new members by a four-fifths vote. Each annual meeting should elect a standing committee of two from each province, to help the president, treasurer, and secretary conduct correspondence and financial affairs. The treasurers should give bond and exhibit their accounts at the annual meeting. Annual meetings were to be held alternately in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, upon six weeks' notice in the New York and Philadelphia newspapers, and occasional meetings might be held upon necessity. At any meeting fifteen or more members might make by-laws and exercise all powers granted by the charter, other than making, altering, or repealing fundamental laws and regulations.¹³

The Corporation was encouraged by its reception among members of the Church in America, in England, and even in Bardadoes. Archbishop Cornwallis of Canterbury gave his blessing. Bishop Terrick of London not only gave that, but also £20 for the fund. And the money continued to roll in. The Rev. Thomas Wharton of Bridgetown, Barbadoes (2,000 miles from New York), after reading Dr. Smith's sermon, raised £190, 9s., 8d. Sterling, which produced £304, 15s., 6d., in Pennsylvania currency. The amount of benefactions and subscriptions for 1769-1773, inclusive, was £2451.3.10, and with expenses deducted, the stock on December 30, 1773, was £2345.17.8. New Jersey's share was £204.3.5.

In those years, besides the regular contributions of the clergy, £141, the fund received some gifts from New Jersey: from Governor Franklin (£10), St. Mary's Church in Burlington (£5.8), and St. Andrew's Church at Mount Holly (£2.5.9), through Jonathan Odell; the Rev. John Preston of Perth Amboy (£1.14) by Dr. Chandler; from John Smyth of Perth Amboy by Dr. Smith (£3), and from St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, at the annual meeting in 1771, £30.3.2. One gift that must have touched a sympathetic

chord was £20 from John Dunlap, the well-known Philadelphia printer, through Dr. Smith, for the privilege of printing the poems of the late Nathaniel Evans, missionary in Gloucester County. Various other gifts, probably including some from New Jersey, came through the clergy, especially Dr. Chandler, and he turned over interest on money he had invested in New Jersey.¹⁴

Before the outbreak of the Revolution the Corporation held seven meetings. Two of them, the third in 1771 and the sixth in 1774, took place in New Jersey. The former gathered in St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, and Dr. Chandler preached the sermon. The latter met in St. John's, Elizabeth Town, and decided to increase the fund by petitioning King George III for a land grant beyond the Ohio River, near or adjoining the western boundary of Pennsylvania. The Earl of Stirling, Chief Justice Smith, and Dr. Chandler were New Jersey's members of the committee that was appointed to send the plea speedily and decide upon the amount and location of the land.¹⁵

Before anything could be done, the Revolution burst over the land—and the Church. The minutes of the meeting in 1775 were lost in the confusion. Most of the clergy left their churches, including Dr. Chandler, the treasurer for New Jersey. The president, Dr. Peters of Philadelphia, died six days after the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. For about ten years there were no president, no treasurer for New Jersey, very few contributors, and no meetings. The Corporation seemed doomed to extinction.¹⁶

The few members who still believed and hoped included the Rev. Abraham Beach of Christ Church, New Brunswick. Shortly after the treaty of peace in September 1783, he began to correspond with the Rev. Dr. William White of Philadelphia, about their hopes and plans to organize the Church in the United States. As a result of their efforts, the first meeting since 1775 convened in New Brunswick on May 11, 1784.

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The sixteen attending clergymen and laymen decided to call a larger meeting on October 5 in New York.¹⁷

That meeting named a committee of three clerical and three lay members to review and report on the Corporation's affairs since the meeting in 1775. They recommended changes in the charters to adapt them to new conditions, and the meeting decided to apply for revisions, transferring supervision to the governor, chancellor, and chief justice of New York, and governors, chief justices, and attorneys general of the other two states. The title was changed to "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The Corporation elected officers and new members, including such eminent Jerseymen as John Rutherford and Joshua Maddox Wallace, the latter being treasurer for the state. All the New Jersey fund had been lost, and it had to be renewed, with £18.14.3, the dues of the Rev. Messrs. Blackwell, Frazer, Beach, and Odell for 1775-1784.¹⁸

As the fund grew, a meeting at Trenton in May 1796 decided to have three state corporations and to divide the funds. The division occurred on November 27, 1806, in Philadelphia, and the fund was then \$26,485, New Jersey's share being \$4,289. Beach was then the only survivor of the original corporators of 1769. Three of the men who signed the act dissolving the old corporation represented New Jersey: the Rev. Charles H. Wharton, D.D., Joshua Maddox Wallace, Esq., and William Coxe, Esq. The new corporation for New Jersey, formed on December 2, 1807, has retained the Fundamental Laws of 1769 with comparatively minor changes. It has resources (1952) of almost \$300,000, and pays annuities of approximately \$200 per year.¹⁹

The tribute of the historian of the Corporation is pertinent here:

"One rises from the study of the history of this 'Venerable' Corporation with a feeling of gratitude to God

and its early members for the high purpose which animated them and for their fidelity to that purpose. One receives a strengthened conviction that disinterested aims and faithful service in their fulfillment cannot be permanently defeated. Wars and tumults and panics and depressions come and go, but somehow under the Providence of God the Corporation in its original form or in its offspring has survived to do the work appointed it. May it continue to do so!"²⁰

The meeting at New Brunswick in May 1784 has a meaning far greater than the history and reorganization of the Corporation. The members realized their opportunity to do something for the revival of the Church in the United States. They therefore appointed a committee of correspondence, "for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church." Another committee, including Beach, was instructed to attend the Trinity convocation of the Connecticut clergy, "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence . . . in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the States of America." The result, following the October meeting in New York, was the call for the first General Convention of 1785, and that led to others, and eventually to the adoption of the Prayer Book and the Constitution of the Church in this nation.²¹

The Corporation, an outgrowth of the colonial clergy conventions, was therefore instrumental in producing the better organization of the Church in America. That aim was one which its founders, particularly the New Jersey clergy, had desired. The new spirit revived the demand for an American episcopate, for which the conventions had so nobly fought, led by a New Jersey priest—Thomas B. Chandler.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Methodism and Its Separation From the Church

WHITEFIELD did not try to form societies, as he cared little for organizations and appealed to individuals. He would preach anywhere and everywhere, and did not care where people received the sacraments, so long as they were converted.

It was different with the Methodists who, after the earliest years of the Awakening, began to differ from Whitefield. He was an earnest Calvinist, while John and Charles Wesley could not accept predestination, determinism, and disbelief in man's free will. Along with Arminian belief in free will, confidence in the free grace and love of God for man, and zeal for conversion of the masses, John Wesley had what Whitefield did not have—a genius for organization. While critical of unworthy parsons, and of the formalism and frequent corruption in the Church of England, the Methodists did not for forty years forsake her orders and sacraments. The Wesley brothers died as priests of the Church, but John Wesley by his actions, as we shall see, made separation in America inevitable.

Consequently, the impact of Methodism upon the Church in New Jersey was very different from that of Whitefield's followers. It did not *at first* draw people from the Church while professing to unify all Christians. It grew rather as a reforming element *within* the Church, opposing rationalism and formal morality, and setting up emotional conversion as the test of membership. Until after the Revolution, their preachers refrained from administering the sacraments of baptism and the Holy Communion, and did not ordain. Until

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1784, all Methodists were instructed to receive those ordinances from the clergy of the Church.

Unfortunately for the Church, the Methodists began to make their greatest impact in New Jersey and elsewhere when the Episcopal Church was in the most prostrate condition it has ever experienced. The century-long throttling of the Anglican Church by the state, whereby colonial bishops were forbidden, was bearing bitter fruit. With no bishops, the colonial Church had no confirmations and no ordinations on American soil for 178 years. With the severing of the slender cord which bound it to the Bishop of London, it was entirely without episcopal leadership, and was even without diocesan organization. With clergy driven out of their cures by the score, the majority of the congregations were without shepherds.

This critical condition in New Jersey and elsewhere was keenly realized and succinctly stated by Abraham Beach, writing to the Society on February 8, 1785:

"The Church in this Country labours under very great Difficulties from the Want of an Episcopate to *perpetuate the Succession*, & for the Purpose of Discipline. Mr. Westley hath taken Advantage of our Embarrassments, & sent over a Dr. Coke (or Colne?), with the Title of *Superintendent*, with Authority *from him*, to ordain Bishops, Priests & Deacons. He hath already ordained a number of Methodist Teachers, who have formed a separate Communion in *this City* [New York], & in *other Places*. His Design, evidently is to *draw off* the Members of our Church in her present helpless Condition; he hath not hitherto, been *very successful*; but should we be much longer neglected, his Purposes, in all human Probability will be answered."

METHODISM REACHES NEW JERSEY

How many Methodists there were in New Jersey before

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

1765 there are no means of knowing, for the simple reason that they were still a part of the Church. Methodist writers agree that the first Methodist in New Jersey was John Early, who was born in Ireland in 1738 and sailed to America in 1764. About 1768, apparently, he became a Methodist—a very lonely one, as there was no society of them in the province. He lived in Gloucester County, served for forty years as a class leader and steward on his circuit, and died at the age of ninety, strong in the faith he had professed for sixty years. His son, William Early, became a traveling preacher in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Canada, in 1791, and died thirty years later while serving in the Philadelphia Conference.²

As in the case of Whitefield and his revival preachers, New Jersey was a corridor through which Methodist exhorters traveled between Philadelphia and New York. At the Methodist Conference at Leeds, England, in August, 1769, Wesley mentioned the forlorn Methodists in the American colonies, particularly at New York and Philadelphia. From the small society in New York, repeated appeals had come. Two English preachers volunteered to go over and help them. They were Richard Boardman, who became a traveling preacher in 1763, and Joseph Pilmore, admitted to the "traveling connexion" two years later.³ On October 24, 1769, they landed at Gloucester Point, New Jersey, about six miles below Philadelphia. For the next two years they alternated between that city and New York, and kept Wesley informed of their progress by letter.⁴

One of those letters, written from New York in November, 1769, probably contains the first report of a Methodist meeting in New Jersey. Soon after his arrival, Boardman set out to visit the society in New York, and on the way stopped at "a large town" where there were barracks full of soldiers. Undoubtedly it was Trenton, where the old stone barracks, considerably "restored," are still standing near the Delaware.

Meeting one of the soldiers, Boardman asked him if there

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were any Methodists in the barracks. "O yes," replied the redcoat, "we are all Methodists: that is, we should all be glad to hear a Methodist preach." Boardman wouldn't let that opportunity pass, and said, "Well, tell them in the barrack, that a Methodist preacher, just come from England, intends to preach here tonight." Off went the soldier, and soon Boardman's inn was surrounded by a crowd of the military. Coming out, he asked them, "Where do you think I can get a place to preach in?" By that time it was already dark, but one said, "I will go and see, if I can get the Presbyterian meeting-house." The redcoat must have had a persuasive tongue. Maybe, like so many British soldiers, he was Irish. He soon came back with permission, and announced that the bell would ring to inform the town. Gladly Boardman wrote to Wesley, "A great company soon got together, and seemed much affected."⁵

Next morning he went on to New York, having planted seed which another could water and tend later. New Jersey Methodists had to wait a long time for constant preaching. The two preachers had their hands full with the societies in Philadelphia and New York. In the spring of 1770, Pilmore wrote to Wesley and the English Conference,

"Brother Boardman and I are chiefly confined to the cities, and, therefore, cannot at present go much into the country, as we have much more work upon our hands than we are able to perform. There is work enough for two preachers in each place; and if two of our brethren would come over, I believe it would be attended with a blessing, for then we could visit the places adjacent to the cities, which we cannot pretend to do, till we can take care of them."⁶

Pilmore did not leave the Church. On November 27, 1785, Bishop Seabury ordained him a deacon, and two days later, a priest, "recommended by The Rev'd Mr. Charles Wesley of London" among others. Pilmore spent the rest of his life as rector of Christ Church, New York, and St. Paul's, Philadelphia.⁷

WEBB: A METHODIST CENTURION

Even as he wrote these words, New Jersey was beginning to hear the Methodist gospel from one of that class of men to whom Christianity owes so much—a soldier. This time the impulse came from New York, where Methodism had been deeply rooted through the preaching of Captain Thomas Webb.

The captain, who reminds one of Cornelius the Centurion (Acts 10), was an old soldier of the king. He had served in the French and Indian War of 1755-1763, and had been a lieutenant in General Wolfe's forces at the capture of Quebec in 1759. There he was wounded in the arm and lost his right eye. After the war he was stationed in England, and while at Bath, the famous and gay resort city, was converted by hearing John Wesley preach. He joined the Methodists and soon became a noted preacher. Soon afterward he was appointed barrack-master at Albany, New York, where he made his home and family a Methodist society, and thus came into contact with the little society in New York City.

After a brilliant preaching career in America, he crossed the ocean again and in the 1770's preached in London and Dublin. His ministry in the British Isles continued for many years, until his death in 1796. John Wesley loved and admired him, saying, "He is a man of fire, and the power of God constantly accompanies his word." John Adams, no mean critic of preachers, heard him at Philadelphia in 1774, while attending the first session of the Continental Congress, and wrote in his diary:

"In the evening I went to the Methodist meeting and heard Mr. Webb, the old soldier, who first came to America in the character of a Quarter Master, under General Braddock. He is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard; he reaches the imagination and touches the passions very well, and expresses himself with great propriety."⁸

Captain Webb's connection with New Jersey began through his preaching in New York and Philadelphia. While in Albany, he heard of the Methodist group in New York, and on a visit to the city he sought out the members. They had been gathered into a society late in 1766, by Philip Embury, a local preacher who came from Ireland about 1765. They were a "feeble flock," without even a meeting house, but evidently had friendly supporters among the Episcopalians. The subscribers to build their first meeting place included the three local priests of the Church of England: Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church; Charles Inglis, his assistant and later first bishop of Nova Scotia; and Myles Cooper, rector of King's College.⁹

When Webb arrived, the people were meeting in a rented room in a poor part of the city near the barracks. At first they were petrified to see an army officer come in, expecting the insults and scoffing that were the usual lot of Methodists. But their fears yielded to joy as he joined them in prayer, and they welcomed him into fellowship. Before long, he was preaching to astonished crowds in the city and elsewhere, especially on Long Island, where he lived at Jamaica. Later he went to Philadelphia, and in 1767 or 1768 formed the first Methodist class in the city.¹⁰

Webb evangelized the region between the two cities, which Boardman and Pilmore were compelled to neglect. In 1770, he was stationed in Burlington, and began preaching in the market house and the court house. There, on December 14, 1770, he formed the first Methodist class in New Jersey. That was the beginning of organized Methodism in the colony—in the place where the first settled missionary of the Church, John Talbot, had begun his work sixty-eight years before.¹¹

By 1771 the Methodists were making a deep impression in and around Burlington—to the great disgust of Rector Jonathan Odell, who wrote:

"The State of Religion, in general in my Mission, continues to be not unpromising, notwithstanding some inconveniences arising, from time to time, among us, from the frequent visits that are made us by a Number of Methodistic Emissaries, who are taking uncommon pains to get footing in this Country. I have hitherto been in hopes that their diligence may be defeated by letting the Novelty pass without any open warmth of opposition, which might inflame the weak but honest minded few, who for a while are apt to admire those Itenerants, but may be expected ere long to change their Admiration into indifference. If we should appear to be in danger of any more serious & alarming consequences from these occasional Visitants, I shall not fail to state the circumstances to the Society, and request their advice & direction, in what manner to exert my endeavors for the best good of the People committed to my care."¹²

Odell, alas, had little understanding of that new religious force, whose novelty did not wear off. The "Emissaries" spoke to the unchurched common people in a language that was not in Odell's dictionary.

JOSEPH TOY

As the first leader of the class in Burlington, Webb appointed Joseph Toy, who with himself may be regarded as the founder of Methodism in New Jersey. He was born in the province in 1748, and was descended from early settlers of West Jersey. While attending Thomas Powell's well-known boarding school in Burlington, he was deeply and lastingly influenced by a sermon on the being and omnipresence of God, by an Episcopal minister—perhaps Jonathan Odell! At that time, like his parents, he was attached to the Church, but was not satisfied and naturally fell under the influence of Captain Webb and was converted by his preaching.

His decision to devote himself to the Methodist ministry probably was not agreeable to his family. Among them was his

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cousin, William White of Philadelphia, who later served for forty-nine years (1787-1836) as the first bishop of Pennsylvania. To Toy was due the establishment of the second Methodist class in New Jersey. In 1771 he moved to Trenton, where he met several other Methodists and organized a class. The group erected a small frame building, in which Toy held weekly meetings.

Thomson, the Society's missionary in Trenton, soon became aware of that new force, so upsetting to the Church's quieter ways. In 1771 he wrote, in alarm, that there were already forty-seven Methodist preachers in America, who continually traveled, preached, and prayed, and were "makeing Divisions where there is already a settled Ministry, this seems to be the principal Business of their Mission to these Colonies." He thought that their followers were generally Dissenters.¹³ In that he was mistaken, because all over the colonies Churchmen who were emotionally starved and tired of formalism were falling away to them. The Revolutionary confusion and disorganization of the Church soon helped the trickle to become a flood!

Frazer, the missionary at Amwell, could see clearly what was coming, and in 1772 reported that Methodism, previously confined to the cities, was beginning to spread among the country people. He added,

"to my great grief I find, that a great number of those who to all appearance were good members of the Church of England, are among the foremost who embrace it. The Sophistry or rather the impudence of these seducers, by calling themselves 'the true Church of England,' and exclaiming against the regular Clergy, has been the means of their adding many unwary and ignorant persons to their followers. How or in what manner shall we go about to stop this torrent of Fanaticism!"¹⁴

The fact that he and other missionaries rather pathetically

begged for advice, shows that the Church was incapable of coping with the new zeal.

Toy remained in Trenton until 1776, then moved with his family to Maryland, where his home became a center of Methodist evangelism. In November, 1779, at the urging of Francis Asbury, he moved to Abingdon, and there formed another class and built a meeting house. Later he became a teacher in Cokesbury College, the first American Methodist school for higher education. After 1789 or 1790, he was a preacher; he became an ordained deacon in 1797, and four years later began to serve as a traveling preacher. Toy was among the best of the early Methodist ministers, and was known as a well-read man. He died in 1826, after devoting fifty-five years of his long life to the Methodist cause.¹⁵

ASBURY: THE GREAT CIRCUIT RIDER

While this Churchman was planting Methodism firmly in Burlington and Trenton, one greater than he was beginning his life work of spreading it all over New Jersey and America. That was the apostolic Francis Asbury, who was sent to America in 1771 and landed at Philadelphia on October 27, ready for fresh conquests.¹⁶ Within the next few years, New Jersey became familiar with his figure on horseback.

After a few days in Philadelphia, he started for New York, and on the way began his New Jersey ministry on November 7th at Burlington. He preached in the court house to "a large, serious congregation," and confided to his famous diary, "I felt my heart much opened." After spending several months in New York City and vicinity, he returned to Philadelphia through New Jersey, and on February 27, 1772, preached at Perth Amboy to a big congregation "in a large upper room." An innkeeper offered him hospitality and kindly suggested that Asbury should call on him when he came again.¹⁷

During the next few years, until the Revolution, Asbury

worked unceasingly to spread Methodism over the province. The entries in his *Journal* are full of references to preaching at Burlington, New Mills (Pemberton) a few miles away, Greenwich, Trenton, Gloucester, Haddonfield, Mantua Creek, and Perth Amboy.¹⁸ His success in the Quaker parts of West Jersey was far greater than in predominantly Calvinist East Jersey, where Methodism made slow progress for many years.

The Gloucester County mission felt the influence of Methodism as early as 1771, and soon became one of its strongholds, partly because the Church had so long neglected that region. When David Griffith arrived about 1770, he found the people at Waterford so intermarried and otherwise connected with the Quakers that their affection for the Church had "greatly cooled." At Gloucester there were only three really Church families, and the rest refused to contribute—which he laid to the frequent visits of Methodist preachers, including Edward Evans, father of the late Nathaniel Evans, the young poet missionary.¹⁹

The "infection" must have spread like a prairie fire, for a little more than three years later Robert Blackwell reported that in Waterford the people were "too much tinctured with Methodism," in spite of his efforts to attach them to the Church. The same was true at Greenwich (Clarksboro), where the people were well-meaning but "somewhat enthusiastic" and had to be reclaimed "rather by conviction than reproof."²⁰

At Asbury's first coming, there were probably not more than thirty or forty scattered Methodists in the whole province; but within less than two years there were 200, more than one sixth of the American membership. The first American Conference, at Philadelphia in 1773, made New Jersey a circuit with John King and William Watters as preachers. They probably did not try to travel regularly over the whole colony, but rather worked to strengthen the societies already formed.²¹

The political excitement preceding the Revolution failed to check the triumphant progress of Asbury and the other

Methodist preachers. The membership grew so fast that in 1774 there were two circuits—Trenton and Greenwich—two preachers, and 257 members; and in the following year, three preachers and 300 members.²²

Watters, the first native American preacher, labored successfully in New Jersey in 1774. The second American Conference, at Philadelphia on May 25, 1774, appointed him to the Trenton circuit, where he was kindly received. "I felt," he wrote, "freedom of spirit, and preached as if every sermon was my last. I felt myself on the Lord's business, and forgot (comparatively) all other concerns." But clouds were thickening around the little societies, and warning of the storm did not escape him. While he was ministering in Trenton, John Hancock and John Adams were joyfully welcomed there, on their way to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia.²³

EBB TIDE: THE REVOLUTION

Soon the tempest broke, and the excitement of war and the martial spirit turned people's thoughts away from religion. The first year of conflict, 1775-76, cut the Methodist membership in half. The preachers on the Trenton circuit evidently became so lax that Asbury in April, 1776, wrote in his *Journal*: "I received a letter from friend E. at Trenton, complaining that the societies in that circuit had been neglected by the preachers."²⁴

He and some of his fellow preachers fought hard to stem the ebbing tide and check the progress of demoralization. They were seriously hindered by the flight of all the English preachers except Asbury. They labored also under the charge of Toryism, due to the imprudent conduct and utterances of some of the refugees. To many of the more ardent or ignorant patriots, "Methodist" and "Tory" became practically the same word.²⁵

Soon the confusion and devastation of war and the cruelty and plundering of beastly mercenaries engulfed New Jersey.

Bitter partisan hatreds and the people's sufferings seemed to make it impossible for religion even to survive. Methodist membership increased by only ten in 1776-77, was not even reported in 1778, and reached a low ebb of 140 in 1779. For several years (1776-80) there was only one circuit, and in 1778 the only preacher appointed was Daniel Ruff on the Trenton circuit.²⁶

Even the usually confident Asbury was disheartened. When he visited Burlington in April, 1776, he was appalled to find that "many had so imbibed a martial spirit that they had lost the spirit of pure and undefiled religion . . . And some who once ran well now walk disorderly." At Trenton he discovered a distressing "spiritual deadness," and at first could not preach with his accustomed power. The spirit was much better at a quarterly meeting in Hopewell on April 30th, and in May he preached with success at Mount Holly and New Mills. The dauntless Benjamin Abbott helped him by traveling in West Jersey, planted Methodism in Salem by repeated visits, and preached to large congregations at Mannington. One of his old companions invited him to preach in his home at Woodstown, which he did, defying the annoyances and threats of a mob of soldiers.²⁷

Asbury shortly withdrew from the state for the remainder of the war, retiring to Delaware, where clergymen and preachers were not required to take the state oath of loyalty. He led a quiet life at the home of a pious friend, Thomas White, a judge of the Kent County Court, and did not even attend the annual conference in 1778 at Leesburg, Virginia.²⁸

The burden of the Methodist cause fell upon the broad shoulders of Daniel Ruff, the sole traveling minister, and of Benjamin Abbott, serving as a local preacher. Although their faith was already known in East Jersey, conditions for years forbade any preacher to travel there. They concentrated upon West Jersey, always more fertile ground. Abbott held a large quarterly meeting at Maurice River and converted many, and

preached also at Tuckahoe River. The fiery Freeborn Garrettson came in 1779, and ministered for a short time with considerable success.²⁹

REVIVAL

Because of such holy zeal in the teeth of indifference, hostility and persecution, Methodism began to revive after the low point of 1779. In the autumn of that year, Asbury read a heartening letter from Ruff, who declared that the work of the spirit was deepening in the Jerseys. Next spring came three letters from the state, bringing "good tidings of the work of God reviving," and begging for three or four preachers.³⁰

The revival was especially notable in East Jersey, under the ministry of George Mair. He volunteered to preach in 1780, although no Methodist minister had been allowed to travel there for a long time. He was the right man, a serious and undaunted soul, "invincible to everything but truth." East Jersey at that time was in great commotion, fairly seething with the hatred between Whigs and Tories. The winter was terribly severe, and it was hard even to get provisions, but he never flinched, and by his influence reconciled many enemies. His healing ministry was especially effective at a "love-feast," held during a quarterly meeting in a barn in the northern part of the state, and attended by several preachers. Mair's ministry was so effective that the annual conference of 1781 appointed two preachers for East Jersey.³¹

The men were Joseph Everett and John Tunnell. Asbury appointed Everett to travel in West Jersey in November, 1781, and he worked there until the following May, winning many converts. He was then appointed to East Jersey with Tunnell, and worked with him until November. In West Jersey, as he wrote to Asbury, Everett was "opposed by the Baptists" and "beset by Lutherans," but he did not mention any opposition from the Episcopal Church, in which he had been reared.³²

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For New Jersey Methodism a new day was beginning to break by 1781, when over 500 members were reported, an increase of more than 200 over the preceding year. When Asbury visited the state again, after an absence of several years, the people told him that the cause was gaining daily in new places and that old societies were reviving. On his arrival in September, 1782, he noted the rapid recovery in his *Journal*: "I think God will do great things in the Jerseys: the prospect is pleasing, East and West."³³

Persecution of the Methodists was still popular, but many of the members remained immovably faithful. When William Watters visited New Mills in April, 1782, after an absence of seven years, he found that the society—already large when he left it—had doubled or trebled. All the old members were alive, and only one had fallen by the wayside.³⁴

Suspicion of Toryism still dogged the preachers, especially in East Jersey. Asbury was annoyed by demands to see his pass, which some arrogant officer at Germantown declared was invalid. At one place he suddenly discovered that a mob armed with clubs had been prowling around to beat up Joseph Everett. It was probably but too true, as Asbury believed, that the ruffians were winked at by the civil authorities, and encouraged by jealous and hostile ministers. The Dutch clergy appeared to be alarmed by the Methodist success, and were opposing it either openly or covertly, but Asbury noticed that "the Episcopal ministers are the most quiet; and some of these are friendly."³⁵

"METHODISTICAL" OGDEN

Especially sympathetic and helpful was Uzal Ogden, the S. P. G. missionary in Sussex County. He openly favored Methodist Churchmen and worked with them to convert the masses. He helped George Mair, who wrote a letter to him, expressing his regard, and received a like reply from Ogden:

"The regard you express for me merits my thanks; and be assured your piety and zeal have gained you my affection. I fervently pray that you may be the peculiar object of the love of God . . . I do not regret the countenance I have shown the Methodists; nor shall I cease to be friendly towards them, as I am persuaded they are instrumental in advancing the divine glory, and the salvation of mankind."³⁶

Ogden assisted and advised Methodist preachers throughout his vast mission in Sussex, Morris, Essex, and Hunterdon counties. He kept in touch with Dr. Samuel Magaw, rector of Saint Paul's Church in Philadelphia, a friend of Asbury, who recommended some Methodist preachers to Ogden in the winter of 1782-83. To Asbury, Ogden frankly avowed his sympathy with them:

"Believing, in this day of irreligion, their wish to advance the interests of virtue, I have given them such countenance and advice as I deemed expedient, and I humbly hope and fervently pray, that they and their successors in this country may be instrumental in 'turning many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God' . . . I am happy to add that your preachers here do honor to the cause they profess to serve."³⁷

With the letter Ogden sent a sermon on regeneration, a topic close to the Methodist heart. Asbury replied with pleasure and recorded the gift in his journal, describing Ogden as "a man of piety, who, I trust, will be of great service to the Methodist societies, and the cause of God in general."³⁸

Ogden's answer shows that the clergy of the Episcopal Church were "disposed to be friendly to the Methodists":

"I am obliged to you for the expression of friendship . . . and am happy that my conduct to your people hath received your approbation . . .

"Some ill-natured things have been said of me on account of the favor I have shown to Methodists; but I can truly say that it is a very trivial circum-

stance, in my estimation, thus to endure the judgment of men.

"I do not mean, in any instance, to omit an opportunity of advancing the Divine glory and the salvation of mankind, whatever may be the consequence of such conduct with regard to myself; and I do not repent that I have shown friendship to your people, but rejoice in it, as I cannot but be of opinion that the countenance I have given them hath, in some measure, advanced the interests of the kingdom of the Prince of Peace. *And I am happy to mention that the clergy of our Church, in this state, are disposed to be friendly to the Methodists; and, with cheerfulness, if called on, will administer to them the Divine ordinances.*

"I cannot but applaud the unremitted diligence of yourself and those preachers of your community, who, without any worldly expectations, 'go about doing good', regardless of danger, toil, and the reproaches of men."

He hoped to meet Asbury at Newark in August.³⁹

When Asbury traversed New Jersey in 1784, he visited Newton in Sussex County, preached in the court house, and was entertained at Ogden's rectory. The missionary at that time had charge also of Saint John's Church, Elizabeth Town. When Methodist preachers first appeared there in 1784, he welcomed them kindly and "gladly united with them in preaching a crucified and risen Saviour." Ogden's preaching had recently converted Elias Crane, descended from a pioneer of East Jersey; he joined Saint John's and became a street preacher in the town. Next year Asbury was Ogden's guest at dinner.⁴⁰

The two Methodist Churchmen had a mutual friend, Woolman Hickson, who preached in New Jersey in the 1780's. To him Ogden fairly poured out his soul:

"I cannot but admire your zeal in forsaking all earthly considerations, all worldly connections and

prospects, for Jesus! and that too in the flower of youth! . . . I suppose some, perhaps many, unfriendly things are spoken of me on account of the countenance I show your people; but I can truly say, 'it is a small matter with me, to be thus judged of man's judgment.' I trust, in this instance, I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and all rational, pious men."⁴¹

When Ogden was criticized for forming some Methodistical religious societies, he turned to Hickson for support and comfort. "How dreadful to the ears of some persons," he wrote, "is the word *Methodist*." In September, 1783, he reported to Hickson his visit to the Methodist quarterly meeting at Germantown, New Jersey. He was happy that it had been "*blest* to many persons," and that the Methodists were gaining ground elsewhere. His own evangelism gained a harvest of converts; a few months before, in one day, he had admitted fifty new communicants.⁴²

There are almost innumerable evidences of Ogden's sympathy with the Methodists. Eventually his loyalty to the Episcopal Church was suspected, he was refused confirmation by the General Convention upon his election as bishop of New Jersey, and in 1805 at the request of his parish he was suspended from the ministry, but oddly enough, instead of joining the Methodists, he entered the Presbyterian Church—which was by this time even less friendly to Methodistical practices! For the rest of his life he extended to Methodist preachers his fellowship and the shelter of his roof. He continued to correspond with several of them, and they valued his writings, particularly an essay on *Revealed Religion* against the hostile influence of the freethinker, "Tom" Paine. Asbury cherished it, and recommended it for popular reading.⁴³

CONSOLIDATING THE GAINS

Contrary to a long accepted view of them as mere illiterate exhorters, the Methodist ministers urged their flocks

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to read religious books, which they regarded as the best help to their preaching. They did not want an ignorant laity, and like the S. P. G. and S. P. C. K. missionaries, became agents of popular literacy. Even during the dark and troubled years of the Revolution, they were thus laying solid foundations for later growth. Homeless for the most part, persecuted and insulted, they were founding a new church which was already outgrowing its parent, even though the societies were usually too poor to provide meeting houses, and so lost members to hostile groups who said that the Methodists never could afford to build them.⁴⁴

In spite of all obstacles, Methodism in New Jersey reached the close of the Revolution as a strong and growing influence in the Church. In 1783 there were 1028 members. By 1785 the one circuit, two preachers and 200 members of 1773 had become three circuits—West and East Jersey and Trenton—with eight preachers and an elder. Since the first American Conference, uncounted thousands had heard the thirty or forty preachers who traveled on the New Jersey, Trenton, Greenwich, Philadelphia, Metuchen, West Jersey and East Jersey circuits.

The ministers included some of the ablest pioneers of Methodism in America, such as William Watters, John Cooper, Daniel Ruff, Caleb B. Pedicord, John Magary, Thomas Ware, John M'Claskey, John Hagerty, and Philip Gatch. Among those who are known to have been reared in the Anglican Church were Joseph Toy, William Duke, William Watters, Joseph Everett, and Philip Gatch. The last apparently was the first preacher to be officially appointed to New Jersey and to work there for a considerable period. Another remarkable minister was Adam Cloud, who eventually became a priest and served as a missionary in Mississippi Territory.⁴⁵

By 1785, the state was becoming thickly dotted with Methodist societies, and meeting houses were beginning to spring up everywhere. In the fifteen years since Captain Webb

came to Burlington, societies had been founded at Trenton, Greenwich, New Mills (Pemberton), Mount Holly, Pittsgrove, Pleasant Mills, Quinton's Bridge, Salem, Lower Penn's Neck, and Maurice River in West Jersey; and at Monmouth, Good Luck, New Germantown, Asbury, Elizabeth, Newark and Flanders in East Jersey.⁴⁶

The first meeting house was erected at Greenwich in Gloucester County, and was shared with the other Churchmen. Asbury on May 14, 1772, mentioned it in his journal as "the new church." In April, 1773, he saw the foundation laid for the second one, in Trenton. The third was commenced at New Mills in 1775, and in the spring of 1776 Asbury "found brother W. very busy about his chapel, which is 36 feet by 28, with a gallery 15 feet deep." All the early meeting places were similarly small and simple wooden-frame chapels. By 1785 several more were built or being erected in various parts of the state.⁴⁷

SEPARATION

At that time the Church had been so weakened by the flight of Loyalist clergymen and the devastations of war and persecution, that it could no longer contain the expanding force of Methodism. There were only three or four priests in the state, from whom the preachers and people could receive the sacraments. Under the circumstance a separation seemed unavoidable. Not all the Methodist preachers desired it. Although they felt that their call to preach gave them power to perform the duties of a Christian minister, they refrained from administering sacraments because they had not received episcopal ordination. Although Methodists sincerely thought that the Holy Communion was sometimes given by wholly unworthy hands, they ordinarily received it in Episcopal churches.⁴⁸

When Asbury was in Burlington in June, 1773, he set the example by receiving Communion at Saint Mary's, after

preaching in the morning. In spite of this evidence of loyalty to the Church, the rector, Jonathan Odell, attacked the Methodists from the pulpit in the presence of Asbury, who wrote in his journal:

"The parson gave us a strange discourse, full of inconsistency and raillery. Leaving him to answer for his own conduct, I took no further notice of it, but preached that night from these words, 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God,' &c., and showed, First, what the things of God are—Secondly, described the natural man—and Thirdly, showed how they appear to be foolishness to him; and that he cannot know them by the strength of his natural or acquired abilities."⁴⁹

That very year the preachers at their first conference, in Philadelphia, agreed that

"All the people among whom we labour (are) to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and to receive the ordinances there . . . Every preacher who acts in connexion with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper."⁵⁰

In other words, they still considered themselves not as a separate church, but as a pious society within the Church.

At the Conference of 1777, the question of administering the sacraments began to become embarrassing. As many priests had left their parishes on account of the war, should the Methodist preachers administer them? After a long discussion, they unanimously decided to postpone their decision until the next conference. Commenting on the situation, William Watters wrote in his autobiography: "In fact we considered ourselves, at this time, as belonging to the Church of England."⁵¹

By 1780 the situation was becoming acute, as the Virginia preachers insisted upon administering the sacraments. They

claimed that power as the *right* of men who had converted others by their ministry, even though they had no episcopal ordination. They had even appointed a committee, whose members proceeded to ordain each other and their fellow preachers. The Northern brethren expressed disapproval, and the resulting controversy threatened to cause a division. A conference at Baltimore appointed a committee to seek reconciliation at a conference of the Southern preachers in Virginia. The latter at first refused to yield, but finally consented to stop administering the ordinances for a year and to ask John Wesley's advice.⁵²

"It is purely a modern notion that the Wesleyan movement ever was, or ever was intended to be, except by Wesley, a Church movement. Contemporary writers of all classes seem to be agreed on this point . . . The whole correspondence between Samuel Walker and the Wesleys in 1755 and 1756 shows plainly that in Walker's opinion Methodism, even in that early stage of it, was already virtually a separation from the Church. Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of John and Charles Wesley, though he lived to see only the infancy of the movement, perceived its drift when he wrote: 'I am not afraid that the Church will excommunicate him (discipline is at too low an ebb for that), but that he [John Wesley] will excommunicate the Church. It is pretty near it.'"⁵³

Walker and the other Anglican Evangelicals referred to in this passage by Overton and Relton were far from being opposed to emotionalism in religion, but they believed strongly that schism is a sin, and they perceived that one was in the making.

By 1746 John Wesley had reached the conclusion that bishops and presbyters were essentially of one order, and later he told Charles:

"I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England or in Europe."⁵⁴

However strongly he spoke against separation from the Church of England, his actions spoke louder than his words, for, as Lord Mansfield put it, "ordination is separation," and John Wesley, over the strong objections of Charles, proceeded to ordain.⁵⁵

On September 2, 1784, at Bristol, Wesley ordained Thomas Coke, a priest of the Church of England, as superintendent of the Methodists in America, and instructed Coke to ordain Asbury as his colleague. He also ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as presbyters for America. Other ordinations for the Methodists in Scotland as well as in England followed.⁵⁶

Arriving in New York on November 3d, Coke traveled south to Delaware where he met Asbury. When he revealed Wesley's plans, "Asbury professed to be shocked and for a time refused to be ordained."⁵⁷ He knew what Coke did not know, namely, that American Methodists would not be content to continue under the control of Wesley much longer. Asbury, therefore, refused to accept the office of superintendent unless elected by a majority of the American itinerants.

The famous Baltimore Conference resulted, beginning December 24, 1784. About 60 of the whole number of 81 preachers were present. There a new American denomination was organized under the name of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*. Coke, Whatcoat and Vasey ordained Asbury on successive days as deacon, elder, and general superintendent. Asbury almost at once began to refer to himself as "bishop"—which Wesley deprecated—and in 1787 this title appeared in the Conference minutes.⁵⁸

The history of the Methodists following the Baltimore Conference is not within the province of this volume. In 1791, Coke approached Bishops Madison, White and Seabury with a scheme for the reunion of the two Churches, which involved the consecration of Asbury and himself to the episcopate. Asbury was not a party to the plan and, apparently, knew nothing about it. Since Asbury was now the dominant

person in American Methodism, the proposal from that side was largely academic; from the side of the Episcopal Church, it was equally so:

“On the reading of this in the House of Deputies, they were astonished, and considered it altogether preposterous; tending to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body. The members generally mentioned, as a matter of indulgence, that they would permit the withdrawing of the paper; no notice to be taken of it . . . the bishops silently withdrew it, agreeably to leave given.”⁵⁹

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE SEPARATION

Regrettable as was the separation, it should be clearly understood why, humanly speaking, there was no help for it. The issues involved went much deeper than the surface one of the lack of enough priests in America to administer the sacraments. In England, where there were plenty of priests, the Methodists deliberately cut themselves off from the Church of England to found one of their own.

The long and short of it was that, if the Church had met the demands of the Methodists, it would have lost its Catholic heritage and character in several important respects:

I. The Methodists made emotional conversion the test of membership. The Anglican Church has always admitted that such a conversion may be valid and may be needed by countless numbers of people, but it is not and should not be the sole test of membership. Following the stand of the Holy Catholic Church, it has maintained that “nurture” is the *normal* process in Church membership; that is, on being made a Christian in baptism, one shall never be anything else, but, God helping him, he shall grow in grace unto his life’s end.

Twentieth century Methodism, to go back no further,

has vindicated this Anglican position, for thousands of its members and hundreds of its ministers in this century have testified that they never had any such experience as "emotional conversion." Moreover, present day Methodists stress "nurture" about as much as any American denomination one might name.

II. In the realm of Christian ethics, the Methodists set up unscriptural tests of conduct, such as the five prohibitions added to the Decalogue: (1) thou shalt not drink alcoholic beverages; (2) thou shalt not use tobacco; (3) thou shalt not dance; (4) thou shalt not play cards; and (5) thou shalt not go to the theatre.

The Anglican Church, again in line with its Catholic heritage, has always maintained that temperance and not prohibition is the moral principle by which these things are to be judged and exercised; for genuine virtue comes through temperance and not by prohibition. It was, in short, a fundamental conflict in moral theology.

Here again twentieth century Methodism does not enforce its original code in its entirety, and to some extent falls back on the Catholic moral principle of temperance.

III. Episcopacy, historically understood, is a richer thing than the episcopate or the order of bishops. It carries with it not only the historic ministry, but the defense of the Catholic Faith, the administration of the Catholic sacraments, the development of the sacramental life, and the upholding of the rights of the laity. The Methodist test of membership and the Methodist unscriptural tests of conduct, discussed above, were infringements on the rights of the laity. To compel them to be binding upon *all* the laity, as the Methodists demanded, episcopacy would have been false to its duty.

Likewise, if the Church of England and its daughter, the American Episcopal Church, had accepted Wesley's claim that he was "a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England or Europe," and had accepted his actions based on that claim, it would have denied its consistent adherence to Catholic order

and practice, namely, that confirmation and ordination must be administered by a bishop as the Holy Catholic Church has defined the same; and that the other sacraments must be administered by a presbyter or priest who has been episcopally ordained.

To argue that, because a layman can preach more effectively and produce more converts than a priest, therefore such a laymen must be allowed to administer the sacraments and do anything else than only a priest is commissioned to do, is to cut at the root of all law and order. On such a principle, schism is no longer a sin; it is publicly proclaimed as a virtue.

The irony of it all is that on such principles, proclaimed in the name of liberty, there emerged the most autocratically controlled church in American Protestantism.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Battle for the Episcopate

THE clerical conventions made their most important contribution to the Church in reminding the faithful that in America it was a freak—an episcopal church without a bishop. The New Jersey missionaries were always in the front line of the fight for an American bishop solely with spiritual powers. Their boldness involved them in controversies that finally merged with the greater ones preceding the Revolution. After that conflict, their ideal of a free and purely spiritual episcopate became a basic principle of the American Church.

The chief obstacle they always encountered was the peculiar character of the English episcopate as established by law. As chief pastors, the bishops administered discipline, consecrated churches, confirmed, and ordained and suspended or degraded ministers. As civil officials, they probated wills, issued marriage licenses, and presented parsons to benefices. As peers of the realm, they sat in the House of Lords and had great political influence.¹

A PERMANENT ABSENTEE BISHOP

Spiritual duties easily performed in England were impossible to attempt across the ocean. As no English bishop ever set foot in America, there were no confirmations and no ordinations. The American candidate for orders bore the expense of two ocean voyages, and the hardship became a stock argument with advocates of an American diocese.²

The Bishop of London was generally regarded as diocesan of the colonial churches.³ Towards the end of the seventeenth century, he began to appoint "commissaries" or vicars-general, empowered to inspect, call conventions, and generally super-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, see below, "Notes."

wise the clergy. "Commissaries proved to be feeble substitutes for a resident bishop. On paper their powers seemed generous enough, but they were hampered by distance from their superior, and by the jealousy of colonial clergymen, vestries, and governors. Not being bishops, they could not confirm or ordain, two episcopal functions most needed in the colonies. Usually they merely visited, exhorted, and supervised, making very few efforts to establish Church courts or punish clergymen. Outside Virginia, the only known instance of a commissary formally trying and sentencing a priest was when Alexander Garden of South Carolina condemned Whitefield.³

The Bishop of London became such a shadowy figurehead that it could justly be claimed that the Church in America had no central government. In the Northern colonies, even the appointment of commissaries was finally abandoned. In 1762, Dr. William Smith suggested reviving the office with larger powers, and the Pennsylvania clergy wanted him to take it. But such proposals were scarcely even considered.⁴

The bishop's civil functions were vested in the colonial governors as "ordinaries" or lay bishops. When the Bishop of London received a formal commission, those powers were excepted because the home government wanted them to be exercised by a strong authority. The governor's power did not include patronage of parishes, or the right to present except by lapse, and he could not prefer any minister without a certificate from the Bishop of London. The governor of New Jersey had slight authority over the Church, and virtually no power over appointments. In missionary parishes the Society appointed the ministers, usually consulting popular wishes and favoring candidates recommended by the clerical conventions. The clergy and the people, therefore, had more and more to say about who should be their ministers.⁵ Royal instructions directed governors to favor the Church, by having the Prayer Book services read every Sunday and Holy Day, and "the Blessed Sacrament" administered in the Anglican way. They

could not permit any Church priest or schoolmaster to function without episcopal license. (See Chapter Eleven.)

To confirm the Bishop of London's authority and define his and the governors' powers, King George II issued a patent to Bishop Edmund Gibson on April 29, 1728, granting full power and authority to visit churches, discipline the clergy, and appoint and remove commissaries. Commissarial decisions might be appealed to certain members of the Privy Council. But this really did the colonial Church little good, as some considered the grant as applying only to Gibson and as expiring when he died.⁶

THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS

Because there was always so much doubt regarding the bishop's powers, loyal Churchmen in the colonies and at "home" had long been demanding an American diocese. In 1638, Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury apparently intended to send a bishop to New England, but was prevented by the Civil War against Charles I. In 1662 and 1664, after the restoration of the monarchy, there was a plan to establish colonial bishops. Chaplain Miller of New York naively suggested that a suffragan to the Bishop of London should also be governor of the province! And in 1708-13 it was proposed to appoint Dean Jonathan Swift, the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, as bishop of Virginia—an intriguing idea about which Colonel Robert Hunter, governor of New York and New Jersey, corresponded with him. For various reasons these and other plans all failed.⁷

The idea appealed to the English bishops around the turn of the century, when the Church was securing a foothold in New Jersey. Bishop Henry Compton of London (1675-1713) not only began to appoint commissaries and emphasize the necessity of strengthening the Church overseas, but also tried to establish more firmly the colonial authority of the Bishop of London. In 1707 he even drafted observations on the advisa-

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bility of an American suffragan, but did not believe that the colonists would tolerate a bishop with the usual powers, which would have involved supervision of the too often irregular lives of the clergy and laity. The suffragan would resemble a commissary, but could confirm, ordain, and consecrate. If the experiment succeeded, perhaps a diocesan bishop might come later; if not, the suffragan could be quietly withdrawn. The proposal was not deeply considered, but it set the example for many later petitions for a suffragan.⁸

Another friend of the plan was Archbishop Thomas Tenison of Canterbury (1695-1716), who in 1715 bequeathed £1000 to support one or more bishops. Later the income was given to John Talbot of Burlington, as the eldest of the colonial missionaries, because the will so provided until the colonies should have a bishop. The Society received other benefactions for the same purpose, but the whole sum would hardly have been enough to maintain one bishop in the lavish style then considered necessary.⁹

JOHN TALBOT TAKES A HAND

In the meantime, leading Churchmen in New Jersey would not let the matter rest, and for a time in Queen Anne's reign (1702-14) it seemed measurably near success. During his tour in the province, 1702-04, George Keith stressed the necessity of a suffragan. Talbot wrote in 1702: "We have great need of a Bishop here to visit all ye Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, & bless all." He advocated an American episcopate in season and out, for many years, and in 1703 expressed his pent-up feelings to the Society in words that might have been written at any time before the Revolution:

"The poor Church has nobody upon the spot to comfort or confirm her children; nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve, were they authorized, for the work of the Ministry. Therefore they fall back again into the herd of the Dissenters, rather than they

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will be at the Hazard and Charge to goe as far as England for orders: so that we have seen several Counties, Islands, and Provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister, am't them, which might have been supply'd, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan.¹⁰

Talbot's idea was that of later petitions from New Jersey—a bishop with purely spiritual functions, and “a Man of peace, for otherwise he will do more harm than good.” He was unsure about the problem of support, but assured Keith that “several of ye Clergy both of this Province & of Maryland have said that they would pay their Tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's Vicegerent whereby the B^p of America might have as honourable Provision as some in Europe.” He recommended John Lilington of Maryland, whom others also considered the best candidate.¹¹

Talbot harped upon the subject until even some of his friends became bored with it, and in 1706 he took ship for England to promote the cause. Next year he warned Keith that all the missionaries would soon leave, unless they could have an overseer to direct them—and incidentally, protect them from Governor Cornbury. “I pray God help us for we have no body to apply to, and no body cares for our Souls.” After many years of fruitless agitation, he lost patience, sailed again to England, and in 1722 received consecration from bishops of the “nonjuring” Church, which did not recognize the Hanoverian king, George I. But when the Society got wind of the incident, it recognized the side on which its bread was buttered and dismissed its old servant promptly.¹²

GIVE US A CHIEF PASTOR!

Thoroughgood Moore felt the heavy hand of Cornbury and left the country for lack of episcopal support. He wrote from the heart when he begged the Society to excuse him if he seemed “earnest with them for a Suffragan.” His letters

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repeatedly allude to impatience in the colonies for a bishop to ordain desperately needed priests. John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, his companion in flight from the wrath of Cornbury, was not behind him in zeal. In 1705, the New Jersey missionaries, meeting with the others in Burlington, formally petitioned the English episcopate for a bishop to ordain friends among the Presbyterian and Independent (Congregational) ministers, to confirm, and to protect the Church from enemies.¹³

The laity of New Jersey vied with their clergy in zeal for an American bishop. Lewis Morris in 1709 declared that one was "absolutely necessary," and recommended a commissary for New Jersey and Pennsylvania until his lordship should arrive. Jeremiah Basse never tired of bemoaning the damage done to the Church in America by the lack of a bishop. In 1709, he suggested his beloved Burlington as the seat of a diocese, and in 1711 pressed the overburdened secretary to use his influence with the Society to speed the event. In 1715, he even declared that nothing else could effectually cure the Church's disorders and establish its peace and prosperity, and suggested support by a "moderate sallary" and fees for probating wills and granting marriage licenses. Rowland Ellis, the schoolmaster in Burlington, wrote that the absence of a bishop was causing "the greatest grief" to Churchmen. The vestry of Saint Mary's swelled the cry by joining with Talbot and others in petitioning for a bishop:

"For the want of that sacred power which is inherent in your apostolick (office) the vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a considerable time from England, whereby many congregations are not only become desolate, and the light of the gospel therein extinguished, but great encouragement is thereby given to sectaries of all sorts which abound and increase among us."¹⁴

THE SOCIETY TRIES AND FAILS

The colonial Churchmen for some years had a powerful

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ally in the Society, which had no sooner been established than it began to agitate for a resident colonial episcopate. As early as 1702 a committee noted that most of the letters from the colonies earnestly pleaded for it. Next year a committee inquired whether the suffragan bishops in England might serve for foreign parts, whether the English hierarchy might consecrate bishops with only common jurisdiction, and whether the queen alone might appoint foreign suffragans. In 1704 the Society presented a memorandum favoring a suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who intended to consult the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London about presenting it to Queen Anne. The Society regarded the success of its missions as dependent upon a colonial episcopate, and in 1707 again tried to interest the bishops.¹⁵

The Society relied upon the devotion of "good Queen Anne," and in 1712 addressed her on the subject. The pious and respected Bishop White Kennett seconded the plea in a sermon before the members, urging a colonial episcopate "to compleat the face of decency and order." Next year the Archbishop of York presented another petition from the Society to her majesty, who finally decided to grant the favor. But fate was cruel. A bill had actually been drafted for introduction in Parliament, when the queen's death prevented any further action. Even that did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Society, which in 1715 petitioned the new Hanoverian king, George I—but in vain, because his Whig supporters distrusted the Church after the Tory rebellion of 1715 in favor of the Stuart "Pretender." That setback discouraged the Society from making any more efforts to induce the crown to establish an American episcopate.¹⁶

NEW JERSEY'S EPISCOPAL "PALACE"

In the meantime, John Talbot and other Churchmen in the Jerseys had been indulging in some wishful thinking and planning, and had even chosen a home for the proposed bishop.

It was the "House at the Point" in Burlington, the former property of John Tatham, and sometimes called "the Palace." The suggestion clicked, as the Society had been looking for a house in the colonies, "as near the Center as possible."

Governor Robert Hunter opened negotiations for the house and land, assuring the Society that the heir would soon be of age and would have to sell. He was fairly bubbling over with enthusiasm, writing, "It is the Sweetest Situation in the World, a very healthfull Air, and a well built large House . . . I know no better place." He inspected the property, and in February, 1711-12, obtained possession of it for the Society, for £600S. or £900 New York currency. The Society then sank over £226 into repairs, "as a further Testimony of their Adherence to *Resolutions* solemnly deliberated and agreed upon."¹⁷

As years rolled on, the Society came to regret the solemn resolutions and spending all that money. No bishop ever occupied the "Palace," which became a white elephant, a constant source of irritation to the Society, the clergy at Burlington, and Saint Mary's parish. For a time, however, all was promising. Jeremiah Basse and Daniel Leeds proposed to secure, as an episcopal endowment, some islands in the Delaware River, supposed to belong to Queen Anne. The property in and around Burlington amounted to about 256 acres, with buildings, and the islands extended from far up the river to about twelve miles above New Castle, Delaware. It was proposed to add a legacy of £100 from Bishop Robert Frampton of Gloucester to promote the Gospel in America. The Society had wanted to use it to buy the "Palace," but the bishop's devout friend, Mrs. Catherine Bovey, thought it should be used for Saint Mary's or some other needy parish, as Queen Anne would take care of the bishop.¹⁸

Sooner or later most of the Church leaders in New York and New Jersey heard enough about the Society's house and its affairs to become heartily sick of it and to try to get it off their hands as speedily as possible. Governor Hunter soon

washed his hands of it, and wished it on Talbot, who handed it to Basse. It was used as a storehouse for Talbot's books, because nobody would occupy it without being paid for the trouble. In 1715, Basse reported that the house was in good order and needed only a bishop to live in it, promised to look after it, and had added some vacant and unsurveyed lands, which the Society wanted conveyed to them. Five years later, he warned that without a careful resident the house would "unavoidably suffer a great deal of damage." The outhouses were old and leaky, the cellar was rotten, and the underpinning had decayed, so that everything would blow down if something were not done "speedily." The title to twelve acres of the land was being disputed by two men who claimed prior possession. The Society ordered Talbot and Rector William Vesey of Trinity Church, New York, to take care of the lands, but Vesey did not appear and Talbot dismissed the matter by writing that it was "but an Acre or 2 and that it is safe enough."¹⁹

— Later the lumpy burden was bound upon Daniel Coxe and William Trent, whom the Society in 1722 asked for help in giving directions to repair the house, and to report on the property. They visited the place and found an appalling mess. The orchard, garden, and fields behind the house had become a town pasture, the fences were down, the rails were rotten, many fruit trees had been destroyed or mutilated. The doors were open and their hardware had been purloined, all windows had been smashed and many casements were gone. The rooms below stairs had been used as a sheep refuge, the floors were inches deep in manure, and the walls had been scrawled with lewd language. The well was full of sheep skeletons and rubbish, and even the iron pump handle was missing, along with most of the roof lead. Several chamber doors upstairs had been broken to pieces, and treasure seekers had ripped out flooring, chimney pieces, and ceilings. The cellars and offices were "one continued Heap of Dung and Nastiness," so that

only Indians and Negroes could be persuaded to undertake the herculean task of cleaning them. The disgusted curators at once decided to repair that amazing bishop's palace, and eventually put it and the fences in good order, and with much difficulty persuaded the deputy secretary of the province to live there, so that nobody could break in.²⁰

To their astonishment, the Society seemed indifferent, and after more than a year had not paid a repair bill of over £52S. Coxe and Trent dug into their own pockets to pay the tradesmen, the former giving much of his subscription to the Society. To make matters worse, if possible, nobody knew the location of the legal papers relating to the house, or of the survey of lands and meadows. Perhaps—who knew or cared?—they might be in Governor Hunter's strong box, which was locked and sealed when he returned to Great Britain. At long last, in 1725 the Society approved all Coxe and Trent had done, with thanks. Hunter's agent in New York found John Tatham's deed to the Society, and Coxe gave him a receipt and had it recorded. Weyman, a later missionary, sent the deed to the Society, and Coxe sent two maps showing the town, the river islands, and the Society's house and lots.

Coxe ordered a survey of the lands, which revealed about sixteen acres in the house and water lot, garden, and orchard. Two acres of meadow had long been fenced and held by a Burlington County Quaker, Nathaniel Cripps, and ten more of very fine meadow on the creek near London Bridge were held by a Philadelphia Quaker, William Burge, who claimed that he had an old survey, had paid taxes for many years, and had spent over £20 in drainage. But old people assured Coxe that the Society probably could establish its right.

Rumor said that the Society intended to found a college, and Coxe recommended the house as the pleasantest and healthiest situation he had seen in America. It could accomodate the overseers, principal servants, and workmen while the college was being built. The Society could reasonably buy from five

to twenty or thirty acres adjoining, and the king probably would grant Mattinicunck Island, 320 acres, for endowment, fencing, firewood, pasture, and gardens. Coxe himself offered an acre at the "Point." All building materials were handy and could be cheaply brought by water. While the stable was very much decayed and needed shingling, the house itself was in good repair and the lands were in good order and well fenced.²¹

Grandiose plans faded in the harsh light of reality, and the house remained so neglected that, when John Holbrooke thought of moving from Salem to Burlington, the Society requested him to take care of it. Weyman wanted to live there until the Society could find a paying tenant who would not turn the cellar into a stable, as did the present one, Samuel Bustil. That worthy refused to leave, claiming that Coxe had put him in, and he even asserted that the Society owed him for repairs, although he had taken "handsom gratuities" from governors who had lived there during sessions of the Assembly. The Society had to give Weyman a power of attorney to take and rent the property and send the income to its treasurer.

Coxe evidently tried to block that move, and Weyman reported that the land was being encroached upon by Quakers, including William Burge, Coxe's brother-in-law, so that if the Society's right were not soon asserted, there would be no witnesses to prove it. When they empowered him to give Bustil three months to quit, he complained to the Society, and they referred the matter to Coxe, without reply. Bustil relented enough to pay for some glazing done by Weyman, who promised the Society to keep the place from ruin. The town wanted some of the land for a street that could not possibly serve the public, but Governor Cosby and Weyman closed it until further informed. Weyman fenced the field, and billed the Society for £26S. for repairing the house, as it was no more than necessary, and to help him they finally sent an account of the lands, drawn up by Basse.²²

Weyman's widow lived in the house, but let part of it

to an old woman and some free Negroes. That annoyed Campbell, who had no rectory and wanted to live there, to fix the broken windows, and set up the overthrown fences. But the Society still took little notice of the place, and by 1740 it was in such poor condition that, if not soon repaired, it would go to ruin. Campbell had to send an estimate for absolutely necessary work. Nobody would rent the place for anything worth while, because it was so far from the center of town, but Campbell suggested that Governor Lewis Morris might want it for a home. The place was a cross to the good parson, as it gave the parish a convenient excuse for not building a rectory, because Weyman had lived there. At last, in 1745, the Society's secretary inquired about the house and a possible purchaser.²³

By 1746 the "Palace" was so far gone that it would collapse in a few years if left to itself, and Campbell could see no use in spending any more money on it, as nobody was likely to buy it or the adjoining lands. The Society didn't know what to do, but in 1747 naively inquired whether anybody would take the house without rent, just to care for it, or whether it could be demolished for sale of the materials. That very year the house itself settled the question by burning down.

Campbell had already leased the land to Dr. Thomas Shaw, one of the vestrymen, for three years without rent, provided he would ditch, fence, drain and clear it, and sow the meadow with clover. He would resign his lease if the Society could sell out, and be paid for his expenses, but would pay £5 currency a year if the land stayed unsold. If the Society would sell the meadow, he would give £60 and defend the title against hot-headed young William Burge, who threw down his fences. Campbell, completely weary of the matter, was advised to get a power of attorney and defend the Society's right. In his disgust he suggested that the heirs of Governor Hunter in London should indemnify the Society and the missionaries for the costs of law suits, because he had bought the land. The

Society granted him £15 to defend the title—a burden he must have hated.²⁴

The land remained unsold, and in 1773 Jonathan Odell asked leave to use it, but the Society declined on the ground that it had been granted only to support a bishop. Odell, who was a real business man, consulted the deed in the provincial secretary's office and found no such condition. He reminded the Society that Weyman had occupied the house, and that Campbell had enjoyed the rent of the land for nearly thirty years, until his death. The Society, on the other hand, wanted to be paid for the expenses of the law suit by which the ten-acre lot had been recovered in 1768. Odell countered with a long memorandum about the ten- and fifteen-acre lots and his improvements and expenses, and found that the Society actually owed *him* £20. He would take the profits of the fifteen-acre tract, if the Society should decide to use those of the other to recoup the £30 expense of the suit and pay his expenses.²⁵

The end of the sad and complicated story, so far as this history is concerned, came in 1785, when Thomas B. Chandler found that the land in Burlington was the Society's only property in New Jersey. No congregation could claim it, as it had not been intended for parochial use. At his suggestion, the Society decided to sell it and to put the proceeds into the fund to support an American episcopate.²⁶

THE CAUSE WON'T DIE

/ While the "Palace" was slowly falling down, the colonial episcopate seemed to become more and more a dead issue, especially after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. George I had no special interest in the Church, and Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1741, preferred not to anger the Dissenters. The Whigs depended largely upon Dissenting votes, and suspected the Church of sympathy with the exiled Stuarts.

THE BATTLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE

Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (1723-48), discharged his responsibilities to the Church overseas in the tradition of Henry Compton, who was the first occupant of that see, 1675-1713, to take them seriously. Gibson made one serious attempt to provide the colonial Church with a resident bishop. In 1727, he invited the Maryland clergy to

“nominate one of their own body as a man worthy to be his suffragan. The object of their choice was [Joseph] Colebatch, a man of exemplary character; and the bishop wrote, requesting him to come to England that he might consecrate him to that office.”

Colebatch, a graduate of Oriel College in 1694, had been ordained that year by Bishop Compton. He was rector of All Hallow's Parish, Arundel County, Maryland, from 1698 until his death in January, 1734. When this was learned in Maryland, “a writ of *ne exeat* was actually applied for and granted by the courts of Maryland against Colebatch.”²⁷

Thomas Sherlock, his successor (1748-61), tried persistently to secure colonial bishops, but his efforts collided with growing colonial independence in religion and politics, and foretold the violent controversies in which New Jersey became a storm center. He was ably supported by Bishop Joseph Butler of Durham, and by Thomas Secker of Oxford, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, 1758-68. Secker reopened the matter in his annual sermon before the Society in 1741, and sought to allay colonial fear of English government. Butler in 1750 drafted a plan contemplating power only to regulate the Episcopal clergy, with no temporal powers, no maintenance at colonial expense, and *no* bishops where Dissenters ran the government. As archbishop, Secker anonymously published a pamphlet, asking toleration for the Church in the colonies and favoring Butler's proposal. He was a conciliatory man, too refined to stoop to the usual coarse pamphlet abuse of the age, and his good temper considerably tempered the heat of controversy.²⁸

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

Between Queen Anne's unlucky death and the revival of clergy conventions in 1758, New Jersey missionaries now and then urged colonial bishops. In 1727, John Holbrooke sorrowfully noted that, for want of its proper spiritual discipline, the Church was "derided" by sectarians. It seemed to him that the national Church should not be so unjustly treated, when all the others did what they liked. Eleven years later, Skinner and Vaughan proposed that fees for probate, letters of administration, and marriage licenses could provide a "tolerable" support for two resident bishops, and "forever put an end to the Societie's Missionaries complaints." Colin Campbell, feeling oppressed by the Burlington Quakers, declared his hearty wish that God would inspire George II to appoint a bishop to inspect the morals of the clergy, reward the faithful and diligent, and separate the chaff from the wheat. He proposed that Commissary Jenney of Philadelphia should visit like archdeacons in England, to show that the colonial Church had *some* government, until "the good providence of God send a Bishop."²⁹

Thomas Thompson of Monmouth rejoiced when letters from home hinted that a bishop would come over shortly. "Every true Son of the Church rejoices at the News; it will be the happiest Event that ever has arrived here since the Gospel was first established in America." Isaac Browne was equally delighted, writing that the "Gentleman in the Episcopal Character" would be

"a Blessing long hoped for and greatly desired by those of the established Church, and as much dreaded by Dissenters . . . The Dissenters in this province seem to be better reconciled to this News, as they understand there are to be no Tythes in the Case—a Thing, wherewith they have ever frightened themselves and endeavoured to terrify others."

George Craig said that he knew of but one way to remedy the shortage of missionaries—an American bishop—and added that

THE BATTLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE

it was an "absolute Necessity," if the Church was ever to "gain Ground & appear in her native Beauty in these parts// of ye world."³⁰

THE CONVENTIONS PLEAD

After the revival of conventions, the clergy began to speak firmly and frequently, and in fact never let the subject escape long from their thoughts—or other people's. In 1758, Cooke, Chandler, McKean and Browne joined several New York clergy in writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"We are well assured that nothing would give You greater satisfaction than to see us under the immediate Inspection of a Bishop, we heartily pray that this may be one of the Blessings of Your Grace's Archiepiscopate."³¹

The New Jersey clergy were a majority in the convention of October 1765, at Perth Amboy, which eloquently appealed to the Bishop of London, requesting "the Favor of that Influence, which You so deservedly have with His Majesty and his Ministry, that One or more Bishops may be speedily sent us." Their own plan seemed to them so reasonable that they could not imagine how anyone could oppose it.

"The Plan . . . is, that the Bishops to be granted us are only to exercise those Powers which are essential to the office, with Jurisdiction over none but the Professors of the Church. Altho' this is less than could be reasonably expected in a Christian Country, as we know of no Instance since the Time of Constantine in which Bishops have not been invested with a considerable Share of Civil Power; yet we shall be glad to accept of it, and we hope it will be sufficient."

Some Churchmen might grieve that the episcopate should be "stript so bare" when it was the government of the national Church. Objections by others should be treated with deserved

contempt. "The Truth is, we shall be glad of an Episcopate at any Rate, which appears to be now necessary in some Shape almost to the very Being of the Church in America." They felt that, while much had been said, recent efforts had not been adequate, and that since the King's disposition was considered favorable, the time was ripe for success. In 1771, Chandler printed their addresses to the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, to meet the objections of Dissenters.³²

The same convention also tried to convince the Society. After reviewing early efforts to secure a bishop, and the purchase of the house in Burlington, the missionaries asserted that "the Matter was in a fair way of being speedily accomplished," when Queen Anne's death blocked it. They next referred to efforts and failures since that time, and the raising of a "considerable Fund" by several illustrious members of the Society to support an American bishop. They believed that the Society had not changed its mind and that George III was favorable. The Venerable Society's labors had so increased the Church in America that a bishop was absolutely necessary; and would the members permit their efforts to be in vain? "Near a Million" professors and friends of the Church, scattered over a country far larger than any European nation, were "an Episcopal Church without Bishops," with canons but no discipline. All other religious bodies fully enjoyed their institutions and rights, and the Moravians secured "upon their barely asking it, the very Privilege, which the Members of the National Church, for more than half a Century have been trying to obtain—but, with what Success, our Enemies can tell with Pleasure."

They could not see why the Episcopal clergy had deserved "The Frowns of the Government." On the contrary, they believed that its best security in the colonies would be "the Principles of Submission and Loyalty taught by the Church." Ah, that was just what the republican Dissenters thought about the whole idea of a colonial bishop! Bitterly, the clergy

added, "those who are equally zealous in propagating the Principles of Independency both in Church and State, have every possible Indulgence!"

It had been "long settled and agreed upon" that bishops would be "invested only with those Powers which are inseparable from their office," with no power over wills or marriage licenses, no interference with civil government, and no diminution of the privileges and liberties of the laity. How *could* anyone object? It had been said that nineteen-twentieths of the people would object to bishops, and that the government would be ill advised to press the matter. That assertion was "utterly false and groundless." The only people who would be "disobliged" were the Presbyterians and Independents and "the Enemies of Revelation in general," altogether not one-third of the people. The Lutherans and Quakers would not complain, and the latter did not fear the Church, but rather dreaded the increasing Presbyterian power. Why gratify the "perverse and unreasonable Humor" of one enemy, and disregard two friends? If it were a question of pleasing the British Dissenters, then the condition of the Church in England itself would soon be "truly deplorable."³³

The annual convention of 1767, at Elizabeth Town, thanked the Archbishop of Canterbury for his "Zeal for procuring to the American Churches their compleat Establishment." The clergy appointed Robert McKean and Dr. Myles Cooper, rector of King's College, to visit the Southern colonies and secure the cooperation of the parsons in getting an American bishop. The disappointing result shows how deeply the New Jersey missionaries were committed to the cause, and how feeble was the support where the Church was established and supposedly strong. Commissary James Horrocks summoned a clerical convention on May 4, 1771, at the College of William and Mary. Only twelve priests appeared, and merely voted to address the King, through the Bishop of London, if a majority of their brethren would agree. An immediate protest came from

two Virginia priests, Thomas Gwatkin and Samuel Henley, professors in the college. The convention, they declared, was too small, the resolution contradicted a previous one *not* to address the King, the Virginia clergy could not speak for the other colonies, the establishment of an American episcopate would arouse opposition and promote division of the empire, the civil government should be consulted, the rule of the Bishop of London was satisfactory, and the method of ascertaining the wishes of the majority of the clergy was undignified and "contrary to the universal Practice of the Christian Church."³⁴

The House of Burgesses unanimously thanked them for "the wise and well-timed Opposition they have made to the pernicious Project of a few mistaken Clergymen, for introducing an American Bishop." That opposition, scarcely exceeded by the Puritans of Massachusetts, killed the proposed address to the King. In reply, the New York and New Jersey convention addressed a letter to the Virginia Episcopalians, hoping to convert them by explaining what kind of an episcopate they wanted. They declared that since Bishop Gibson's time the Bishop of London had enjoyed no legal jurisdiction over the colonies. Citing Bishop Terrick's sermon before the Society in 1764, they showed that the establishment of an American episcopate would not be disagreeable or slighting to him. The Society had always wanted a purely spiritual one, and had no secret or sinister designs. The American clergy in their petitions were not merely parroting the views of the English hierarchy. The proposed bishop was not intended to have coercive power over the laity, to interfere with Dissenters, to assume civil judicial functions, or to step outside of purely episcopal offices, and his mode of support would not be burdensome or disagreeable to Americans.³⁵

Gwatkin, in rebuttal, argued that it would not then be *politically expedient* to press the matter. He had no objection to episcopacy, or to its establishment in England, or

to the idea of an American episcopate as such. But he wanted the matter handled in a proper way, at a proper time, and by proper authority, not immediately, as that would the more enrage Americans against the mother country. He feared that an American bishop would *necessarily* come with *civil* powers, encroaching upon cherished colonial liberties and straining relations with Great Britain to the snapping point.³⁶ =

The convention soon discovered that it was beating its head against a stone wall of suspicion. An anonymous writer to Parker's *New York Gazette*, in 1768, doubted whether the clergy *really meant* to advocate a primitive and purely spiritual bishop. "That a modern English Bishop would be dangerous to the religious rights and privileges of all the Non-Episcopalians in America, is certain." The "Tory scribblers" were merely exasperating enmity between the colonies and the motherland! The convention should give security for the honesty of its intentions, and until it did, the opposition would continue, and might be "attended with very disagreeable consequences." Suspicion was by no means allayed by a plan of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian Affairs, to endow the proposed bishopric with a grant of 20,000 acres of land. That suggested the elaborate establishment which so many Americans dreaded.³⁷ //

In spite of the frowns of their neighbors, the clergy kept harping upon the subject in their letters to the Society. Thomas McKean declared that all colonial Churchmen suffered for lack of a superior, and impatiently asked when one would arrive to "give that weight and authority to the Church of England, which seem only to be wanting to its general spread through this country." Andrew Morton, with good reason, confided his fear that without a bishop the Church would die for want of protection. Colin Campbell rejoiced to hear that the king and other authorities were seriously considering the expediency of appointing a colonial bishop. Isaac Browne asserted that without one the Church could not flourish or

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settle its troubles in America. Preston, mentioning the request of the clerical convention for a bishop, stressed the strengthening of the Episcopal party as "certainly the party most attach'd to the British government."³⁸

CHANDLER AND CHAUNCEY CLASH

The interest of his brethren paled before the white-hot zeal of Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who from the start of his mission had been eager to strike a blow for the episcopal cause. When barely settled at Elizabeth Town, he promised to send to the Society's secretary an attack upon the Church in New England, in a sermon preached in 1746 by Noah Hobart, the Congregational minister at Stamford, Connecticut. He had asserted that the Church's establishment did not extend to America, that it was burdensome, and that it would bring the colonies into a harmful religious dependence. The proposed American bishop would *not* remedy the lack of discipline.³⁹

Chandler's lusty combativeness was stirred to fever pitch when the episcopal controversy burst out with renewed heat in the stormy 1760's. In 1764, referring to the Whitefield disorder in his parish, he declared that he would be extremely happy to have a bishop to give advice and direction in such cases.

"But," he added bitterly, "if this is still judged to be too great a Happiness for ye Church in America, so long persecuted by its Enemies, & deserted by many of its pretended Friends, we must submit."

He freely expressed to the Bishop of London his deep grief at the latter's reply to an address from the clergy of New Jersey and New York. He was distressed to find so little prospect of relief for the suffering Church in America. The contemporary state of public affairs was not so unfavorable to the sending of bishops as some people pretended. Besides, the address had been drafted before the anti-British disturbances, and would

not have been, if the clergy had foreseen them. He still thought that bishops might be introduced "without any considerable Opposition or Clamour," except from the Presbyterians and Congregationalists (not half the people), and even that would not be impossible to overcome. He recommended the careful circulation of a pamphlet, outlining the plan of a spiritual episcopate and disposing of objections, "without any Reflections or Severity of Language that could give Offense."⁴⁰

Early in 1766, New Jersey's champion was beginning to "warm up" for the fierce contests to come, and acidly commented upon a recent assertion that an American bishop would be utterly disagreeable to more than nineteen-twentieths of Americans. He thanked the author for not insisting upon twenty nineteenthths, "which he might have done with equal Veracity." That his talk of a purely spiritual episcopate was not wholly ingenuous (as the Dissenters suspected all along!) appears in his frank avowal that the episcopate would be a means of binding the empire together. If the government, he said, had been wise enough to cherish the Church's interest in America from the beginning, loyalty and submission to the mother country might have been expected! Who could be certain, he asked with a grim satisfaction, that the rebellious attitude of the colonials was not a deserved punishment for neglect?⁴¹

About that period Chandler evidently agreed with Samuel Seabury, Junior, and Charles Inglis of New York, to read and confute all pamphlet or newspaper publications that threatened damage to the Church and the British Government in America.⁴²

In 1767 occurred an incident that soon plunged him into the thickest of the fight. Bishop John Ewer of Llandaff, in a sermon at the annual meeting of the Society, lamented the want of a native clergy in America and blamed it upon the lack of bishops.

"What encouragement have the inhabitants of these regions to qualify themselves for holy orders, while, to obtain them, they lie under the necessity of crossing an immense Ocean, with much inconvenience, danger and expence; which those who come hither on that errand can but ill bear. And if they have the fortune to arrive safe, being here without friends, and without acquaintances, they have the sad business to undergo, of presenting themselves unknown to persons unknown, without any recommendation or introduction, except certain papers in their pocket."⁴³

That sermon aroused the ire of a prominent Congregational divine in Boston, the Rev. Charles Chauncey, who fell upon it with tooth and claw, and so instigated Chandler to reply. The result was the bitter "Chandler-Chauncey controversy," that raged for years and drew the Church in New Jersey into the limelight as never before.

The clergy of New York and New Jersey, knowing Chandler's facility with the pen, fairly ordered him to reply, and he accordingly wrote his famous *Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America*, thoroughly arguing the case for an American episcopate. Sent to press on June 24, the *Appeal* appeared in the autumn of 1767, and Chandler mailed copies to the secretary of the Society and to each of the English bishops and archbishops.⁴⁴

The Church of England, began the argument, was the one religious body not fully tolerated in America. Even the Roman Church was allowed to have bishops, while the Anglican was "left in a maimed state." And why? What did people fear? A few men vested with power only to ordain clergy, confirm youth, and visit the Episcopal ministers? The Church practically had no government by a bishop 3,000 miles away. The difficulties of ordination were almost impossible, as the trip "home" cost at least (£100), and about one-fifth of the men died on the way. Unworthy men crept in, as the Bishop of London could not personally know and judge them all.

Bishops had not been sent because the country had been settled largely by Dissenters, and because the home government had been interested only in worldly affairs and was afraid of giving political offense. As the realm was at peace, the time was favorable. Who would oppose? The enemies of all religion, of course, and those who feared episcopacy as opposed to religious liberty. But the proposed bishops would be purely ecclesiastical, with power only over the Church clergy, not over *any* layman. They would not interfere with anyone's property, or with his civil or religious privileges, and would have nothing to do with probate of wills, letters of guardianship, administration of estates, or marriage licenses.

Chandler scouted as nonsense the argument of some London papers, that colonial discontent and uneasiness were due to a dread of bishops. The fracas was due entirely to the Stamp Act! As for the terrible ecclesiastical courts, there was no intention of establishing them in America. There would be no tithes, and no tax to support the bishop, for the Society already had an episcopal fund.

His opponents considered these assurances as too vague. Would not the powers of bishops be enlarged, once they were established here? Dissenters admitted the reasonableness of the *religious* arguments for bishops, but could not swallow the possible political consequences. Chandler did not allay their suspicions, and the result was to increase agitation and blow up a violent storm of pamphlets and newspaper articles.⁴⁵

Writing to Bishop Terrick of London, Chandler asserted that his piece expressed clerical opinion in most of the colonies, and represented some of the reasons and facts upon which it was founded. Of course, there were some motives that could not be "prudently mentioned," as the least hint of them would stir up a tempest, in the irritable state of the American mind. If they could be expressed, they would do more to win friends for the cause among the "higher-ups" in England, who considered political motives, than any arguments in the pamphlet.

He hoped that his work would persuade somebody in England, who could command public attention, to plead his cause. If his opponents ever read *that* letter, they found ample confirmation of their fear that an imperialistic motive animated many of the pleaders for an American episcopate—not excluding Chandler. Bishops, they would have said, would be just another tool of British tyranny.⁴⁶ Chandler might have done better, had he confined himself to the spiritual wants of the Church, particularly his argument of the lack of clergy. In February, 1767, New Jersey had twenty-one Episcopal parishes, but only ten priests.⁴⁷

Of course, among his friends the pamphlet was greeted with something like joy. It delighted both the clerical convention and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, who had advised him to write it, because he wished to deny that any encroachment upon religious liberty was intended. The Bishop of London politely acknowledged it, all "Friends of the Church" in America were pleased, and for a while even the Dissenters "appeared to be not unsatisfied."⁴⁸

EPISCOPACY BECOMES A POLITICAL ISSUE

But that proved to be only a lull before the tempest. The Dissenters really were angered by Chandler's arguments, and very sore when their appeal for a charter of incorporation in New York was rejected by the King in Council. Dr. Chauncey lost no time in pouncing upon the *Appeal*, in *The Appeal Answered*, to show that Chandler had not given valid reasons for an American episcopate, and that the objections were just as good as ever. Chandler, greatly irritated, described the Boston divine's fat pamphlet as "virulent against the Church, but more free from personal Abuse than I expected, and, in my opinion, it deserves the singular character of being very artful and very blundering."⁴⁹

Chandler's feelings were far from appeased when, about the same time, the Dissenters in New York began to issue a

weekly article called "The American Whig," in the *New York Gazette*. In the following week, as if by pre-arrangement, a similar series began to appear in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of Philadelphia, under the name of "The Centinel." The "Whig" was reprinted in Philadelphia, the "Centinel" in New York. Both appeared in Boston, and according to Chandler, were "circulated through the Country with the greatest Zeal and Industry."⁵⁰

Those two papers really got under the skin of many Churchmen, particularly Chandler. The "Whig" took exception especially to his assertion that there was little opposition to bishops among the people. It was promoted by William Livingston of New York, whom Chandler called "the principal Engineer," who fiercely attacked his *Appeal*, the Church, the bishops, and the American clergy. To the smarting Chandler it appeared to be full of "Buffoonery, Venom and Scurrility." The "Centinel," he wrote, was "not less virulent, but abounds more in that Kind of Sophistry, which the ignorant are apt to mistake for solid Reasoning." Its supposed authors were a group of Presbyterians, headed by Dr. Alison, vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia, and John Dickinson, who had won general popularity by his "Farmer's Letters" in the winter of 1767-68, against the new British imperial policy.⁵¹

As soon as the "Whig" appeared, Chandler wrote a long *Advertisement to the Public* in all the Philadelphia and New York newspapers. He protested against the attack upon himself, and gave his reasons for not replying "in a weekly Altercation," but assured everybody that he would eventually issue a defense of his *Appeal*. The Episcopal clergy decided to reply to the "Whig" in kind, in a weekly article by "Timothy Tickle," called "A Whip for the American Whig." The Pennsylvania clergy, who were of a more moderate and conciliating temper, hesitated to take that course, but Dr. William Smith finally undertook to reply in a series of essays, under the name of "The Anatomist." In the ensuing violent newspaper squab-

ble, the partisans of bishops labored to show that they expected no temporal authority, while their opponents persisted in regarding the plan as part of a British imperialistic scheme. The issue therefore became a public one and contributed heavily to the highly charged emotional atmosphere that finally discharged the lightnings of the Revolution. How low the tone soon became is shown by the fact that Chandler's and Smith's antagonists retaliated as "Sir Isaac Foot" in "A Kick for the Whipper."⁵²

The Bishop of London did not relish the affair, as it speedily became a full-scale war of ink, most embarrassing to the hierarchy in England. He thought that Chandler ought not to have introduced the general subject of episcopacy, and Chandler agreed, but argued that he had done so at "the Persuasion of those to whom a Deference was due." He would have the most trouble in defending that part of the *Appeal*, because it would require so much time and research. But he assured the Society's secretary that he was "perfectly easy" and not at all anxious about the outcome, and preferred to think that his assailants had injured their own cause by violence and bitterness. When he found time to reply, he was determined to proceed calmly, as in the *Appeal*, "not disconcerted by any personal Abuse—nor paying any regard to what every innocent and honest Man ought to despise."

Chandler's reply was longer in appearing than he had expected. Christmas of 1768 came and went, and still *The Appeal Defended* lingered in the print shop. His hopes of seeing it in February, 1769, were smothered by the accumulation of public printing, and in March he still had several weeks to wait. And besides, what an expensive business it was! He had to advance a considerable sum for paper and draw a quarter's salary in favor of the printer. Not until August could he send to the Society's secretary a copy of his work, which was put on sale at the New York shop of James Rivington, who later became a noted Loyalist printer. Copies soon

crossed the ocean to high Church dignitaries in England, who probably read them with mingled feelings. They could pardon Chandler for lamenting the violence of attacks upon himself, but must have been disturbed by the political tack the controversy was taking. Chandler could see no objection to a bishop without temporal powers—but it was difficult for a bishop of the Established Church to imagine one of his brethren without them! And when the Establishment was lapped in privilege, here was a colonial arguing that the scheme would not threaten religious liberty, and dragging in politics by asserting that the episcopate proposal was not a part of a general scheme to oppress the colonies by taxing them. It was so disturbing to complacency! Why did he have to keep arguing?⁵³

Chandler and his opponents soon began to tire of the controversy. Early in 1770 he seemed relieved that no attack upon his latest work had yet appeared, although Dr. Chauncey had declared that his answer would soon be out. "The *American Whig*," he wrote, "has come to a Conclusion; and the Enemies of the Church begin, on all Sides, to grow more slack in their firing. They once in a while discharge at us in the public Papers, in which Cases, we seldom fail to give them their Due, as far as we are able." He had replied to a "scandalous Paper," that blasted the preachers at the annual Society meetings for "perpetually ringing" on the necessity of a colonial episcopate. Chandler vowed to assure the scribbler

"that these Changes will continue to be rung, and that this Object will be perpetually aimed at, until the desired Episcopate shall be granted; which we hope, and doubt not, to obtain, in a short Time at farthest."⁵⁴

The *Appeal Defended* was well received by the Church leaders "at home," and that was balm to Chandler's severely tried feelings.

"The Task I had to perform," he wrote, "was very difficult in one Respect; for the Provocations and

Trials of Temper I had met with had been so many and great, that I find it no easy Thing to keep myself within the Compass of Decency, and to avoid rendering Railing for Railing."

Even so, he thought that some of his passages were too severe, although most of his friends considered them "full soft enough." It is the considered judgment of the most thorough historian of the controversy that "on the score of courtesy, Chandler was throughout the controversy a shining contrast to his opponents."⁵⁵

Chauncey's *A Reply to Dr. Chandler's "Appeal Defended"* came out in January, 1770, and reached Chandler's hands in the spring. The Puritan divine discussed at length the origin and nature of the episcopal office, and absurdly argued that the Roman Catholic and Moravian bishops could act in spiritual matters for the Anglicans. He asserted that the real intention of Chandler and his friends was to *episcopize* the colonies, and that the English government would not send the kind of bishop Chandler advocated. He added that the imperial tax policy and episcopacy were linked, and that the refusal of a charter to the Presbyterians in New York revealed the threat of episcopacy to the rights of other religious groups.⁵⁶

When Chandler read that, his dander was up, and he felt compelled to reply, because his friends declared that he "absolutely must." He decided that his *final* piece would be an "admonition" to the Chauncey party, but he proposed to wait a while, "thinking it best to put off so *hot* a Piece of Work to a cooler Season of the Year." Eventually he got down to writing his *Appeal Farther Defended*, to answer what he and his friends considered as Chauncey's outrageous misrepresentations. He took special pains to defend the Society's conduct, "in Answer to many abusive Charges," and landed on Chauncey with both feet, thinking that the Boston divine deserved some rough treatment, and because his many friends in New England urged him to be severe. He tried to refute

once and for all the objection that the introduction of bishops would imperil colonial civil and religious rights, and as evidence, printed the petitions sent by the convention at Perth Amboy in October 1765. But he was entirely mistaken in assuming that all colonial Episcopalians would accept bishops.⁵⁷

If Chandler hoped that his latest effort would end the fracas, he was soon cruelly undeceived. Just before the Revolution he was obliged to take up his pen again. The cause was the publication, in 1769, of a letter written by Archbishop Secker of Canterbury to Horace Walpole in 1750-51, on the subject of colonial bishops. He had tried to allay Walpole's fear that the power of such bishops would be so enlarged as to cause trouble, and declared that nearly all the bishops since 1688 had desired a colonial episcopate, and that the spiritual functions were necessary to the very existence of the Church in the colonies. The contemplated plan, he said, rejected a state establishment, and Parliament did not have to consider it, as the law permitted the consecration of suffragans merely with royal approval.⁵⁸

Francis Blackburne, the archdeacon of Cleveland, published a *Critical Commentary*, deploring the publication of the letter at a time when the colonists were in a very irritable mood. He rebutted Secker's arguments, feared the result of an episcopal establishment in the colonies, and doubted the sincerity of its advocates. Appointments of suffragans by the crown would only give a chance to enlarge its powers, the very thing dreaded by the colonists and by many Englishmen. Blackburne accused the Society of instigating the deplorable agitation, and declared that the English and colonial Dissenters rightly feared persecution by the hierarchy.⁵⁹

Early in 1774, Chandler published his *Free Examination* defending Secker, believing that it was necessary to the interest of the Church in America, and a due respect by Americans to the great Churchman's memory. Again he endeavored to prove that political interest played no part in the efforts

to obtain an American episcopate. The argument could have been answered by quotations from his own confidential letters to England; he was not being entirely ingenuous.⁶⁰

Again Chandler failed to convince the Dissenters, who had long been alarmed by the eagerness with which some bishops of the Established Church had sanctioned the idea of a colonial bishopric. Especially since 1763, they had been agitating it in their annual sermons before the Society, during the period when the objectionable new imperial policy was being formulated. Bishop Richard Terrick of London alluded to the need of more order and discipline in the colonial churches; and, as if conscious of the general suspicion, denied any intention of curtailing the religious liberties of others. John Green of Lincoln emphasized the injustice of leaving the Church of England as the only one in America without toleration of its system of government. Thomas Newton of Bristol flayed that injury to one-third of the colonists, and advocated a purely spiritual jurisdiction, "without the least Share of civil Power . . . whatever." Frederick Keppel of Exeter did not wish to see the proposed episcopate "ingros Authority, or give a Check to Liberty of any Sort," but hoped only for "equal Indulgence with others." Robert Lowth of Oxford wanted one or more resident colonial bishops, only to remedy the religious ills of the Church in America. Charles Moss of St. David's conceded that the government must have valid motives for not granting the favor, but could not say whether the failure arose from negligence or something else.⁶¹

OPPONENTS AT HOME AND ABROAD

The opposition preferred only to see that bishops were pushing the idea—and that was enough to arouse an un-sleeping suspicion. Even among Episcopalians, opposition continued to be strong on political grounds. It was notorious that petitions for a bishop came mostly from the Middle Colonies and New England, and equally notorious was the

unpopularity of the idea in the South. The Church enjoyed a legal establishment there, its members dreaded a stronger administration, and the clergy did not usually want stricter discipline. In Maryland, about 1769, the governor even refused to accept a petition for a bishop, and agreed with the Assembly not to send it to England. When the clergy sent it anyhow, Lord Baltimore ordered the governor to forbid any more meetings of the clergy.⁶²

Even more determined opposition came from a colonial convention of Dissenters that held meetings, sometimes in New Jersey, practically under Dr. Chandler's windows. It was composed of delegates from the Presbyterian Synod of New York and the Congregational associations in Connecticut, and corresponded with a Dissenting committee in London to thwart the proposal of an American diocese. Its influence was aided by a group of eminent clergymen and laymen, headed by the Rev. Messrs. John Rodgers, Archibald Laidlie and John Mason, William Livingston, William Smith, and John Morin Scott, who published articles and pamphlets on the "impolicy and danger of an American episcopate."⁶³

The convention declared that it had no objection to bishops devoted only to affairs of the Episcopal churches, but expressed fear that they would come to resemble bishops of the English establishment, encroaching upon colonial charters and religious liberties. The members helped the committee of Dissenters in London to compile an account of American religious liberties, and to take a census of non-Episcopalians to show their great predominance.

Recognizing New Jersey as the center of the episcopate movement, the convention held its first meeting at Elizabeth Town on November 5, 1766. The delegates issued an open letter, reviewing all the arguments against an American bishop. It has been believed that the paper was written by Roger Sherman, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence for Connecticut, to be sent to William Samuel Johnson, Con-

necticut's agent in England, who ironically enough was the son of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, an eager advocate of an American diocese. In a similar private letter, November 15, 1766, Francis Alison discussed the supposed dangers of the proposal.⁶⁴

At another meeting in Elizabeth Town, on October 5, 1768, the convention drafted a letter to the London Dissenting committee, boldly declaring its determination to defend the rights and privileges of its constituents, and mentioning the "very general alarm" at the recent attempts to secure bishops. Such an event would introduce "ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution." While stating again that they had no objection to bishops as such, the delegates laid down conditions that made their coming impossible. They solicited the help of the London committee in preventing it, and in watching every move of the bishops to keep the colonists informed, and appointed a standing committee of correspondence and local committees in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.⁶⁵

The colonial opposition found good friends in the London committee, who assured the convention that they would do all in their power to "oppose and frustate any such design." They believed that there was no immediate cause for fear and hoped that the government, aware of the uproar it would cause in America, would block the bishops' efforts. They would inform their American brethren if the "design" again reared its ugly head, but did not favor the appointment of a special agent in England to oppose it. Influenced by the convention, Connecticut and Massachusetts instructed their agents to oppose an American episcopate. And the delegates declared that they would still object, even if an act of Parliament should limit the episcopal powers. They continued to meet annually and to correspond with their London allies until 1775, when the Revolution dashed all hopes of an episcopate by action of the English government.⁶⁶

English opponents were not to be outdone by the con-

vention in fierce attacks upon advocates of an American diocese. Chandler was only too well acquainted with them, especially the typical "Presbyter in Old England," who argued that if the bishops were to exercise discipline only over the clergy, they were scarcely necessary. The time, he declared, was inopportune; and besides, the Society's fund was not enough, and the colonists therefore would have to foot part of the bill. The bishops would usurp power—and, he pointed out, Chandler had said that republican government and episcopacy were incompatible!⁶⁷

Opposition constantly cropped up in the English newspapers, particularly the *London Chronicle*, which followed the controversy blow by blow. English papers generally regarded the religious and political questions as connected, and agreed that the colonists had a genuine fear of bishops. A writer in the *Chronicle*, calling himself "William Prynne" (significantly, the name of a famous Puritan writer) said that the government had been negligent in allowing the contest to go so far. "No regard has been paid by our drowsy watchmen of state to . . . warnings, and now behold the beginnings of those sorrows, in the wildfire thrown among our colonists by fomenting their idle, wretched, wicked controversy about an American Episcopate." "A Country Clergyman" maintained the absurd idea that the colonies did not even need a bishop, because the Bishop of London's commissaries, with his approval, would have as much right as himself to confer orders!⁶⁸

English writers took it for granted that there was little chance for an American bishop. "Atlanticus" in the *London Chronicle* quoted a statement that the government had decided against it, because it was unnecessary, because the Americans would not stand it, and because the idea was merely the "device of a few bigot-headed Churchmen," with little support from most Episcopalians. The few English newspaper writers who favored the idea unfortunately often stressed the

connection between episcopacy and monarchy, and so scared the daylight out of the Dissenters and libertarians. And many English critics wondered whether or not the bishops *would really* confine themselves to spiritual matters and let temporal affairs alone.⁶⁹

English statesmen generally were indifferent or hostile. When Bishop Sherlock asked leave to confine himself to the diocese of London, the Duke of Newcastle loftily remarked that the idea of American bishops had been "laid aside," after consideration by "great and wise men," no doubt including himself. In 1750, Horace Walpole, a member of the Privy Council, voiced his objection to Sherlock, and refused to admit that the colonies generally desired resident bishops. He feared a great agitation, especially among the Dissenters, as they were "generally well-affected, & indeed necessary supporters to ye present establishment in State." To bring the matter before Parliament would only touch off party feeling, which had been quiet since 1745. He believed that the colonial governors and people would both reject the idea. As Newcastle agreed, Sherlock's plan died aborning.⁷⁰

The attitude of the English politicians was not alone due to mere indifference, of which there was plenty. The Whig administrations dreaded the effects of the proposal in the colonies, and strove to keep it from becoming a political "hot potato." They were much influenced by protests from the Dissenters, to whom the episcopal party attributed their defeat. The officeholders felt that they had nothing to gain and much to lose by burning their fingers with the question. They did not really believe that a colonial episcopate would strengthen the tie between America and England, and suspected it might have precisely the opposite effect. Chandler was perfectly aware of their motives. He once told Samuel Johnson that Bishop Secker had informed him that "the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Onslow can have the interest and votes of the whole body of the dissenters upon condition of their

befriending them, and by their influence on those persons the ministry was brought to oppose it.”⁷¹

EPISCOPACY AND THE REVOLUTION

In fact, the religious and political aspects of the question were inseparable, and the effort to secure an American episco-pate probably was a contributing cause of the American Revolution. Some Americans of the time believed so. Jonathan Boucher, a prominent rector in Maryland, considered it “indisputable” that the episcopate and political controversies were linked, and that the former was “clearly one great cause that led to the revolution.” John Adams declared in 1815 that

“the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge(d) them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies . . . The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop, though even that was dreaded, but to the authority of parliament, on which it must be founded . . . if parliament can erect dioceses and appoint bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tithes, forbid marriages and funerals, establish religions, forbid dissenters.”⁷²

Such evidence cannot be lightly dismissed. Beyond doubt, politics prompted opposition to bishops, who would have been strong supporters of the increasingly disliked imperial policy. The zeal of many colonial Anglican priests, especially in New Jersey, embittered the colonists and hastened the crisis. That the opposition was *chiefly* political appears in the fact that, once independence had been acknowledged, nobody objected strenuously to the coming of bishops who had been consecrated in Great Britain. Some of the Dissenting clergy snorted with disgust, but it is not of record that anybody suggested treating Seabury, White, Provoost, and Madison as if they had

been stamp agents, or customs collectors armed with writs of assistance.⁷³

Indeed, the Church probably gained by the failure to secure bishops before the Revolution. If there had been one, there might have been an irresistible temptation to clothe him with all the objectional features of the English establishment and make him a state tool. He would have had to show more tact and discretion than bishops of a legally established church are usually prone to use. He might well have been an arrogant ministerial martinet, who would have infuriated Americans and so ruined the Church forever. As it was, the bishops who came after the Revolution were not burdened with the odium that had long clung to the Establishment. They were just what the New Jersey missionaries had wanted—purely spiritual bishops. And Thomas B. Chandler, it is pleasant to record, lived to see them come!

The tragedy was that before the victory he and his friends had to bear the brunt of the bitterness their zeal in the hopeless cause had aroused. There cannot be any doubt that those who harried the Loyalist clergy from New Jersey were sometimes motivated by the latter's advocacy of an American episcopate. Before the ideal could be realized, in a way they had not anticipated, the clergy and their suffering Church struggled in dark ways, where the candlestick seemed doomed to be removed forever. In 1776 came the deluge and the fire.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Revolution

THE unpopularity of the Church in the Revolutionary period was not the result of a sudden outburst of whimsical rage. It was as old as the participation of Churchmen in provincial politics—and that dated back to the days of “Good Queen Anne” and the Society’s first missions. Shortly after the introduction of royal government in 1702, there was an Episcopalian faction at Burlington, headed by Colonel Daniel Coxe, Jr., and including Hugh Huddy, Daniel Leeds, Thomas Revell, Nathaniel Westland, and Robert Wheeler. The people considered Saint Mary’s Church as practically its private chapel, and John Talbot as its parson.

THE CHURCH “RING”

The “ring” included powerful men outside of Burlington and even outside of New Jersey, who were allied by worldly interests and sometimes by marriage. One was Robert Quarrie, the royal surveyor-general of customs, ex-officio councillor in all royal colonies, and a trusted agent of the British authorities. There were also Roger Mompesson, chief justice of New York and New Jersey; Peter Sonmans; Richard Ingoldsby, lieutenant-governor, and very eager to step higher; William Pinhorne, councillor and second judge of New Jersey, who was Mompesson’s father-in-law, and married his son to Ingoldsby’s daughter; Jeremiah Basse, secretary of the province and clerk of the Council and of the Supreme Court; Peter Fauconier, the receiver-general and a “tool” of Governor Cornbury; Alexander Griffiths, the attorney-general; and Colonel Richard Townley of Elizabeth Town.

This Church party received powerful support from the “four Governors”—Francis Nicholson, Richard Ingoldsby,

Jeremiah Basse, and especially Lord Cornbury, governor of New York and New Jersey, who fairly leaned over backward to favor it. Between the "ring" and the Quakers in West Jersey there was a bitter animosity, concerning control of the Council of Proprietors. The feeling was aggravated by the proselyting mission of Keith and Talbot, the building of Saint Mary's Church, and the agitation for an American episcopate. The whole complicated tangle of land-grabbing factions and religious groups resulted in the two political parties of early New Jersey. One was the proprietary or "country" party, consisting of the Scottish proprietors of East Jersey, the West Jersey Society, and the Quakers. The other was headed by the English proprietors of East Jersey and Coxe's Anglican "faction." That general alignment persisted during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the formative period of the Church, whose fortunes were considerably affected by the ups and downs of the political rivals.¹

// The fact that Episcopalians took a definite side in politics did not endear the Church to the popular majority. John Talbot was accused of meddling in secular affairs and of scheming to win political friends who would get him a bishop's mitre and install him in that Tatham "Palace" at Burlington. Daniel Coxe was equally unpopular outside of Church circles. Rumors whispered that several eminent Churchmen, including Talbot, other Burlingtonians, and George Willocks of Perth Amboy, were Jacobites, partisans of the exiled Stuart "Pretender" to the throne of Great Britain. That charge evidently was believed by Governor Robert Hunter of New York and New Jersey, and was revived against Talbot by rumors of his consecration in England by bishops of the nonjuring or Jacobite Church.²

Resentment against political Anglicanism broke out fiercely in the elections of 1707, when the Quakers and other groups kept all but five of Cornbury's party out of the Assembly.

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

THE REVOLUTION

Quakers and Anglicans frequently squabbled in that august body, and in Hunter's administration the factions became so violent that New Jersey was a political hurly-burly. When he arrived, he found an impossible stalemate, with the Anglican "ring" controlling the Council and the proprietary group dominating the House. Even after he tried to break it by dismissing four Anglican councillors, the "Burlington clique" still was powerful enough to boast that they would forbid Quakers to vote. But they were riding for a heavy fall. Queen Anne died, the Tories lost power in England, and the Whigs—Hunter's friends—came in. Coxe, Basse, Sonmans, Talbot, Vesey, and Nicholson tried to oust him; but in 1716, by ordering the arrest of absconding members, he defeated their attempt to block business in the Assembly. Eight were expelled and declared ineligible for reelection. From that decisive blow the "Anglican machine" never recovered.³

From that time there was no Episcopalian political party until the pre-Revolutionary period. The formation of such a group at that time was favored by the illusion that the new British colonial policy would promote the establishment of an American diocese. That hope was perhaps stronger in New Jersey than anywhere else, excepting Connecticut. For thirteen years before the Revolution, the royal governor was William Franklin, a distinguished and able man. He had been appointed, rumor said, in the hope of attaching his distinguished father, Benjamin, to the British cause. The governor's friendliness and generosity to the Church became well known, and led many of its members to hope that he would use his influence to place it in a privileged position.⁴

THE RISING TIDE

That easy optimism began to vanish during the amazing furore aroused by the Stamp Act, even though at first the attitude of New Jersey was cautious. Replying to an invitation to send delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, Speaker Robert

Ogden of the Assembly said that while the members appreciated the effects of the act, he believed that protests would be more effective if not too hasty. That mild temper did not survive long. In that very year, 1765, the first Revolutionary newspaper, the *Constitutional Courant*, appeared at Woodbridge, and was believed to be printed on the press of James Parker—a Churchman! The masthead read: "The Constitutional Courant. Containing Matters Interesting to Liberty—But No Wise Repugnant to Loyalty." After being sold in New York for one day, it was suppressed because of its bold denunciations of Parliament.⁵

For the royal government and the Church, events began to take an ominous turn. William Coxe, the New Jersey stamp officer, was refused the rental of a house unless *he* would have it insured against destruction or damage. At the advice of friends he resigned, to the vast disgust of Governor Franklin. The Council was no braver, and suggested that the governor of New York hold the stamps there, as no place in Jersey was safe. Franklin finally had to admit that he could not get anybody to defy the popular wrath and be stamp distributor. Late in September, the New Jersey lawyers unanimously resolved not to buy stamps or do any business, but also opposed "all indecent and riotous behavior." They might as well have admonished a puma not to hunt sheep. In October, speaker Ogden called a special Assembly to choose delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, the first unofficial Assembly ever held in New Jersey. Franklin dreaded to start serious trouble by dissolving it, and that good Churchman, James Parker, wrote that the end of all government was at hand and that the people were all "running Mad."⁶

When the Stamp Act Congress met, it was clear that the moderate and conservative political groups, including most Churchmen, were losing ground. Speaker Robert Ogden opposed the resolutions, feeling that protests from the *constitutional* assemblies would have more effect—and for his

pains was burnt in effigy all over New Jersey. A week before the Stamp Act went into effect, many inhabitants of Essex County declared that it violated their liberties, and agreed to discourage its execution by all lawful means, and to boycott all who accepted employment under it. On November 1, the fatal date, there were still no stamps in New Jersey, because the government knew perfectly well that to bring them would start violence and bloodshed. The Council decided that the stamp officer was helpless and that the governor could not appoint a successor. In November, the Assembly resolved that the Stamp Act was "utterly subversive of privileges inherent and originally secured by grants and confirmation from the crown of Great Britain to the settlers of this colony."⁷

Late in 1765, another threatening sign appeared. The "Sons of Liberty," revolutionary terrorists, began to ride in New Jersey. Two members called on William Coxe, a stamp agent, to compel him to confirm his resignation, and when they returned to the club, joined in the toast: "Confusion to every American Stamp Master unless he resigns his abhorred and detestable Office." Early in 1766, meetings against the Stamp Act assembled in Woodbridge, Elizabeth Town, Piscataway, Hunterdon County, Sussex County, Freehold, and Upper Freehold.

The clergy were already becoming seriously alarmed. Chandler said that it would be hard for England to relax her severity after the way the colonies had behaved, but that if she tried to enforce the Stamp Act,

"the Governments must be put to a Great Expence—and the Commerce of the Colonies, so beneficial to England heretofore will sink, comparatively to a mere Trifle. For no one will dare import any Thing but the bare Necessaries of Life; and upon the Examination that has been made it is found that almost every real Want can be supplied from ourselves."

The aged Campbell was alarmed by the "violent and indecent

riots and mobb," and the persecution of stamp agents, but was relieved that Jerseymen had not yet disgraced themselves. The situation was stagnating business and making money scarce, while prices were soaring so high that the missionaries could support their families only by penny-pinching economy.⁸

And all the time, while lawyers and politicians debated and Churchmen talked about loyalty and submission, the masses were becoming more and more rabid. Soon the courts and the attorneys feared to do business with stamps. When news of the repeal of the act reached New Jersey in the spring of 1766, wild rejoicing, entertainments and toasts were the order of the day, and in June the Assembly congratulated the British for "Penetrating the True Cause of Our Uneasiness." Parliament had been licked—for a time.⁹

The repeal was only a temporary respite, and the popular mind soon found other grievances, such as the Townshend taxes. When Massachusetts protested against them in 1767, the New Jersey Assembly sent a similar petition to the king. Jersey Patriots were disgusted with New York for abandoning non-importation as a protest. Princeton students hired a hangman to burn a letter from the New York merchants, and the graduating class appeared at commencement in American-made garments. Another bone to growl over was the detested Quartering Act. In 1766 the Assembly passed a barracks bill, but refused to insert the very words of the English law, declaring Parliament's act to be as much a tax as the Stamp Act. The crown retaliated by disallowing two New Jersey barracks acts, and after 1769 got its way by having the money spent by the the Governor in Council. Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, was beside himself, and roared that the Assembly's poor excuses for not voting supplies were mocking and insulting, deliberately contemptuous of Parliament.¹⁰

Paper money provided another stubborn quarrel, as Parliament and the ministry opposed it, while the people clamored for it, and the Assembly was eager to issue more bills of credit.

THE REVOLUTION

By the spring of 1768 the jails were full of debtors beseeching relief. When the Assembly defiantly passed a loan office bill, the English Privy Council promptly disallowed it. The Assembly was so enraged that it voted to give no more supplies for the king's troops. Of course, other frictions kept flaring up. The governor and the Assembly could always pick a quarrel about salaries. In 1772 Franklin sought an increase in the pay of government officers, and threatened that the crown would pay them if the Assembly did not comply. The Assembly denied that salaries were inadequate and bluntly told him that they didn't care whether the crown paid the officers or not. Then came the question of ousting the unpopular Eastern treasurer, Stephen Skinner. The Assembly flatly refused to pass the support and barracks bills until it heard whether or not his head was to come off. Skinner found it wise to resign, and Franklin had to appoint a favorite of the Assembly. All these clashes convinced the majority of Jerseymen that they were losing their liberties, and made them ready to join in the protests of other colonies.¹¹

Within a few months after the Skinner episode, New Jersey obviously was getting into a revolutionary mood. When Parliament passed the "Intolerable Acts" of 1774 to punish Massachusetts, Franklin refused to call the Assembly, because he knew it would back the other colonies. Protest meetings erupted all over the province, and county correspondence committees were soon hard at work to unite the revolutionary elements. Franklin stood helpless before the rising storm, when an extra-legal congress passed resolutions roundly condemning British policy. In the winter of 1774-75, the non-importation association was approved everywhere and committees were appointed to enforce it. At Greenwich in Cumberland County the people staged an imitation Boston tea party, with Indian costumes and all.¹²

The news of Lexington and Concord caused the wildest excitement, and the people began to form militia companies

and drill. Nearly everyone signed the "Association," even in "Tory Shrewsbury," and Governor Franklin confessed that Loyalists had to submit to preserve peace and secure their property. The Assembly spurned Lord North's "Resolution for Conciliation," so long as it involved taxation by Parliament, and Franklin's hope of raising the loyal standard quickly faded. In May, 1775, the first Provincial Congress began to prepare for military resistance and chose the committee of safety. The second session organized the militia, but the new regimentation, far greater than Parliament would have dreamed of, began to encourage a Tory revival.¹³

Two of New Jersey's delegates to the Continental Congress, John DeHart and James Kinsey (a Quaker), resigned because they disliked the American policy. Governor Franklin, shrewdly watching the trend, decided to rally the Tories, moderates, and disillusioned radicals. But when he called a meeting of the Assembly at Burlington in November, 1775, he asked whether it would be safe for him to remain in New Jersey! Within two weeks about a hundred persons in Burlington County sent three petitions to the Assembly against independence. Rumors flew to Philadelphia that New Jersey would make separate terms with England, and a committee of Congress started post-haste for Burlington to discourage the notion.¹⁴

They might have spared themselves the trouble, for the tide was setting towards independence too strongly to be stopped, and some eminent Churchmen were swimming with it. Francis Hopkinson of Bordentown, who later signed the Declaration for New Jersey, published *A Prophecy*, boldly advocating separation from England. At the election to the third Provincial Congress in May, 1776, the voters chose candidates who favored it, and the Congress swept aside contrary petitions from a few persons in Shrewsbury and Middletown, and empowered delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Hope for conciliation was not utterly dead,

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however, for when the Provincial Congress confirmed a state constitution on July 2, by a vote of 26 to 9, thirty members were absent, and the document itself stated that if an accommodation should take place, it would be null and void.¹⁵

THE TORY HUNT

It was a vain hope, as neither side really would yield anything, and popular opinion soon let the Tory-hunters out in full cry. In the early winter of 1776, Lord Stirling, a Whig Churchman, was busy catching them, and declared that they were increasing. Many persons were beginning to resent the tyranny of an extra-legal Congress that forced men into the militia, clamped on trade restrictions, raised the taxes, and punished even mild expressions of opinion. In December, 1775, the Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick vividly described the atmosphere of dread and repression:

“Our Calamities you can better *feel* than I describe. To enter into particulars would perhaps expose me to the Resentment of my Neighbours, which I would wish to avoid for the Sake of the Church, as well as for my own. Every letter is in danger of being exposed to the public view, and exceptions are taken at the most innocent Expressions.”¹⁶

The Tory scare swiftly grew into a panic. In December, 1775, it was reported that a “combination” of Tories in Essex County had 4,000 members and a supply of ammunition from the British warship *Asia*. Nathaniel Pettit, a Sussex County assemblyman and a Churchman, was arrested for agitating against paying taxes levied by the Congress. He and Robert Ellison were brought before the committee of safety, fined £8, and compelled to give £50 security “for their future good behaviour.” Tories were so thick in that county that Governor Franklin heard the committee intended to disarm them, and a Continental Congress delegate proposed that Tories who would not disarm should be executed. Franklin, regarded as

the king of Tory Churchmen, feared that even he might be suddenly imprisoned or "led like a Bear through the Country to some Place of Confinement in New England." One night his house was surrounded by armed men, who demanded his promise not to leave without permission of the Continental Congress. Chief Justice Smyth finally persuaded him to submit, and he continued to live at Perth Amboy as a mere figure-head governor.¹⁷

Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, the Provincial Congress took drastic action to squelch Toryism before it could consolidate its forces. A severe ordinance provided that all persons owing allegiance to the state, who should levy war against it or adhere to the king of Great Britain or the enemies of the United States, or aid or comfort them, would be guilty of high treason and suffer death. Persons found guilty of reviling the government of the state, or of seditious speeches or practices, should suffer the penalties always provided for such offenses.¹⁸

Armed with this formidable weapon, the Council of Safety began to extirpate Toryism right and left. Its records abound in references to Tories whose names frequently occur in the history of the colonial Church. In April, 1777, the Council ordered the arrest of some Tories, among whom one recognizes such Church names as Thomas P. Hewlings, Colin Campbell (son of the Rev. Colin Campbell of Burlington), John Laurence, Sr., Dr. John Laurence, Robert Cooke, and Thomas Thompson. In July, the committee considered prisoners' complaints of the filthy state of the gaol at Morristown, and among the signers found Isaac Ogden and Aaron Kingsland, who were identified with the Church in Newark. In September, the committee ordered the arrest of Tories in Burlington, including Daniel, Rowland, and Samuel Ellis, descendants of Rowland Ellis, the Society's schoolmaster. Daniel refused to take the oaths of abjuration and allegiance, and was ordered into close custody in the gaol of Sussex, as too

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dangerous to be allowed at large.¹⁹ Among the Tories mentioned in the minutes of the committee of safety are such well-known Church names as Antill, Lawrence, Parker, Hewlings, Ellis, Campbell, Odell, Blackwell, Jouett, Kingsland, Cook, Stewart, Forman, Dey, Schuyler, Allen, Ellison, Ogden, and Hunloke.

WHO THE TORIES WERE

The chief seat of Episcopal Toryism was the charming little town of Perth Amboy, with its intermarried community of mercantile families. Some of the leaders were members of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey, and had become unpopular by trying to enforce claims to all undeeded lands. The members individually owned large tracts and had comfortable incomes from other sources. The families formed a select, conservative and aristocratic society, reputed to be far superior in culture to the *beau monde* of New York or Philadelphia. While the rest of northeastern New Jersey was inhabited largely by republican Presbyterians and Dutch Calvinists, the residents of Perth Amboy were almost wholly royalist Anglicans.²⁰

Another Loyalist stronghold was Monmouth County, where the Rev. Samuel Cooke and his connections had a powerful influence, while the patriot party was led by his old rival, Josiah Holmes. The latter had been implicated in anti-lawyer riots at Freehold in 1769-70, and Governor Franklin had removed him from his office as justice of the peace. Cooke asserted that his former warden had an insatiable thirst for popularity. He certainly was much chagrined by his demotion, and anger made his conduct so violent that Cooke and the vestry declined to continue him as warden. "At the very commencement of this Rebellion," Cooke wrote later, "he broke out, took the Lead as a Committee Man, and joining with a few Presbyterians who were in my Parish created all

the Disturbance in his power against me and my Congregation."²¹

The roster of New Jersey Loyalists teems with names of Churchmen and their relatives, headed by the governor. Next to him in eminence was Cortlandt Skinner, the attorney general, a man of great wealth with a large legal practice, a proprietor, and one of the Perth Amboy mercantile set. He had deplored some of the British legislation, but could not separate from the mother country. The chief justice, Frederick Smyth, was a mild and passive Tory. The learned lawyer, David Ogden, counsel to the Board of Proprietors, had to leave the province. Daniel Coxe, a great landowner of Trenton, belonged to a devout old Church family, and had a large income from his law practice. James Parker of Perth Amboy, from another old Episcopal family, was a merchant, a politician, and president of the Board of Proprietors. John Lawrence of Burlington, a member of the Council and a former mayor of Burlington, was a prominent lawyer and a good Churchman, and, although a rather passive Tory, was imprisoned by order of the council of safety and eventually took the oath of allegiance. Other eminent Anglican Loyalists included John Smyth, the successor of Stephen Skinner as treasurer of East Jersey; Isaac Ogden, sergeant of the Supreme Court, in which his father was a judge; John Antill, secretary of the Supreme Court, surrogate, keeper of the records, and clerk of the Council; and John Lewis Johnston of Perth Amboy, a member of the Council of Proprietors. Joseph Barton of Sussex County, a typical Loyalist, was agent of the East Jersey Proprietors, a large landowner, and a member of the Assembly. He joined the British forces, and raised a troop of over one hundred Tories.

Numerous Anglican merchants were Loyalists, including William Dumayne and Thomas Gummersall, who had stores at Elizabeth Town and Morristown. Samuel Kemble, a pillar of Christ Church in New Brunswick, disapproved American

methods of protest against taxation, and continued to deal in tea in open defiance of public opinion. He joined the British, became collector of the port of New York, and was an agent for disposing of captured American vessels. One of his friends sarcastically wrote that for an "unlucky" man Kemble was the most fortunate he knew!

The Loyalists included some prosperous Episcopalian physicians and lawyers. One of the latter was Daniel Isaac Brown of Hackensack, son of the Rev. Isaac Browne of Newark. He is said to have become unpopular for promoting unsuccessful suits that did produce nice fees for himself. Another unpopular Church Tory was Bernardus LaGrange, who was active in the affairs of Christ Church, New Brunswick. During the anti-lawyer fracas of 1769, he was reprimanded by the Assembly for charging exorbitant fees, and received an anonymous warning that if he had lived in Monmouth County, he would have lost his house. In June, 1775, revolutionary demonstrators burned him in effigy.²²

While not all Loyalists were rich Episcopalians, there were enough "big-wig" Churchmen among them to give that impression, and many of them had excited jealousy and hatred long before the Revolution. It was the Church's misfortune that, as the established religion of England, it attracted so many such ambitious men. By driving them away, the Revolution gave the Church a chance to become somewhat more democratic. The Loyalists, however, represented all ranks of society. Side by side with men of leisure and scions of distinguished families were plain yeomen, mechanics, teachers, and laborers. The list in Jones' *Loyalists of New Jersey* includes the names of 1727 men, who with their families would have amounted to thousands of persons.

"Their Loyalty they kept, their love, their zeal,
Nor number, nor example with them wrought
To swerve from truth, or change their constant mind."

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

The assumption that most Loyalists were recent immigrants is not justified by the facts. In a list of 419 New Jersey Tories, at least 237 were born in America, mostly in the province, 36 others probably were American-born, and the birthplaces of 68 are not recorded. Englishmen come next with 36, followed by 23 Irish and 15 Scots, 3 Germans, and 1 Portuguese. The roll includes about 130 officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, a Tory regiment raised mainly by the efforts of General Cortlandt Skinner. Among those officers one recognizes such Church names as Elisha Lawrence, John Morris, Edward Vaughan Dongan, Joseph Barton, and Isaac Allen.²³

It would be far from the truth to say that all Episcopalians, even in New Jersey, were Tories. After all, three-fourths of the signers of the Declaration were at least nominal members of the Church. Churchmen, in fact, were geographically divided in their loyalties. In New England they were considered to be Tories as a matter of course, and those in New York, whose attitude deeply affected their brethren in New Jersey, strongly supported the Delancey Loyalist faction. Lieutenant-Governor Colden informed Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, that the opponents of the government were chiefly Dissenters, while its friends were the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, and the old Dutch congregations. South of Philadelphia the percentage of patriotic Episcopalians steadily increased. In South Carolina, only five out of twenty-three priests were Loyalists, and most of the patriotic leaders in Charleston were members of Saint Philip's Church.²⁴

WHIG CHURCHMEN

A considerable number of prominent Churchmen in New Jersey shunned the Tory camp. Probably the most notable was William Alexander, the self-styled "Earl of Stirling," one of the Governor's Council, who became a member of Washington's staff. Although local tradition made him a hero of the Revolution, the records do not indicate an exalted charac-

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ter or any deep thought on political questions. Enemies said that he wanted to shuffle off the load of debt accumulated by his extravagant living. Expensive efforts to secure recognition of his title had failed, and that probably embittered him against the British government. Governor Franklin suspended him from the Council when he accepted a commission in the Continental Army, but apparently the British did not take him seriously. Jonathan Odell, the New Jersey priest who became a noted Tory satirist, dismissed him in a few contemptuous lines:

“What matters what of Stirling may become?
The quintessence of whiskey, soul of rum;
Fractious at nine, quite gay at twelve o’clock;
From thence till bed-time stupid as a block.”

A much nobler character was the cultured and witty Francis Hopkinson, also a member of the Governor’s Council. He lived at Bordentown, and although closely connected with Pennsylvania and Delaware, was eagerly claimed by New Jersey for service in the Continental Congress, because his intellectual and literary talents were valuable assets to the cause. As a delegate, he signed the Declaration of Independence.²⁵

“A RELIGIOUS WAR”

But these examples do not alter the fact that the Revolution in New Jersey, as in other Northern colonies, generally lined up Dissenters and Churchmen on opposite sides, and prolonged a religious antagonism that was already many generations old. Presbyterians, especially, supported the patriot cause and were among the leading advocates of independence. Their clergy, especially John Witherspoon and Jacob Green of Morris County, were regarded by the British as chief fomenters of trouble, and plans were laid to curb their influence in the event of a British victory. Writing to Lord Dartmouth in 1776, Ambrose Serle of New York blamed

much of the "public Inflammation" upon Dissenting preachers. "The War is . . . at the Bottom very much a religious War; and every one looks to the Establishment of his own Party upon the Issue of it." Calvinists, he said, had "a pretty strong Inclination to every sort of Democracy." In 1777 he frankly wrote: "Presbyterianism is really at the Bottom of this whole Conspiracy, has supplied it with Vigor, and will never rest, till something is decided upon it"²⁶

The Presbyterians were ably supported by some Reformed Dutch domines, like Jacob Hardenbergh of Raritan, later the head of Rutgers College, who worked tirelessly for the Revolutionary cause. Domine Romeyn of Hackensack bolstered the morale of his Whig flock in a notoriously Loyalist county, and William Jackson of Bergen preached defiant Whig sermons to his lukewarm or Tory parishioners within reach of the British garrison of New York.²⁷

Some Anglican priests felt that their oath of allegiance to the king was less important than their duty to God, the Church, and their country. Robert Blackwell of Gloucester joined the American Army as a chaplain and surgeon. William Smith of Philadelphia, who had great influence in New Jersey, boldly took the Patriot side. In June, 1775, he stated in a sermon that the colonies were engaged in "one of the grandest struggles to which freemen can be called." Others at first sided with the Whigs, but would not go the full length of independence. Jacob Duché of Philadelphia in 1774 opened the Continental Congress with prayer, and in 1776 was appointed chaplain to Congress, but opposed independence and tried to convert Washington.²⁸

Most of the Northern Episcopal clergy by 1775 were preaching loyalty and submission to authority. They could not have done otherwise, in view of their long antagonism towards the Dissenting leaders. Dissenters, on the other hand, had been embittered by the persecution of their forebears by the state Church of England. They hated the intolerant es-

tablishment in Virginia and the Carolinas, the efforts to secure an American bishop, and the Church's support of attempts to subject the corporate and proprietary colonies to the crown. They resented the unconcealed desire of some members of the Society to overthrow the Puritans in New England and the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the proselyting zeal of some missionaries, and the political doctrine of the "divine right of kings" as preached by Tory parsons. John Adams blurted out the thoughts of Dissenters when he said that if Parliament could tax the colonies, "they would establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and titles and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism shops."²⁹

Equally frank was William Livingston, the Revolutionary War governor of New Jersey. As the "Presbyterian Lawyer," he wrote against the proposed American episcopate, because he hated the British tithing laws and dreaded episcopal influence in matters of state.³⁰

The blunt expressions of some Anglican priests convinced the masses that the Church was intended to be an engine of oppression. They would have been enraged, had they read some confidential communications to the Society's secretary. A good example is the declaration of the clerical convention at Perth Amboy in October 1765, signed by Isaac Browne, Colin Campbell, Samuel Cooke, Thomas B. Chandler, Robert McKean, Andrew Morton, and Leonard Cutting:

"on the other Hand, we firmly believe that its (i.e., the government's) best Security in the Colonies does, and must always arise, from the Principles of Submission and Loyalty taught by the Church. The Clergy in general are constantly instilling these great Principles into the People."³¹

Speaking for themselves, some New Jersey missionaries, appalled by the growing confusion, showed their preference for strong royal government. In the midst of the Stamp Act troubles, Campbell wrote:

"Government both in Church and State is much wanted here; So you may See as I remarked above, how the State is put to defiance; or obstruction in the execution of their acts; what must the Church Expect; and I believe it would be the same in England; If there were no wholesome laws to enforce the one as well as the other; and a people left to do as they please; neither Church or State could long subsist, but things turn to anarchy and confusion."³²

John Preston's remarks, regarding the clergy's request for a bishop, reveal that sturdy army chaplain's view of the Church as a promoter of submission. He thought that granting the boon would

"greatly strengthen the episcopal interest, which is certainly the party most attach'd to the British government of any here. When therefore these disputes about taxation were in agitation betwixt the mother country, and its colonies, they gave us room to hope, that they would have been productive of that event. But now since these are blown over, and subsided, matters, I suppose, will go on in the same tract that they did formerly, and in that case, the presbyterians will continue to be the most numerous party in this province."³³

Chandler, of course, outdid all his brethren in royalist devotion. In 1765, reporting the great dissatisfaction with recent measures of Parliament, he did not apprehend any considerable effects in New Jersey. If the worst should happen, he thought he could answer for his brethren, and at least could promise for himself, that he would do all he could to allay the ferment and promote "peaceable Submission to ye Higher Powers." When affairs looked very threatening in the winter of 1766, he reported that it had become dangerous to declare the precepts of the Gospel relating to civil society.

"Such an universal Spirit of Clamour & Discontent, little short of Madness, & such an Opinion of Oppression, prevails throughout the Colonies, as, I be-

lieve, was scarcely ever seen on any Occasion, in any Country on Earth."

He thought that every informed friend of the happiness of the colonies and Great Britain must wish a relaxation of Parliament's severity. Good policy ought to put up with anything, rather than drive matters to an extremity. He questioned whether a policy injurious to trade could benefit Great Britain, and thought that Parliament had been misinformed about the wealth and ability of the colonies to pay. In saying this, however, *he did not mean to excuse the conduct of his countrymen, which he really detested and tried to counteract.*

In 1771, when the agitation had somewhat subsided, he was still harping on the theme of the Church as a pillar of loyalty. To prevent the decline of the Church was of "inconceivable Importance in a *national* View, to say nothing of Effects that are purely religious." Enough had already happened to convince unprejudiced people that it would have been sound policy if the nation had attended more to the interests of religion and of the Church of England in the colonies, and perhaps still stronger and more convincing proofs would be seen. The Dissenters evidently had too much of the "always infectious" republican spirit, and in proportion as it prevailed, loyalty would languish. The dangerous recent rebellion in North Carolina could have taken place only in a part of the country where the principles of the Church of England were little known and never properly taught!³⁴

Samuel Seabury, Jr., a former missionary at New Brunswick, was even more outspoken. While serving as rector at Westchester, New York, in 1774, he published a pamphlet, *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress*, one of his many attacks on the revolutionary movement. The Whigs feared the effect of his well-written and persuasive *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, bitterly assailing the political and economic measures of the first Continental Congress and its Association. They made great efforts to refute and silence

him, and a party of them seized him, carried him to Connecticut, and imprisoned him without trial.³⁵

Charles Inglis of New York, who was closely associated with the New Jersey clergy, at the time of the Stamp Act disorders declared:

"If the Interest of the Church of England in America had been made a National Concern from the beginning, by this Time, a general Submission in the Colonies to the Mother Country, in every Thing not sinful, might have been expected."³⁶

Such writings and utterances gradually incited a general dislike for the Anglican clergy. It was the cumulative effect of unwise tactics, stressing loyalty to a distant king, accusing the Dissenters of republicanism, and exaggerating the benefits of a colonial episcopate. When they petitioned the governor of New Jersey to deprive justices of the peace of the right to perform marriages, and carried the appeal to the Lords of Trade through the Bishop of London, they revealed their dependence upon British authority, and indicated a disregard of anticlerical opinion. It was notorious that most of them were largely dependent for support upon a British society. They were known to have taken an oath of loyalty to a monarch who was coming to be regarded as a foreigner. Many people were offended by long-winded sermons "calculated as much as the Times would permit"—as one parson said—"to mitigate the general Infatuation," and to "inculcate the principle of peace, order and good government."³⁷ The fact that some of the clergy (particularly Seabury, Chandler, and Odell) were American born and bred, and yet chose the Loyalist side, only contributed the more to their unpopularity.³⁸

Reading the signs of the times, the clergy were already leaving New Jersey in the spring of the Battle of Lexington. Isaac Browne of Newark wrote to the Society's secretary: "I am informed that some of my Rev^d Brethren in these Parts have been obliged to abscond in these troublesome Times, or

at least they thôt it necessary." There is more than a hint that the aged and stubborn Loyalist had some doubt of their courage and tenacity.³⁹

CLOSING THE CHURCH DOORS

Those who left early were spared the anguish of seeing the plunder and ruin of their helpless parishioners and the desecration of their churches by the revolutionary terrorists. Some must have been wretchedly conscious that their influence had kept many of their flocks in the Loyalist camp and made them fair game for the plunderers and the sadists.⁴⁰ New Jersey suffered hideously—more, perhaps, than any other colony except South Carolina—especially from the pillagings of ill-disciplined Hessians. Farms were ravaged, libraries were robbed, churches and meeting houses were burned. The fate of many communities is illustrated by the ruin of Hopewell and Maidenhead. Homes were stripped, cattle and sheep were driven off, every bit of clothing and house linen was stolen, and what was not portable was destroyed. Hardly a soldier was seen without a horse loaded with booty, while hundreds of families were ruined and left to wander in the woods without clothing.⁴¹

In reprisal for Hessian brutalities, Whig mobs sometimes took a savage glee in desecrating Anglican churches. In Newark the Patriot party decided to treat Trinity Church as the king's troops had treated the Presbyterian meeting house when they marched through town, burning and plundering. In 1778, an infuriated crowd smashed the doors and windows, hacked great holes in the roof, and stole the pulpit hangings. Later the community repaired the damage. At Perth Amboy, in 1777, several thousand Patriot troops were billeted to watch the British on Staten Island. Many of them slept in Saint Peter's Church and nearly wrecked it, and left the churchyard a shambles.⁴²

ODELL, "TORY SATIRIST"

After July 1776, nearly all the Episcopal churches were closed, as the missionaries generally would not omit prayers for the King, the Royal Family, and Parliament.⁴³ Perhaps the one most hated by the Whigs was Jonathan Odell of Burlington. The reason is obvious from his statement to the Society's secretary that he considered it the duty of the missionaries to "promote, as far as in them lies, a Spirit of peace and good Order among the members of their Communion." With the other clergy, he most ardently prayed that by prudence and integrity of conduct they could contribute their mite "towards effecting a recovery and securing the future permanency of that harmony and peace, upon just and practicable grounds, which is essential to the happiness & glory of the whole Empire." Such expressions did not endear him to the committee of safety.⁴⁴

Although he was allowed to stay in Burlington, Odell could not keep his hand off a pen, and his letters soon got him into serious trouble. The committee of safety got possession of two letters to persons in Great Britain, and referred them to the Provincial Congress, which read them and, upon his request, heard his defense. For the time being he got off easily, as the Congress considered that, while he appeared to oppose the Patriot cause, it would not do to "violate the right of private sentiment." As his expressions did not clearly seem intended to influence public policy, he should not be publicly censured. But the Congress kept a watchful eye on him, and in July, 1776, ordered him to take a parole as "a person suspected of being inimical to American liberty." He was obliged to stay on the east side of the Delaware River, within a radius of eight miles from the courthouse in Burlington, and not to carry on political correspondence, or furnish provisions or information to the king's troops. From that strict discipline

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of his refractory spirit the Congress would not budge an inch, because he was far too smart and dangerous.⁴⁵

Odell frankly told the county committee and the Congress that he would not conceal his feelings regarding the acts of Congress, or sacrifice his principles or duty as a subject or a minister, but that he would not interfere in public affairs. He remained unmolested until the middle of December 1776, when Count Donop's Hessians came to winter in Burlington. Odell went out as interpreter with some of his neighbors, to meet the commandant and request him to spare the people and the town. But the Hessians were driven off by a cannonade from American ships in the Delaware, and the "River Tyrants" then kept the town in alarm. Odell had to escape with other Loyalists to "ramble as a Refugee," leaving his wife and three young children. He suffered heavily, as the soldiers in barracks used his fence rails for fuel, and he lost two years' rent of the glebe land, his salary from the parish, and his medical income. The Society came to his rescue with a gift of £40 from the fund for the relief of suffering clergy, and his parishioners were almost unanimously loyal. But that did not assuage his sorrow over the desolate and "alarmingly distressful" state of the Church in New Jersey, or make it easier to draw any bills for his salary, except for depreciated Continental money. A hint of his penury appears in a postscript to his letter to Chandler (also a refugee) in January, 1777: "Excuse this paper—I fear my letter will hardly be legible."⁴⁶

Odell fled first to New York, then to Philadelphia, where he was press censor during the British occupation. In New York he translated French and Spanish papers and was assistant secretary to the board of directors of the Associated Loyalists from April 1781 to November 1782. On July 1, 1783, he became assistant secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief. He wrote essays and political verses to aid the Loyalist cause by smiting the Whigs hip and thigh. His vitriolic attacks got under their skins, for as a satirist

nobody on his side approached him in passionate energy of thought or in pungent and polished style. He was utterly honest in his convictions, and his undying love of the dying royalist cause was matched by an equally immortal hatred of the "rebels." The fighting cock on his family coat of arms was no idle ornament. On January 25, 1778, he became chaplain of the Pennsylvania Loyalists, but on May 25, 1782, he was transferred to the King's American Dragoons.⁴⁷

His honors, however, hardly compensated him for his desperate homesickness for Burlington and his family, and the confiscation of all his personal property and estate. A second gift of £40 from the American clergy relief fund was a pittance in comparison with such a crushing loss. His chaplain's stipend helped, and the vestry of Saint Mary's voted to continue his salary of £30 currency, but that was hardly more than a gesture of friendship, as the money was greatly depreciated and payment was doubtful. He lingered in New York, fretting over the interruption of correspondence caused by the war, the delay in paying his drafts on the Society, and the detention of his family "as a sort of hostages" at Burlington.⁴⁸

Like other Loyalist clergy, in 1782 he was aghast when the king's commissioners for restoring peace announced that Mr. Grenville had been instructed to propose the independence of the colonies at the Congress in Paris. That news, he wrote, threw him and his fellow Tories "into the utmost Surprise and consternation."⁴⁹ For him there was no choice but to remain an exile, and at the close of the war he retired to New Brunswick, Canada, where he became the first secretary of the province.⁵⁰

COOKE, UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST

Almost equally obnoxious to the Whigs was Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury. As early as the autumn of 1770, he expressed his distress at the growing breach between the colonies and

the motherland. His personal quarrel with the Whig son of thunder, Josiah Holmes, warned him of the wrath to come, and in 1775 he found it convenient to return to England on private business. At his return, he found the country in a "dreadful State," and could not reach his parish or see his family. He served as a deputy chaplain to the Brigade of Guards, upon recommendation of the Bishop of London and Dr. Chandler. Although kindly treated by General Mathew and the other officers, he found it a hard life at his age, and he brooded deeply upon the distress which he constantly witnessed. In the spring of 1777, he cherished high hopes of British success in the next campaign, and pathetically trusted that he would date his next letter from Shrewsbury—but that day never dawned.⁵¹

For years he pined as a refugee, getting no closer to his family than New Brunswick—so near and yet so far! The Society was kind, but the revolutionists confiscated his glebe and farm, allowing his children to live on the place at 40s currency a year, until the date of sale, March 25, 1779. His flock ardently wanted him to return, and he proudly declared that very few had strayed from the path of loyalty. Only the embittered Holmes was really a "rebel," but Cooke declared that he had lost influence in the parish. Great numbers of loyal Churchmen and Quakers from Shrewsbury were within the British lines, many of the former serving in the army. Some had their families, while others were separated from their nearest and dearest. Those who remained in town, Cooke declared, "conform no farther to the present Tyranny than is absolutely necessary for their Safety, and to exempt them from Banishment and Confiscation, or a Jail." When he reported in 1780, the church was still uninjured and was occasionally used by traveling Presbyterian teachers, as the meeting had no resident minister and their old building had become a storehouse. The church at Middletown had been occupied by both armies.⁵²

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In the spring of 1782, Cooke was in financial distress, for he had not received his pay as a chaplain, because the Guards were prisoners, the paymaster had died, his papers had been lost, and the accounts would have to be referred "home" to be settled. Aside from the Society's bounty, he had little to live on. Yet he kindly tried to be a "faithful Almoner" for the Society to help poor, insane, destitute William Ayers, by drawing bills for him and, at risk and expense, conveying to him help from the fund for suffering clergymen. Abraham Beach officiated at Shrewsbury by request of the congregation, who were delighted. But even that raised in Cooke "some melancholy Reflexions, by recalling to my Mind, the Happiness I once enjoyed in my Situation there—the seven years Separation from my Family—and the Hardships and Distresses they have undergone in that Time." In spite of everything, he stilled hoped for a happy issue out of all his afflictions, and that he would see better days.⁵³

But he was not to see them in Shrewsbury. When the Brigade of Guards was ordered home in 1782, he thought of going with them, as there seemed to be no chance of returning to his mission and his family. He could hope to be put on the half-pay list, and still might continue to serve the Society. They continued to pay him, and he finally decided to stay in America, going first to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, and then to New Brunswick, where he was appointed in 1784 as chaplain to the garrison at Saint John, and next year became again a Society missionary. In 1786 he became the first rector of the church at Fredericton. During his life he received a pension, and he was granted compensation for the loss of his property. Part of the estate was conveyed later to his daughter, Mary, by the Commissioners of Confiscated Estates.⁵⁴

PRESTON, SOLDIER OF THE KING

Another parson especially disliked by the "rebels" was John Preston of Perth Amboy, a forthright army chaplain

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who said what he liked and was not easily browbeaten. When the Americans made Perth Amboy a garrison town, they never interrupted him in his duty, although they did threaten to force him to observe the fast day appointed by Congress in May 1776. Preston solved that problem by leaving town for two days, and upon his return held service in the church as usual. When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, he refused to change the liturgy and stopped reading it. When the church was commandeered as an American barracks and people with Staten Island connections were ordered to leave town, most of his parishioners departed and Preston retired forty miles into the country. He returned with one of the captured royal regiments being exchanged, in time to celebrate the Holy Communion on the Sunday before the sad Christmas of 1776. Few of his people had returned, and only twenty received the Blessed Sacrament. The houses were crammed with redcoats, and the parsonage property was almost a wreck, with windows broken, partitions torn down, outhouses and fences burnt and destroyed. Some of his own furniture and books were gone, and the register of baptisms had vanished. To make matters worse, he had not been able to draw his salary for two years.⁵⁵

Early in 1777, Preston still hoped that his part of the province would submit to royal authority, but the "rebels" proved stubborn and so harassed the king's troops that they had to form large cantonments. Perth Amboy was occupied, and after January, 1777, the church was a barracks. The mission seemed to be doomed, as the parishioners at Woodbridge had to flee and those at Perth Amboy could hardly live there with their houses full of soldiers. The few hardy hangers-on would have to leave with the British, as there would be no safety for a Loyalist outside their lines. As Preston would have practically no congregation and might be made a prisoner, he abandoned the mission and resumed his chaplaincy in the 26th Regiment.⁵⁶

PANTON: TORY INFORMER

Few priests of the Church could have been more obnoxious to the Whigs than George Panton of Trenton. At first his relations with them were friendly—on the surface. When the Provincial Congress met at Trenton in 1775, he shared with Mr. Spencer, the Presbyterian minister, the honor of saying prayers at the sessions. He was duly thanked by resolution for his "polite attention and services during the present sitting."⁵⁷ Probably the members did not know that on May 20, 1775, he drafted the petition to the House of Assembly from the freeholders of Nottingham Township, Burlington County, declaring loyalty to the British government and desiring reconciliation.⁵⁸

Even worse was his rumored collaboration with Thomas B. Chandler, Charles Inglis, and Myles Cooper, rector of King's College, in writing several Loyalist essays. He did all he could to help the British Army, pointed out people to be trusted and employed in service, and gave the British officers a sketch of the country. He attended Sir Henry Clinton as a volunteer at the capture of Fort Montgomery, and was appointed chaplain to the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers. After displaying such sympathies and committing such overt acts, he could not possibly stay in New Jersey and fled to New York after the Declaration, leaving his mission in a "ruined State." He applied for the vacant mission at Phillipsburgh, New York, safely within the British lines, and lived in hope of a British victory.

"I hope the period is not remote," he wrote to the secretary, "which will enable us with redoubled Zeal, to manifest our Sense of the tender, parental and generous Care, we have experienced from our benevolent Patrons in Circumstances no less difficult for them to exert themselves, than trying for us."⁵⁹

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He was a heavy sufferer, losing a library of more than two hundred books, as well as forty manuscripts of essays, sermons, and other writings. After the war, he went to Nova Scotia, and in 1783 taught in an academy at Shelburne, where he ministered to Loyalist refugees. Later he became the Society's missionary at Yarmouth, but in 1786 was in England to collect money for new churches in Nova Scotia, and in September 1788 was in Scotland. His claim of £415:16 for property losses was rejected, but until about 1811 he continued to draw a pension and half pay as a former chaplain.⁶⁰

BROWNE, THE PATHETIC EXILE

All the priests so far mentioned were fortunate in comparison with their truly pathetic brethren, Isaac Browne and William Ayers. It would be difficult to say which of them suffered the greater mental anguish. Browne had been ailing and unhappy for years, and as early as the spring of 1776 called himself "an aged Servant in this gloomy Period of his Life." He could see the tempest coming, when his congregation and communicants increased because of the arrival of several families seeking refuge from disorders in New York City.⁶¹

Browne was a firm Loyalist, and very proud of his sons, Peter and Daniel Isaac, both good servants of their king. The former was a surgeon's mate in the army, the latter a major in the Tory New Jersey Volunteers. Their father was compelled to close his church at Newark in January, 1777, and to become one of the host of refugees crowded into New York City. In May, 1778, he was appointed as a chaplain of the Loyalist New York Volunteers. At first he had to leave his wife, servants, and little property in the hands of the enemy. He could not even bring a bed from home, and found the city so plundered and destroyed that he could not buy one there, and had to borrow one from a servant in the house where he lodged. "Yet," he wrote to the Secretary, "I thank

God, my Rest is sweet, and I sleep & eat enough to nourish me and preserve my Strength." Age, ill health, and exile made him feel useless, and it was depressing to live on the Society's charity and the fund for relief of clergymen. His parishioners could not help him, as many—especially those friendly to him—had been robbed and plundered, and others had died from grief and the diseases brought by the insanitary "rebel" army. After July, 1776, his handsome church was an American military hospital, with a large chimney stack in the center, nearly all the seats removed, and the floors reeking with filth.⁶²

Poor old Browne remained in the half-ruined city for more than six years, excepting the summer of 1778, when he went to the country, only to be disturbed even more there by the troops, who made no nice distinctions between friends and foes. He was shadowed by a premonition of approaching death, being so infirm that for months at a time he could not sit through the church service. All around him were suffering and penury. He saw the misery of poor Stuart, the schoolmaster from Second River, whom he tried to help. He was stricken by the distress of loyal parishioners, who pathetically brought their children to him for private baptism. He mourned the pitiable state of his Church and country, and the sadistic cruelties inflicted in revenge upon people and even upon the beasts of the field. As the hard years passed, want began to stare him in the face, for when he went to market, inflation had raised prices from five to twenty times what they had been before the war. One egg cost nine pence in New York currency. His health became so poor that he performed duties for his refugee parishioners in his room, where his aged wife lay as a complete cripple, unable even to dress or undress herself. His sons could not help him, as their property had been confiscated and their own families had to come first. Without the Society's bounty, he and his poor wife would be doomed to "perish together."⁶³

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It must have been a relief to him when in 1783 he had a chance to begin a new life with other Loyalists in Nova Scotia. There he served as a Society missionary and received half pay as a former chaplain. His estate having been confiscated in 1778, he filed a claim for £282:18 and received £145. In his old age he was comforted by the presence of his sons, who also went to Nova Scotia and received partial compensation for the loss of their property, as well as for loss of income from their professions during the war.⁶⁴

All the priests previously mentioned never returned to New Jersey, and took no part in the Church's reconstruction. Of the eleven missionaries who were serving in 1776, five remained most of the time in "rebel" territory. They were Ayers, Blackwell, Frazer, Ogden, and Beach. Thomas B. Chandler spent the war years as an exile in England, but could not forsake his native land and returned to help in the Church's revival. It is significant that three of the five who did not return were foreign-born, and that five of the six who remained were natives.

AYERS, A CASUALTY OF WAR

The unhappiest of the non-exiled clergy was poor William Ayers of Spotswood and Freehold. In a pathetic letter to the Secretary in 1781, he wrote that he had been "often reviled with the most opprobrious language" in performing his office, that he had been threatened, and that people had attempted to pull him out of the reading desk, because he insisted upon praying for the King and the Royal Family, before the Declaration of Independence. As he would not yield, he agreed with the vestries and the people to close the churches, and performed private services as far as his health and the authorities permitted. His people could not relieve his dire poverty, because of their own distresses, including fines for refusing to serve in the militia.⁶⁵

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His sufferings aggravated the usual anxiety of a high-strung and unstable nervous constitution, and during much of the war period he was more or less insane, unable even to draw his salary bills. At one time he shut himself up in one of his churches and had to be removed fairly by force. Cooke kindly offered to act as a trustee for him and drew his salary. Beach visited Cooke's family at Shrewsbury, and on his return called on Ayers and found him in a distressing condition, although at times he appeared to be quite composed. As he could not provide for his family, Cooke and Beach helped all they could and sought aid from Chandler, and the Society allowed £ 20 a year to support him.⁶⁶

By 1782 sanity had returned for a time, and on January 18 Ayers reopened the church at Spotswood, upon a hint from the Society in a letter from Chandler to Beach, who attended the opening service. On the following Sunday, Ayers read the liturgy at a private house in Freehold, as the old church at Toponemus was unfit for worship and the new one in Freehold was unfinished and was being used as an American military storehouse. Thereafter Ayers went about his duties regularly, trying to reform his scattered parishes, and occasionally visiting Shrewsbury, while the Society continued to pay him as a missionary. Peace found the Church in his field gradually reviving, although heavy taxes had prevented the completion of the church at Freehold, and the people had to meet once a fortnight in large and convenient homes. Excepting excursions to Shrewsbury, Ayers gave the other half of his time to Spotswood, where the Church had escaped the worst devastations of war. His success appeared in a reassuring number of adults whom he baptized, instructed, examined, and admitted to Communion.⁶⁷

FRAZER, A PRISONER OF CHANCE

Almost equally unhappy was Frazer of Amwell and Kingwood, from whom the Society heard nothing for years. As

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early as the summer of 1775, he had to stop visiting his congregation in Sussex County, because the Sons of Liberty took exception to his efforts to inculcate loyal principles.⁶⁸ The truth did not fully come out until 1782, when hostilities had practically ceased. He then felt able to say frankly that if he had written during the war and his letters had fallen into the hands of partisans of the "unnatural Rebellion," he and his family would inevitably have been ruined. After the Declaration of Independence, he had closed his churches, and had been harshly handled by the "mob" and forbidden to visit his parishioners, even to give the least comfort in their distresses. When popular rage had subsided a little, he began to travel and baptize children in his mission, at Burlington, and in parts of Pennsylvania. He chafed at inactivity, and hoped that each military campaign would bring peace, so that he could resume real work.

Early in 1782, following a hint from Dr. Inglis, he planned to resume public worship to keep the Church alive. The rising generation seemed to be almost in a state of nature, and those who had made the loudest noise about their religious liberty had hardly a vestige of religion left. Although his salary was unpaid for years and his people were exceedingly distressed by taxes and fines and could do nothing for him, neither he nor most of them wavered in loyalty, and he mourned over having to omit prayers "for the best of Sovereigns & the Royal Family."⁶⁹

In the autumn of 1783 his situation was still so disagreeable that he wanted to be transferred to Nova Scotia, where a great many of his people and his chief connections had already gone. The rectory would be sold over his head next spring, but he would try to persuade the legislature to confirm the glebe to the churches of Amwell and Kingwood, even though the title papers apparently had been lost in the confusion of war. His years of suffering and anxiety had brought on "a violent nervous headach" that affected him

so that half a glass of wine made him appear to be "in the worst state of inebriation." Rumors of his condition reached the Society, and a friend in London wrote to him that he had been dismissed for drinking. With shame and grief he admitted that "there was some foundation for the report, tho I thank God in a very few instances." He promised the Society to stay on the water wagon, and even offered to present certificates of sobriety from his neighbors, who were chiefly men of different politics and religion, but had been intimate with him for sixteen years.⁷⁰ But the Society was not convinced, and Frazer lingered in New Jersey under a cloud.

OGDEN: WHIG OR TORY?

The other four priests who remained in the post-war period were more fortunate. Uzal Ogden was undisturbed by political events until the Declaration, then refused to mutilate the liturgy by omitting the objectional prayers, but continued to preach and administer the sacraments to keep the Church alive. In December 1776, the growing animosity forced him to leave his mission and family and flee to New York City. By February 1779, he had returned and was making up for lost time by a very active ministry, and by preaching here and there to the people's satisfaction, but aroused suspicion among Churchmen by occasionally omitting the liturgy. Evidently he had experienced a change of heart in politics, for in 1779 he wrote a respectful and admiring letter to Washington, wishing him victory. No such sentiment appears in his reports, and his fellow clergymen in New York apparently knew nothing of it and considered him as "strictly loyal."⁷¹ It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he was not ingenuous—a trait some of his fellow Churchmen later suspected.

To him, however, is due the credit for sustaining the Church over a large area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,

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because he served also at Newark, Morristown, and Second River, with the approval of his regular congregations. He preached constantly to great numbers of all denominations, and in 1781-82 resumed administering the Holy Communion and had forty-four new communicants. Trying to improve his people's lives and conversations, he printed his sermons, dialogues, and essays on practical religion, and distributed thousands of copies "to promote the advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom." The results appeared in an amazing number of conversions and adult baptisms. He continued to draw a salary from the Society, as the people did not pay a fourth of their moderate pledge, but he charitably attributed their delinquency to various causes, not including lack of good will.⁷² When the war ended, the mission of this "Methodistical" parson was probably the most vital area of the Church in New Jersey.

BLACKWELL: AMERICAN PATRIOT

Blackwell of Gloucester openly espoused the American cause, although at first he vainly strove to be neutral. In June 1775, he noted the difficulty of his work and the bad effect of the increasing conflict upon the mission.

"There is very little hope of inculcating divine truths on the hearts of men," he reported, "when they are eagerly engaged in worldly matters, that appear to them of the greatest moment. In this dark time of distress, may God of his infinite mercy, as he hitherto hath done, preserve our church from the attempts of designing, wicked men."⁷³

He finally decided that reconciliation was hopeless, and in March 1778 left the mission. Later he became a chaplain and a surgeon in the Continental Army. When he left, the Society owed him a year's salary, and as the people gave him nothing and he had no private fortune, there seemed to be no other choice. Hearing of his defection, the Society struck him off the list of missionaries. When he tried to collect his

back salary in 1782, the bill was protested, and the Rev. Dr. Magaw of Philadelphia intimated that the Society never would pay him anything. His protest that he had been misrepresented did not change the decision, and he had to be an Episcopalian Whig, like the other clergy in Philadelphia, where he became an assistant minister at Christ Church.⁷⁴

BEACH, MINISTER TO FRIEND AND FOE

The bravest New Jersey missionary was Beach of New Brunswick, who stayed at his post throughout the war, although often in mortal danger. As early as December 1775, he saw the clouds gathering around him, with everything in the utmost confusion. "The Spirit of the Times," he reported, "hath diffused itself thro' all Ranks of Men, & in many Instances dissolved the tender Ties of Friendship & even natural Affection." As for himself, he declared that he was determined to continue and to keep "a Conscience void of Offense towards God & towards Man."⁷⁵ From that resolution nothing could shake him during the six years when he rarely could correspond with the Society or meet his brethren.

His undaunted mettle appears in his decision to make no change in the services, even after the Declaration of Independence. Once, when he was in the reading desk to mark the lessons, a man called him into the churchyard and warned him that if he prayed for the king he would be made a prisoner and harshly treated. Up to that time he had kept the church open, even for the days of fasting and prayer for success declared by the Continental Congress. If he had not, he could not have stayed in New Brunswick and perhaps could not have escaped alive. He had gone to church and read the prayers as usual, also sermons aimed as much as possible "to mitigate the general Infatuation" and "open the eyes of the Ignorant and deluded." But after the reading desk episode, he closed his churches from July 7 until December 8, 1776, when the king's troops arrived. Thereafter he of-

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ficiated only in Christ Church, as Saint James' in Piscataway was occupied as a barracks by part of the 42nd Regiment.⁷⁶

The brave missionary was in a "hot spot," for his house was between the military lines, about a quarter of a mile beyond the British pickets. Parties of the American army lurked about him every day, and in the winter of 1777 one drove off his cattle, horses, and sheep. One day, while he was writing a letter to the Society, about fifty Americans surrounded the house and fired upon the Hessian sentries, but left in about an hour without hurting anybody, as Beach wrote, with a dig at their marksmanship. In the midst of alarms he went calmly on his way, caring for poor insane Ayers and trying to get him admitted to the hospital in Philadelphia. He visited Elizabeth Town, Shrewsbury, Spotswood, Woodbridge, and Chatham, and in fact every remote and vacant parish, to perform baptisms and burials. He felt very lonely, for he was out of touch with the motherland and unable to consult the other provincial clergy, who were mostly refugees. When the royal forces were not in town, he closed Christ Church and performed private duties among his people.⁷⁷

In spite of all his efforts, Beach sadly saw the appearance of religion steadily declining, and children growing up in ignorance of religion, because of the war and the long lapse of public worship. He resolved to do something drastic to hold off barbarism, and found the inspiration in an extract from a letter by Dr. Chandler, then in England, stating that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London would not object, if the clergy of Connecticut should omit only the collects for the King and the Royal Family. He wrote to the clergy of New York and found that they felt the same way, for the sake of preserving the Church. That was enough: to him the Church was more important than stickling for political formalities. On Christmas Day, 1781, he opened Christ Church, read the prayers, and preached to a "decent" congregation. He planned to continue every Sunday, unless

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forbidden by the Society or by the public authorities. At Piscataway he held service in a private house, because the church was unfit for use.⁷⁸

That was the first streak of the dawn, and his people began to take courage, even though many of their brethren were refugees in New York, and they were too poor to contribute to their pastor's support and had to cast him and his family entirely upon the Society's bounty. He began to press the Society for news, and for Prayer Books, for many had been lost during the wartime confusion. The reopening of Christ Church stirred hope throughout the Church in New Jersey, and almost all the vestries invited Beach to officiate for them as often as he could. He encouraged the use of layreaders to keep religion alive, and began to visit from Second River to Burlington to keep the congregations together. He performed baptisms, preached, administered Communion, and looked after Church property that was in danger of destruction, especially at Perth Amboy, where the Society appointed him as temporary missionary. At Shrewsbury he bluntly told the vestry that he would come once a month, if they would right the injustice done to Cooke and restore the use of the glebe. When they consented, he alternated with Frazer and Ayers in performing the services.

All his extra duties were tiring and expensive, but he bore the burden cheerfully, because he sympathized with the poor people and wanted to sustain the Church. He got no pay, besides his regular salary and a gratuity of £25 from the Society, but he thought that his work was the more likely to be successful, because it was *disinterested*.⁷⁹

CHANDLER: AMERICAN AFTER ALL

The distracted Church people naturally began to turn to him for leadership in reviving religion. At the same time they looked forward to the rumored return of a man of

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equally sturdy and progressive spirit—Dr. Chandler. All knew his real Americanism, even though he had been in trouble with the revolutionists as early as 1772, when he wrote for the newspapers in an effort to counteract the “evil spirit” in the colonies. He also wrote three pamphlets for the Loyalist cause. One in 1774, on the appointment of delegates to the Continental Congress, tried to persuade the people to leave political affairs to their chosen agents. Another, in October 1774, pointed out the dreadful consequences of a war between Great Britain and America. The last, in February 1775, tried to prove that, because Congress had exceeded instructions, the people were not bound to execute its resolves. Chandler used to boast that this last effort did more good than any other for the Loyalist cause in New York and New Jersey.⁸⁰

New Jersey was soon far too hot for this Loyalist parson, and he was often threatened by the Sons of Liberty. In May 1775, friends gave him a tip that he was in “much personal Danger,” and he fled to New York, taking clothing in case of not being able to return. He had no sooner got there, than he found that “the turbulent Faction, which had assumed the Government of the City” was watching for him and intending to visit him. He hid in the home of Attorney General Kempe, going out little and cautiously. Later, by invitation from Captain Montagu, he took shelter on H.M.S. *King-Fisher*, with the help of his friend, Mr. Wetherhead. After transferring to the *Exeter* at Sandy Hook, on May 25 (Ascension Day), he sailed with Captain Kearney, Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury, and Dr. Myles Cooper of King’s College as fellow passengers.⁸¹

Chandler landed at Bristol on July 2, and for his first few weeks in England was busily engaged in meeting people, viewing the interesting places, and hearing services and sermons in important churches. If he believed that he would soon return to New Jersey, he was sadly disillusioned as his visit lengthened to nearly ten years. He was very far from

being a mere sightseer and diner-out, for he considered himself and was so regarded as a special representative of the American Loyalist clergy and laity. His entertaining diary reveals an almost continual pressure of business, including interviews with bishops, members of the Society, statesmen (including Lord North, the Prime Minister), and many American Loyalists, such as those Whig bugbears, Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Peter Oliver of Massachusetts. He discussed the still active plan for an American episcopate, and with Dr. Cooper took a major part in establishing the fund for relief of distressed American clergymen, whom he recommended for attention.⁸²

His energy, sympathy, and influence quickly attracted distressed countrymen, and throughout the war he was the friend, adviser, and helper of many Loyalist exiles in London. He aided them in their claims for compensation and applications for temporary allowances from the British government. His own property was confiscated in 1779, and from 1782 to 1788 he drew a pension of £200 a year. His services deserved the recommendation he received to be the first bishop of Nova Scotia, which he had to decline because of age and failing health.⁸³

In the press of his affairs Chandler found time to attend to the personal finances and other business of some of his fellow clergy. Entries in his diary reveal him getting bills paid, receiving money, making investments, sending a box of books, gowns, cassocks and other churchly articles to Dr. Inglis in New York, and performing many other "acts of kindness and of love." George Panton, Samuel Cooke, and Jeremiah Leaming, especially, had good reason to be grateful to him. Perusing the day by day entries in his diary, one finds him presenting a memorial and an estimate of claims for his old pupil and parishioner, Cavalier Jouet.⁸⁴

The doctor's greatest service was his huge correspondence with Churchmen in America, by which he supplied them

with news and comfort, and informed the English hierarchy and the Society of the Church's condition in America. During ten years his diary contains nearly 150 references to letters to persons in America, including many in New Jersey or exiled from the province. Among them were his wife, his three daughters and his son, his parishioners Mr. and Mrs. Chetwood, Isaac Browne, Samuel Cooke, George Panton, Abraham Beach, Chief Justice Smyth, Jonathan Odell, Cavalier Jouet, General Cortlandt and Mrs. Skinner, Governor William Franklin, Isaac and David Ogden, Colin Campbell, Junior, and Peter Browne. He mentions letters to about seventy persons, and writing them must have engrossed a large share of his time, for he sent off a batch at least once a month and sometimes oftener. He kept in touch with the general situation of the clergy, and on June 10, 1776, through Wetherhead and Dr. Inglis, forwarded directions to the missionaries in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. In 1779 he conveyed to the clergy the opinion of the Bishop of London that they might use their own discretion regarding the objectional portions of the liturgy.⁸⁵

His letters to Mrs. Chandler, conveyed to her by private channels, possibly contributed to her troubles with the New Jersey authorities in April 1779. General Maxwell wrote to the legislature from Elizabeth Town, declaring that

"in the way of giving intelligence to the enemy I think her the first in the place. There is not a tory that passes in or out of New York or any other way, that is of consequence, but what waits on Mrs. Chandler; and mostly all the British officers going in or out on parole or exchange, wait on her; in short, the Governor, the whole of the tories, and many of the Whigs. I think she would be much better in New York, and to take her baggage with her, that she might have nothing to come back for."⁸⁶

But she lingered with her daughters, and in August 1784 her

husband directed her to stay there for the winter, as it was too late to think of moving to Nova Scotia that year.⁸⁷

By that time the idea of returning to New Jersey probably was floating in his mind. Exile had begun to be irksome, in spite of his honors, friendly attentions of statesmen and bishops, flattering requests for advice about America, receptions, dinners, and all the comforts of life in England. There is a pathetic note in his entries recording the arrival of barrels of American apples, largely in edible condition. As he bit into them or proudly gave them to friends, he must have been homesick for Elizabeth Town. Although politically poles apart from Ben Franklin, he fully shared that sage's pride in the products of his native land.⁸⁸

The long separation from his family and American associates became more and more poignant. In the fall of 1779 he recorded the arrival of letters from his family and from New York, after receiving none since July 12—"A most tedious Interval!" In April of the following year, the swift packet brought the first news from New York since the fleet left Sandy Hook on December 23. His loneliness was occasionally relieved by the sight of a beloved face, for his only son "Billy" visited him now and then, and in 1776 stayed for ten weeks. The boy was born at Elizabeth Town in 1756, when the doctor was a young missionary, and was educated as a physician, graduating from King's College in 1774. He became a captain in the Tory New Jersey Volunteers in 1777, and served for two years on Staten Island. He died on October 22, 1784, on a visit to his father, who wrote in his diary: "God's will be done!" In the preceding April he had made a similar brief note of grief for the death of a "beloved daughter."⁸⁹

Those losses brought home to him his deep attachment to New Jersey, where his children had been born. His longing for home probably was increased by the departure of Bishop Seabury, who sailed for America on the *Chapman* on Feb-

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ruary 26, 1785, bearing letters from Chandler.⁹⁰ Before long the doctor was engaged in his own preparations to go, and on April 19 engaged his passage for New York on the *Mentor*. Two days later he obtained permission to leave from the Archbishop of Canterbury. His last few weeks in England passed in a whirl of business—banking money for Panton and Leaming, securing money and a box for Mr. Jouet, and packing his books and clothing for the sea, not forgetting the ointment for a cancerous infection on his face that finally proved fatal. On May 16 he left London to take ship at Gravesend, and on the following day went aboard the *Mentor*. On the 25th he saw the Scilly Islands—the last bit of old England—drop behind, and after a “disagreeable passage” of fifty-five days, he landed at New York on July 11.⁹¹

With his joyous arrival in Elizabeth Town, the stage was set for his coöperation with Abraham Beach in the work of reorganizing the Church in New Jersey. The earliest meeting for that purpose had already taken place, largely under Beach’s auspices. But Chandler’s long experience and facile pen were needed as never before, and in spite of growing pain and approaching death, he was ready to help in gaining for his beloved Church all he had hoped, prayed and fought for during over thirty years.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Reorganization and Revival

THE YEARS between the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781 and the arrival of Chandler in 1785 were a trying period of doubt and anxiety, of neither war nor peace. To the distracted Churchmen of New Jersey, the future of their Church must have seemed almost hopeless. The eleven priests in 1775 had decreased to only four: Beach, Ogden, Frazer, and Ayers. Ogden was incessantly active, but his open sympathy with Methodist preachers bred suspicion of his loyalty to the Church. The suspicion constantly increased, and in 1798-99 contributed to his failure to attain the episcopate, to which the diocesan convention of New Jersey had elected him.¹ Frazer had been dismissed by the Society and was rumored to be too fond of the bottle. Ayers, for a considerable part of the time, was incapacitated by mental disorder. Only Beach was left as the real leader to undertake the gargantuan task of practically rebuilding the shattered Church.

A CRITICAL PERIOD

Even he must have been disheartened by the general ruin—glebes confiscated and sold, rectories uninhabitable, churches desecrated and used for barracks, hospitals, and storehouses, funds swallowed up by inflation. He and Ogden kept the northern and central parishes alive, but in Monmouth and the southern counties the situation looked black. Only lay-readers officiated at Burlington and Mount Holly, poor Ayers had to supply four churches in Monmouth, Salem had been pastorless and nearly forsaken for many years, and Saint Stephen's at Greenwich was fast becoming only a memory.

Beach's long report to the Society in October, 1783, paint-

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, "Notes."

ed a terribly depressing picture. Regard for religion was at a low ebb, and from New York to Georgia the churches had no public support and lived on the meager gifts of heavily taxed and impoverished people. The prospect for the Episcopal Church in particular seemed "exceedingly gloomy." Very few candidates for the ministry were appearing in any denomination, and he knew of none in his extensive acquaintance. He thought that in New Jersey it was "very improbable" that there would be any public support of religion, "at least in this Generation." The condition of the Episcopal Church, especially, was "very precarious & unsettled."²

But even before he penned his lamentation, he and a few other New Jersey Churchmen had begun to grope their way towards revival, unity, and reorganization. On March 26, 1783, there was a meeting in New York City, consisting of eighteen priests from New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey. They petitioned Sir Guy Carleton, governor of New York, to request the appointment of Thomas B. Chandler as bishop of Nova Scotia, and endorsed the Connecticut clergy's election of Samuel Seabury, formerly a missionary at New Brunswick, as a candidate for consecration.³

A HISTORIC MEETING IN NEW BRUNSWICK

The spark of life in New Jersey, energetically tended by Beach, resulted in a meeting in his own parish church that is generally considered as the first interstate meeting definitely contemplating a national organization. His correspondence with William White, rector of the United Churches in Philadelphia, during the winter of 1784, reveals Beach as the inspirer of a nationwide movement towards union and organization. In January he poured out his feelings in a long letter:

"I always expected that as soon as the return of Peace should put it in their Power, that the Members of

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the Episcopal Church in this Country would interest themselves in its Behalf—would endeavour to introduce Order and Uniformity into it, and provide for a Succession in the Ministry. The Silence on this Subject which hath universally prevailed, and still prevails, is a matter of real Concern to me, as it seems to portend an utter extinction of that Church which I so highly venerate.”

He had talked with many Churchmen to secure their interest and opinions, and had found a general feeling that something ought to be done. But what? He thought that there should be a meeting of as many of the clergy as possible, especially to examine the state of the Widows' Fund, which he feared would be lost if neglected any longer. He proposed to call a meeting in the spring at New Brunswick, or any other convenient place, and to invite ministers who were not members of the corporation.⁴

White agreed and Beach secured the approval of Samuel Provoost and Benjamin Moore of New York, who considered such a meeting as “absolutely necessary.” After considerable correspondence, it was generally agreed to meet at the place and time proposed by Robert Blackwell—New Brunswick, on May 11, 1784. Beach asked White to announce it in a Philadelphia newspaper, inviting *all clergymen of the Church* and, if he thought proper, “respectable characters of the laity,” because matters of general concern would probably be discussed. Beach sent letters far and wide in New Jersey, advertised the meeting in a New York paper, and invited White to preach the sermon. Even at that early date he dropped a hint of New Jersey's future attitude, in frankly telling White that he did not agree with him about the necessity of “receding from ancient usages,” by a temporary departure from episcopal government.⁵

The historic gathering at Christ Church, New Brunswick, really consisted of two meetings. One was that of members

REORGANIZATION AND REVIVAL

of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows, &c., and was attended by the Rev. Drs. White and Magaw and the Rev. Robert Blackwell of Pennsylvania, the Rev. Joshua Bloomer of New York, and the Rev. Abraham Beach and James Parker, Esq., of New Jersey. They designated a meeting at New York in October, according to the charter, and appointed a committee, including Beach, to announce it and name the preacher.

The other and larger meeting consisted of clergymen *and laymen* from Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey: Drs. White and Magaw and the Rev. Robert Blackwell; the Rev. Messrs. Bloomer, Bowden, Benjamin Moore and Thomas Moore of New York; the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Frazer, and Ogden; James Parker, John Stevens, and Richard Stevens of Perth Amboy, John Dennis of New Brunswick, Colonel Hoyt, and Colonel Furman. A committee of priests, including Beach, was appointed to visit the Connecticut clergy and request their concurrence in measures for "the Union and Prosperity of the Episcopal Churches in the States of America." A large committee of the clergy, including Beach, Ogden, and Ayres, was named "to correspond with each other, and with any other Persons, for the Purpose of forming a Continental Representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church."

It was at this meeting that Dr. White learned for the first time that Seabury was in England seeking episcopal orders at the request of the Connecticut clergy.

The meeting was unable to agree upon fundamental principles of union, for already the clergy of New York and New Jersey feared the disposition of their Southern brethren to undervalue episcopal polity. It was therefore thought best to await the outcome of the application of some New York and Connecticut priests to the English hierarchy, for the consecration of Samuel Seabury. Only a few days after the meeting, Beach wrote to Dr. Morice, the Society's secretary, that Episcopalians in the United States were "very desirous of pro-

curing a bishop from England." He would have been nearer to truth in saying that *some* of them were. Although far from accomplishing all that some of them had hoped, the members of this meeting had not wasted their time. They made two historic decisions: to call another interstate gathering in October 1784, and *to recognize the laity as a coordinate branch in deliberative and executive assemblies of the Church*. The committee appointed to visit Connecticut found, as Beach reported to White, that the clergy there objected to lay delegates, but would cooperate in drafting regulations for government and uniformity of worship.⁷

RECOMMENDING A GENERAL CONSTITUTION

The October meeting in New York City was significantly called "A Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Sixteen clergymen and eleven laymen represented Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. From New Jersey came the Rev. Uzal Ogden of Newark, John De Hart and John Chetwood, Esqs. of Elizabeth Town, and Samuel Spraggs of Mount Holly. Beach was now an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, but continued his interest in and work for the Church in New Jersey.

The Convention took a long step forward by recommending to the Churchmen in *all* states to unite under a general constitution, on the following principles: a General Convention with clerical and lay deputies from each state; the doctrines and liturgy of the Church of England, so far as consistent with the Revolution and the state constitutions; bishops in the states, to be considered as members of the Convention; the clergy and the laity to deliberate as one body, but to vote separately, the concurrence of both to be necessary for any valid measure; the first meeting to be held in Phila-

delphia on the Tuesday before the Feast of Saint Michael, 1785. The conservatism thus expressed was entirely agreeable to Beach, who assured the Society's secretary that it was the universal opinion that the liturgy should not be altered except to accomodate it to the change of government.⁸

To frame a general constitution for the Church the meeting appointed a committee of four clerical and four lay members, including John De Hart of New Jersey, and requested them also to draft a substitute for the "State Prayers," to be used until the Church could make a final decision. The constitution proposed by that committee was adopted. As discipline had become very lax during the post-war years, the meeting resolved to keep unauthorized "exhorters" out of the churches. It recommended that the Church in each state should appoint a committee including at least two clergymen, to examine and supervise layreaders, and advised congregations not to permit laymen to officiate unless duly certified by the committee. There can be no doubt that this shaft was aimed directly at the Methodist preachers.⁹

That firm attitude witnessed to the growing revival of the Church, which gradually shaped events leading to the general meeting proposed in New York. There was a general realization that the acknowledgment of American independence had forever broken the *official* connection with the Church of England; and that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, the only legal bond between the American churches, had practically dissolved in 1776. People felt that the Church's problem of readjustment would be peculiarly difficult, precisely because of the previous dependence upon England. The Society would send no more aid, no more candidates for orders would sail for England. Many Loyalist priests were in hopeless exile, some who remained did not officiate, and the doors of countless churches were shut for years at a time. The Church was virtually in a state of anarchy, and had really become *congregational*, as the parishes were practically independent. The

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situation was pregnant with mighty evils. As Bishop White later wrote:

"It was evident that without the creating of some new tie, the churches in the different states, and even those in the same state, might adopt such varying measures as would forever prevent their being combined in one common union."¹⁰

While both the people and their leaders admitted that there must be unity, their agreement at first stopped right there, for they differed sharply regarding the *method*. New Englanders and many Jerseymen felt that the episcopate should come first, while many in the Southern states were ready to organize the Church at once and then get bishops as soon as they could. The groups cherished fundamentally variant ideas and expressed considerable suspicion of each other. Bishop Seabury confessed to one of his Scottish consecrators that he had always feared "the lax principles of the Southern Clergy."¹¹ To overcome such distrust took six critical and trying years. During that restless time New Jersey Churchmen generally sympathized with the conservative party represented by Seabury and most of the clergy in New England and New York.

MEETINGS IN THE STATES

The varying opinions could not check the powerful urge towards unity, which did not wait even for the certainty of American victory. As early as November 9, 1780, a convention of clergymen *and laymen* in Maryland took action to preserve their religious rights and liberties and adopted the historic name, "Protestant Episcopal Church." A meeting of the Maryland clergy on August 13, 1783, adopted a "Declaration of certain fundamental Rights and Liberties," asserting the independence of the Church in the United States. They defined the three orders of the ministry as bishops, priests, and deacons, claimed the necessity of episcopal ordination to a valid ad-

ministration of the sacraments, and declared the right of a convention of clergymen and laymen to adjust the liturgy to meet the change "from a daughter to a sister Church." In June, 1784, a convention with lay deputies approved the Declaration and established fundamental principles of Church government.¹²

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania had been moving in the same direction and giving speed and power to the nationwide trend towards union. Late in 1783, William White, rector of the United Churches in Philadelphia, outlined to the vestry a plan to create a representative convention of Churchmen in the state, and the churches appointed lay delegates to a conference. On March 29, 1784, a group of clergymen and laymen met at White's home and stated "ye necessity of speedily adopting Measures for ye forming of a Plan of ecclesiastical Government for ye Episcopal Church." Another meeting on March 31 decided to mail a circular letter to the Pennsylvania churches, requesting them to send delegates to a meeting on May 24. The Pennsylvanians named a standing committee of clergymen to correspond and confer with representatives of the Church in other states, and to "assist in framing an ecclesiastical Government." The committee's statement of constitutional principles was adopted, and asserted the independence of the Church in the United States, its full legislative powers, its complete agreement with the Church of England in doctrine and in worship as nearly as possible, the three orders of the ministry, the right of a representative body of clergy and laity to make canons or laws, and the necessity of a general government to have delegated powers that could not be conveniently exercised in the congregations. The Pennsylvanians thus led in defining the fundamental principles of the Church's constitution, giving the laity an equal share with the clergy in governing councils. Their guiding spirit was White, who claimed that Pennsylvania had the first Church assembly consisting partly of laymen.¹³

WHITE, STATESMAN OF UNITY

White probably was more influential than any other man in forming the constitution of the Episcopal Church in the United States. He had long and strong associations with New Jersey, for his mother was Esther Hewlings, who was baptized in 1719 by John Talbot, rector of Saint Mary's Burlington. Her father and her grandfather, both named Abraham Hewlings, served as wardens of Saint Mary's, and the elder signed the petition requesting the Society to settle Talbot at Burlington. The Hewlings family were Quakers who followed George Keith into the Church of England. White was born and educated in the Episcopal strongholds of Philadelphia, and after his ordination served as assistant minister of the United Churches—Christ Church and Saint Peter's. In 1779 he became rector, and in 1781 formed another important connection with New Jersey through his assistant minister, Robert Blackwell, formerly missionary at Gloucester and Waterford. In the Revolution, White was decidedly on the patriot side, in sympathy with his congregation, and that background prepared him to lead the Church during its difficult period of readjustment and reorganization.¹⁴

He stepped into that rôle in August, 1782, by publishing his famous pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. Excepting its statement that bishops could not be obtained, practically all its principles were incorporated into the constitution of the American Episcopal Church. He maintained that by no means all Episcopalians were hostile to American independence, that the Church had become free, and that it would have to continue as a voluntary association, a free church in a free state, with the laity directly represented in its councils. Parishes would be equal and retain all powers not delegated to the general government. He proposed a constitution based upon parishes, dioceses, and a General Convention, and also a provincial organization that was

not attained until 1913. While he argued that episcopacy and republican government were not incompatible, he assumed that bishops could not be procured from England, and therefore recommended forming an organization without waiting for the episcopate. He reasoned that a *temporary* departure from episcopal government was necessary and fortified his position by references to the writings of eminent English divines. But when peace came, he admitted that his argument did not apply, and ceased to press the adoption of that portion of the pamphlet.¹⁵

Many Churchmen were scandalized by White's seeming indifference to episcopacy. The Connecticut clergy ordered their secretary, Abraham Jarvis, to write a letter to White, severely criticizing his pamphlet and deploring any effort to organize the Church and ordain clergymen without a bishop. The incident stirred up a stubborn suspicion that long delayed the Church's unity. Regardless of whether one agreed with it or not, the pamphlet established White as a leader. As a noted historian of the Church has said:

"The old and experienced are found turning to this young priest of thirty-four; they are found waiting for his advice, or seeking to influence his action. Nothing could be more evident than that he was already *primus inter pares*" (first among equals.)¹⁶

The peculiar significance of White's position, with respect to New Jersey, lies in the fact that he became a sort of one-man clearing house for correspondence between Northern and Southern Churchmen. His letters, flowing over the whole country and to England, drew together all who wanted to unite in serving the Church. By 1784-85, when the first conventions were meeting, his influence was everywhere. Although Beach was the inspirer, White was the leader at the first interstate meeting in New Brunswick. The same was true in the New York gathering of October, when he served on the

committee to draft a general constitution. His opinions were reflected in the state conventions of 1785.¹⁷

The future Bishop of Pennsylvania was also a personal mediator of rare tact and understanding. He quietly drew the annoyed and estranged New England clergy closer to their Southern brethren, and by friendliness towards both tried to reconcile Bishop Seabury and Bishop Provoost of New York, who could not bear Loyalists. White insisted upon direct representation of the laity and Seabury defended the rights of the episcopate and of the clergy, and to this day the Church's constitution bears the impress of their minds. The mediator between them was the dying Thomas B. Chandler, who esteemed and corresponded with both. He generally sympathized with Seabury, his fellow Yankee, but was cordial towards White, in spite of their difference of opinion during the Revolution.

In replying to White's invitation, Chandler revealed where he and most of the New Jersey Churchmen stood:

"In short, this is a *radical* point, and I entreat you not to give your consent to robbing Episcopacy of its essential rights. I am the more urgent with *you* on this head, as I hope the time is not far distant when I am to see you vested with the Episcopal character. I have often talked the matter over with Bp. Seabury in London; and we both agreed that you were the properest person for the State of Pennsylvania, and, . . . that we should do all that we consistently could to befriend you in this way."

White, great gentleman that he was, could hardly fail to be touched by such an appeal from one who was compelled to renounce the honor. He was in a frame of mind to work for the accomodation of views foretold by Chandler when he wrote:

"Were you and I to talk over, at leisure, the business of this Convention, I flatter myself that, afterwards, we should not differ widely in our opinions, upon most of the points in question."¹⁸

Through the influence of Chandler and Beach, New Jersey greatly promoted unity in the struggling Church. They played the part naturally. Both were New Englanders born and bred, and perfectly understood Seabury and his solid phalanx of Connecticut parsons. Because he had remained in the country throughout the Revolution, Beach could see the American viewpoint of White and his friends. All three were native Americans and took a national pride in organizing a new branch of the Anglican Communion as a free church in a free land. The sense of venturing together into an uncharted region must have played its part in binding them together.

Most important of all, they all cherished a strong attachment to the rights of the laity in church government, which was an inheritance from the colonial period. The right of a self-sustaining parish to choose its rector, and the right of the laity to participate in legislation, had become so accepted that it took little or no effort to embody them into the Church's constitution. In Virginia, especially, the people insisted upon parochial rights and control of temporal affairs by the vestrymen. In New England, particularly in the "charter colonies" of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the people controlled their own churches. The Society had become reconciled to colonial independence, and the American churches generally found in Virginia a precedent for insisting upon the right to select their parsons. It was therefore easy to go a step further and claim the right to participate in electing a bishop. By the period of the Revolution, the participation of laymen in church government was taken as a matter of course.¹⁹

While White and other leaders cemented their fellowship, local meetings of Churchmen moved steadily towards the formation of a national organization. Seven New England priests met in Boston on September 8, 1784, and the Rev. Samuel Parker communicated their proceedings to White, from whom he had received a report of the May meeting in Phila-

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delphia. White was pleased that his New England brethren practically adopted the principles already set forth by the Pennsylvanians, while insisting upon securing the episcopate from abroad, and that lay representatives ought not to override the clergy.

The Connecticut clergy met on March 25, 1783, primarily to elect a bishop, but their gathering was not a regular convention and they did not favor the principle of lay participation, which was becoming identified in their minds with the trial and degradation of clergymen by lay authority. In emphatic contrast was the action of the South Carolina clergy in May, 1785. They decided to comply with the proposal of union, *provided* that no bishop would be settled in their State. To South Carolinians the barbarous devastations of the Revolution had become identified with Toryism, British tyranny—and episcopacy.²⁰ To reconcile such points of view would test the patience of the first General Convention appointed to meet in September 1785.

NEW JERSEY STARTS TO ORGANIZE

For that historic event the Churchmen of New Jersey had been preparing by perfecting their own organization. Their first state Convention appropriately assembled in Christ Church, New Brunswick, on July 6, 1785. Considering the depressed condition of the Church, the three clerical and fourteen lay delegates probably thought it a hopefully large gathering. The eight parishes represented were Christ Church, New Brunswick, Trinity in Newark, Saint John's at Elizabeth Town, St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, Christ Church in Shrewsbury, Saint James' at Piscataway, Saint Mary's, Burlington, and Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly.

The clergymen present were Abraham Beach, Uzal Ogden, and John Hamilton Rowland of Saint Andrew's, Staten Island, who was serving also as rector of Saint Peter's, Perth

Amboy. Frazer and Ayers apparently did not attend, and Chandler was still on a ship, slowly approaching New York.

The lay delegates were Levinus Clarkson and James Douglass of New Brunswick, John Schuyler from Newark, Patrick Dennis of Elizabeth Town, James Parker and Matthias Halsted of Perth Amboy, Thomas Morton and Thomas Lloyd of Shrewsbury, John Arnold and Henry Sutton from Piscataway, Abraham Hewlings and Samuel Roe of Burlington, and John Clark and Samuel Spraggs from Mount Holly. Roe and Spraggs soon entered the ranks of the clergy, being ordained as deacons on September 16, and as priests on September 18, 1785, by Bishop Seabury of Connecticut. Both had been Methodist preachers, and both served as rectors of the parishes they represented in this convention.²¹

The meeting opened in the morning with prayers, and a sermon by Mr. Rowland, for which he was duly thanked with a request to publish it. After a recess until three in the afternoon, probably to talk matters over, the convention chose Beach as president and Ogden as secretary, and heard and approved the credentials of the deputies. They appointed the next convention for May 1786, but empowered the president to call it earlier if necessary. They decided also to recommend that the vestries appoint deputies "in order to promote the general interest of this church." The composition and proceedings of this convention determined the ordinary features of all the later ones: representation of both the clergy and the laity, the opening service and sermon, presentation of credentials, election of deputies to the General Convention, and the appointment of a date for the next meeting.

The atmosphere was distinctly republican, with clergymen and laymen discussing and legislating together. It was the natural result of generations of vestry meetings, and of the voluntary clerical conventions. Without that long schooling in self-government, the Church might have floundered helplessly in doubt and despair and faded from the American

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scene, as many thought it would, and as some enemies *hoped* it would. At that time and for many years later, the term *diocese* was not generally used, the customary expression being "the Church in the State of ——" When a convention referred to "this Church," it usually meant not the Anglican Communion generally, or the Episcopal Church in the United States, but the Church *in that particular state*. The prevailing idea was that the Episcopal Church in this nation was *a federation of churches in the states*.²²

With that idea in mind, the first New Jersey convention proceeded to its most significant action, the election of deputies to the first General Convention to be held at Philadelphia in September. The deputation consisted of four priests and six laymen: the Rev. Messrs. Chandler, Beach, Ogden, and Rowland; the Hon. John Stevens, Esq., of Kingwood, Abraham Hewlings, Esq., of Burlington, Mr. John Halstead of Perth Amboy, Patrick Dennis of Elizabeth Town, Joseph Throckmorton of Shrewsbury, and James Douglass of New Brunswick. The convention empowered them to agree to the fundamental principles adopted at the meeting in New York on October 6-7, 1784, and to adopt such measures as the convention might think necessary, not contrary to those principles.²³

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION AND PRAYER BOOK

When the New Jersey deputies appeared in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on September 27, for what is generally considered the *first* General Convention, they found representatives there from New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. But no New Englanders. The Connecticut clergy, especially, regarded some points of the proposed constitution as violations of Catholic tradition, disapproved lay representation, and still remembered certain parts of White's famous pamphlet. Bishop Seabury perfectly voiced their at-

titude in a letter to Bishop John Skinner, one of his Scottish consecrators:

"It [i.e., the proposed constitution] will bring the Clergy into abject bondage to the Laity & a Bp. seems to have no more power in the Convention than a Lay member. Doctrines, Disciplines, Liturgies, are all to be under lay control."²⁴

The proceedings confirmed his worst fears, and those of many a Churchman in New Jersey. They could not object, of course, to the work of the committee of one clerical and one lay deputy from each state (including Abraham Beach and Patrick Dennis of New Jersey) appointed to accomodate the liturgy to American conditions. The old prayers for the King, the Royal Family, and Parliament were replaced by suitable petitions for the civil authorities of the United States and of the respective States, for Congress, and for the Fourth of July. But unfortunately the Convention felt that it had a good opportunity to revise the Prayer Book and "simplify" the liturgy. Dr. Charles H. Wharton of Delaware wrote to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Boston: "Perhaps such an opportunity never occurred since the days of the Apostles of settling a rational, unexceptionable mode of worship."²⁵

The Convention therefore empowered the committee to make further alterations, and the result was a report full of drastic changes, which many Northern Churchmen found to be anything but "unexceptionable." They included omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, permission to omit the sign of the cross in baptism if the sponsors or the parents so wished, great changes in the Psalter, the reduction of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion to twenty, and the addition of prayers and thanksgivings. The changes in the "State Prayers" were obligatory, while the others were only *proposed*—and so gave the name to the *Proposed Prayer Book*, published in 1786. The Convention approved the alterations and referred them to the Church in the states represented.

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Another committee, headed by William White, drafted a constitution which also was adopted. It provided for a triennial General Convention representing the clergy and the laity, which would hold its first meeting in June 1786. The Church in each state would have one vote on all questions and a majority vote would be conclusive. State conventions also would consist of clerical and lay deputies. The Prayer Book of the Church of England must be used, with the General Convention's changes. A bishop in each state would be an *ex-officio* member of the General Convention, and would be chosen by the convention in his state and minister only there. The Church in any state would be admitted upon agreeing to the constitution. Every clergyman would be amenable to the authority of the state convention, respecting his suspension or removal from office, according to rules of conduct and an equitable mode of trial. The *Proposed Prayer Book* must be used when ratified by the state conventions. No person could be ordained or allowed to officiate until he had accepted a declaration of loyalty to the Holy Scriptures and to the doctrines and liturgy of the Church in the United States. The constitution must be considered as fundamental and binding, after ratification by the Church in the states.

Finally, the General Convention urged the state conventions to elect men for consecration as bishops without any temporal power or precedence, and considered a plan to obtain the episcopate from the Church of England. A letter, understood to have been composed by White, requested the English hierarchy to consecrate bishops for America, and expressed "an earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government handed down . . . as they conceive, from the time of the Apostles, and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy bishops of the primitive Church." The address was sent to John Adams, the American minister in England, who forwarded it to the Archbishop of

Canterbury, and the Convention appointed a committee to correspond with the English hierarchy during the recess.²⁶

THE CONSERVATIVES DISAPPROVE

If the Convention believed that its actions would be "unexceptionable," disillusionment came swiftly. The *Proposed Prayer Book* was unpopular, especially in the North, and White admitted that it had missed fire. Delaware did not even consider it, Pennsylvania desired the restoration of the Nicene Creed, Connecticut would admit only the changes in the "State Prayers." Bishop Seabury could hardly find words for his disgust, and denied the authority of a convention without bishops to make liturgical and constitutional changes contrary to the Church's traditions. He charged that the Convention had degraded the episcopate, "by lodging the chief authority in a Convention of clerical and lay delegates—making the Church Episcopal in its orders, but Presbyterian in its government." He asserted that the omission of the two creeds had "alarmed the steady friends of the Church, lest the doctrine of Christ's divinity should go out with them." The liberal Samuel Provoost of New York freely admitted that the book could not be adopted there "without danger of a schism," and it is said that only thirteen copies were sold in New York City.

The suggested constitution also met with a cool reception, mostly because it had been adopted without the presence of bishops. Seabury voiced the thoughts of many Jerseymen when he pointed out that there was no provision for a presiding bishop, that permitting the laity to share in government was not "the practice of the primitive Church," and that empowering state conventions to suspend or depose clergymen was a degradation of their office. The English bishops plainly informed the General Convention that they agreed with Seabury in the last objection.²⁷

NEW JERSEY CRITICIZES

New Jersey Churchmen received the General Convention's work with a decidedly critical eye, and their delegates to the second state convention in May 1786 met in a mood of annoyance and restless dissatisfaction. As they gathered in Saint Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, they probably realized that their position, between the strict conservatives of New England and the liberal Pennsylvanians and Southerners, would make their decisions important, far beyond their weight in numbers and the strength of the Church in New Jersey. They listened patiently (but probably with rising disapproval) to the proceedings of the General Convention, and referred the alterations in the Prayer Book to a committee for consideration.

While they unanimously approved the *political* accommodations in the Prayer Book and the address to the English hierarchy, after lengthy consideration they disapproved the other alterations in the liturgy as too radical in their departure from tradition, and rejected the proposed constitution. A committee headed by Abraham Beach was appointed to write a memorial stating their objections to the General Convention that would meet at Philadelphia in June. It had a sobering effect upon the General Convention by its dignified and eloquent protest, and by revealing the real danger of disunion in departing too widely from tradition. Noting that their disapproval was supported by the English hierarchy, the Jerseymen stated that the proposals in their opinion would postpone if not entirely prevent the favor desired from the Church of England.

"Your memorialists do not question the right of every national or independent church to make such alterations, from time to time, in the mode of its public worship, as upon mature consideration may be found expedient; but they doubt the right of any order or orders of men, in an episcopal church without a bishop, to make any alterations not warranted by

immediate necessity, especially such as not only go to the mode of its worship, but also to its doctrines."

Frankly they resented making changes without previous review and approval by the New Jersey convention, without any chance to express their own and their constituents' feelings. What those feelings were appears in a passage of restrained eloquence, defending the ancient usages:

"The prejudices and prepossessions of mankind in favour of old customs, especially in religious matters, are generally so strong as to require great delicacy and caution in the introduction of any alterations or innovations, although manifestly for the better; which was also one reason, why they could not at this time ratify the alterations so unnecessarily made. And they are very apprehensive that until alterations can be made consistent with the customs of the primitive church, and with the rules of the Church of England, from which it is our boast to have descended, a ratification of them would create great uneasiness in the minds of many members of the church, and in great probability cause dissensions and schisms. Although they may not disapprove of all the alterations made in the said new book, yet they have to regret the unseasonableness and irregularity of them.

"Your memorialists having an anxious desire of cementing, perpetuating and extending the union so happily begun in the church, with all deference and submission, humbly request and entreat the said general convention now soon to meet, that they will revise the proceedings of the said late convention, and their aforesaid committee, and remove every cause that may have excited any jealousy or fear, that the episcopal church in the United States of America have any intention or desire essentially to depart, either in doctrine or discipline, from the church of England; but, on the contrary, to convince the world that it is their wish and intention to maintain the doctrines of the gospel, as now held by the church of England, and to adhere to the lit-

urgy of the said church, as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution and the constitutions of the respective states: thereby removing every obstacle in the way of obtaining the consecration of such, and so many persons to the episcopal character, as shall render our ecclesiastical government complete; and secure to the Episcopalians in America, and to their descendants, a succession of that necessary order. And that they will use all means in their power to promote and perpetuate harmony and unanimity among ourselves, and with the said church of England, as a mother or sister church."

The importance of the memorial lies in its insistence upon loyalty to the traditional liturgy and episcopal government. It placed the Church in New Jersey squarely beside Bishop Seabury and his followers, in opposition to a half-presbyterian form of government and to extremely "broad" doctrine. As if to underline their position, the Jerseymen appointed their own committee, including Beach and Ogden and three lay deputies, to correspond with the English hierarchy, according to the General Convention's plan to secure American bishops.²⁸ To represent their position at the General Convention, the delegates elected the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Ayres, Ogden, Frazer, and Rowland; and of the laity, the Hon. David Brearley, Esq., of Trenton, James Parker and Matthias Halstead of Perth Amboy, John De Hart of Elizabeth Town, Henry Waddell of Shrewsbury, and Abraham Ogden of Newark, Esqs.²⁹

When they appeared at Christ Church in Philadelphia on June 20, these deputies met representatives from New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, but again none from New England. The Rev. David Griffith of Virginia, formerly a missionary at Gloucester and Waterford, took the president's chair, and Francis Hopkinson, a former member of Saint Mary's, Burlington, began keeping the minutes as secretary.

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GENERAL CONVENTION RETREATS TO CONSERVATISM

The chief purpose of the General Convention of 1786 was to hear the reply of the English hierarchy to a request for the consecration of bishops. The letter, signed by both archbishops and eighteen of the twenty-four bishops in England, expressed their distress upon hearing rumors of sweeping departures from the Church's traditional government and liturgy. Nothing, they said, was dearer to their hearts than to promote the welfare of the Church in the United States. But they wished to be "extremely cautious, lest we should be the instrument of establishing an Ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or discipline."³⁰

The convention quickly saw that those fears would have to be quieted, and therefore replied:

"We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships, that we neither have departed, nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our civil Constitutions; and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate, than to dispute."

The Convention answered criticisms of the proposed constitution by making important changes, mostly to broaden the powers and functions of the episcopate. Every bishop should be an *ex-officio* member of the General Convention, and a bishop should preside. When officiating outside his particular diocese, a bishop could perform any episcopal act. One or more bishops must be present at every trial of a bishop,

and none but a bishop could pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation upon a clergyman. The article on ordination was changed to provide that every candidate must be examined by a bishop and two presbyters, and exhibit "testimonials of his moral conduct for three years past, signed by the Minister and a majority of the Vestry of the church where he has last resided." Hoping that these reforms would meet objections and secure the favor of the English Lordships, the Convention adjourned on call to wait for their answer.³¹

New Jersey Churchmen were anxious to keep in close touch with events in the General Convention, and to be informed of every move in the negotiations between the American Church and the English episcopate. They therefore held another convention at Burlington on September 27-28, 1786, and heard a letter from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the president of the General Convention, which he had received in June; also one from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the committee of the General Convention, dated July 4, 1786, and enclosing an Act of Parliament, providing for the consecration of bishops for foreign countries. The delegates patiently heard the journal of the General Convention read, and appointed four clerical and four lay deputies to the adjourned General Convention to be held in Wilmington, Delaware, on October 10, 1786. The clergy and the laity each appointed their own deputies, to be approved by the other order, but that procedure was not supposed to be a general rule. The deputies were the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Ayers, Frazer, and Ogden, John Chetwood of Elizabeth Town, Henry Waddell of Shrewsbury, Joshua M. Wallace of Burlington, and John Cox of Trenton.³²

The General Convention was happy to learn that the English hierarchy had secured Parliament's permission to consecrate bishops for foreign parts without requiring the oath of allegiance to the King. But some of the deputies must have heard with mingled feelings that the archbishops and their

episcopal brethren were grieved by the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and of the article in the Apostles' Creed relating to the descent into hell. It was obvious that there must be a return to conservatism, and the Convention appointed a committee, including Uzal Ogden and Henry Waddell of New Jersey, to make alterations in that direction. The Nicene Creed returned by unanimous consent, and New Jersey voted to restore the descent clause to the Apostles' Creed, which was done with permission to use either creed. Some Jerseymen voted to restore the Athanasian Creed, and while that move failed, there can be no doubt that most New Jersey Churchmen welcomed the conservative reaction as far as it went. The Convention reported these changes to the archbishops, with thanks for their influence in obtaining the episcopate act from Parliament.³³

Although the delegates probably went to their homes with a feeling of satisfaction, New Jersey was still highly critical. The convention in June 1787 devoted much time and patience to a careful comparison of the suggested liturgy with the old one, and decided that everything was in favor of the latter. Their frank disapproval of the suggested innovations and their instructions to their deputies to General Convention to oppose them were severe blows to those who still hoped that the *Proposed Prayer Book* would be accepted.³⁴

The Jerseymen probably were the more inclined to take a firm attitude, because they had recently seen the fulfilment of their long-cherished hope for an American episcopate. In anticipation of the English bishops' acceptance of the conservative changes in the Prayer Book and the constitution, the state conventions had elected Samuel Provoost of New York, William White of Pennsylvania, and David Griffith of Virginia as candidates for consecration. Circumstances in Virginia compelled Griffith to withdraw his acceptance, but White and Provoost made the long and risky voyage to England. They were consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace

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near London on February 4, 1787, and returned to New York on Easter Sunday, April 7th.³⁵

With their arrival on that joyous festival the American Church became *really episcopal*. But the future was still cloudy, because there remained the embarrassing question: would Bishop Seabury's Scottish consecration be recognized by the other bishops and by General Convention? He and the New England clergy were still standing aloof, and knew that they had strong friends in New Jersey, who deeply revered the office of a bishop. For the final answer to the problem, the Jerseymen had to wait more than two years, until the third General Convention in 1789. In the meantime they had been busy in perfecting their own constitution and customs.

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

Rapid progress was made in the second state convention of May 1786, whose delegates and devoted industry showed an amazing awakening from the apathy which Beach had lamented in 1784. Twenty-six delegates included four priests (Beach, Ogden, Frazer, and Ayres) and represented eleven churches, including for the first time Saint Andrew's at Amwell, Saint Peter's, Spotswood, Christ Church in Middletown, and Saint Michael's, Trenton. Elizabeth Town sent six delegates, New Brunswick three, and Shrewsbury and Middletown three.³⁶

After electing Beach and Ogden as president and secretary, the convention vigorously attacked a mass of business, and within four days practically organized the Church in New Jersey. The delegates decided to vote by congregations, and that, until after the adoption of a constitution, the clergy and the laity should deliberate together but vote separately, their agreement being necessary to the validity of every act. Beach and Ogden of the clergy, with Matthias Halstead, James Parker and John Chetwood of the laity, were appointed to

draft rules and regulations. After many hours of hard work, they reported a full set of rules for the government of "the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of New Jersey," to be used until the establishment of a permanent constitution. The term "diocese" was significantly omitted, because in their opinion there was no such thing as a diocese without a bishop.

The convention conscientiously read the report paragraph by paragraph, weighed every word, and accepted it for entry in the minutes with the signatures of the president and the secretary.³⁷

According to the "Rules and Regulations," the annual convention must meet in June, beginning in 1787. All clergymen settled in parishes should be *ex-officio* members and every congregation should send one or more deputies who could make motions, debate, and vote. Six congregations must be represented to form a convention, and it was recommended that each parish send at least three deputies to avoid tie votes and lack of adequate representation. It was also recommended that deputies be elected at the same time as vestrymen, in order to give them proper credentials and provide alternates. This is the present general procedure in the American Church. No act could be conclusive without the concurrence of a majority of each order, the clergy voting singly and the laity by congregations. Every convention should have a clerical president and vice-president elected by ballot, but when a bishop should be obtained, he would be president *ex-officio*. On special occasion and with the approval of the vestries of two parishes, the president or vice-president might call an extraordinary meeting.

Detailed provisions concerning candidates for holy orders reflected serious concern about the postwar confusion, when "exhorters" and other unauthorized persons ministered without official permission. All recommendations of candidates must be made by at least three clergymen residing in the state, but a deficiency in that number could be made up from a

neighboring state. The candidate's good character had to be certified to the bishop by the vestry of the place where he had lived for at least a year, or by the nearest vestry. No person could be recommended unless one or more churches in the state requested him to be their pastor and promised him a decent support during his good behavior, excepting when he agreed to serve for a limited time. No clergyman of the Church could officiate without subscribing a declaration of faith in the Bible as the Word of God, and of loyalty to the discipline of the Church and to its doctrines and worship as set forth in the Prayer Book. The declaration had to be made to the vestry, before the convention in session, or before the president during a recess, and the convention should keep a record of it as ratified by the candidate.

The convention passed several other acts designed to introduce better order and discipline into the shattered Church. Some churches were showing a disposition to ignore the convention, which decided to be firm with them, and appointed a committee headed by Uzal Ogden to urge all those previously unrepresented to appoint deputies to the next meeting. Deputies evidently had not been taking their duty of constant attendance very seriously, and they were disciplined by a rule that *no* member could leave a session without express permission. To make sure that deputies actually attended General Convention, it was voted to pay their expenses, so that there would be no excuse on the grounds of poverty. That nobody should ever misunderstand or forget what had been decided, the convention voted to procure a minute book for its proceedings, to be read at every succeeding convention.³⁸

The spirit of revival and the longing for good order appeared also in the second convention of 1786, in Burlington on September 27-28. The clergymen present were Ogden, Beach, Frazer, and Ayers, the faithful band who had kept the flame burning on the altar through the darkest days. There were twenty-one lay deputies, and the number of churches

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represented—thirteen—was the largest up to that time, including for the first time Kingwood, Allentown, and Coles-town or Waterford. Much of the session was devoted to a scrupulous effort to review and rectify the convention's records. A committee was appointed to examine the minutes of the convention in May and compare them with the transcription into the record book. They reported and the convention agreed that the report might have been shortened, and that the minutes should always be carefully corrected by a committee before being permanently recorded. To keep the proceedings and records as brief as possible, it was decided that nobody should speak more than three times in any debate, except by express permission. A committee headed by Frazer was ordered to revise and publish the proceedings of both conventions in 1786, the expenses to be met by the churches in proportion to the number of copies they would take. Subscriptions for over four hundred copies revealed the steadily reviving strength of the Church in New Jersey.³⁹

ADOPTING CANONS

The fourth convention, at Perth Amboy on June 6-9, 1787, consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Frazer and Rowland, and fourteen laymen representing eight churches. After electing Beach and Frazer as president and vice-president, the delegates started a democratic custom by opening the doors of their convention to anybody who wanted to know the proceedings. Annoyed by the laxity of clerical attendance, the convention requested absent priests to attend during the rest of the session, and the president was asked to remind Chandler and Ogden that their attention would be appreciated. It was decided to hold future meetings in the following places, in the order named: Shrewsbury, Elizabeth Town, Trenton, New Brunswick, Burlington, and Perth Amboy. In 1789, by request of its deputies, Trinity Church in Newark was inserted after Trenton.⁴⁰

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So pressing was the accumulation of business that the convention sat for four days and even held an evening session. Its time was consumed mostly by the discussion, adoption, and alteration of rules. One of the regulations later caused much trouble: until there should be nine clergymen in New Jersey, the convention would admit those resident in other states, when duly delegated by pastorless congregations, provided they had previously officiated as settled pastors in New Jersey churches. The idea was to benefit by the advice of priests who were well informed in ecclesiastical matters. Years later, when Uzal Ogden was elected bishop, opponents contended that some of the clergy who voted for him were not canonically resident in New Jersey.

The rules and regulations regarding candidates for orders had given some trouble, and the convention therefore changed them to provide that recommendations would have to be signed by at least three clergymen resident in the state or members of the convention, also by the vestrymen where the candidate had resided for at least two years, or by the nearest ones, who should certify his religious life and conversation to the bishop.

The most weighty business was the adoption of a set of canons. A committee headed by Beach was appointed to revise those of the Church of England, retaining those "essentially necessary for the government of the... Church in New-Jersey." The convention carefully read and amended their report, and decided to add the canons to the other rules and regulations, and to prefix to the canons the rule admitting non-resident clergymen to seats, also to adopt some additional rules and regulations. No person could be a deputy to the General or the State Convention, or serve as a vestryman, warden, or other parish officer, without publicly declaring himself a member of the Church, and professing to believe in its manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons as "most agreeable to the Word of God." Nobody

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could hold such offices if he had stated that the Episcopal Church did not teach and maintain the doctrines of the Apostles, or if he had called its form of worship in the Prayer Book and its administration of the sacraments corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful or containing anything repugnant to the Scriptures, or had reviled or condemned the Church's rites and ceremonies, discipline and government.

Largely because of Methodist influence, there had been considerable laxity regarding permission to preach in the churches, and in the performance of services. The new regulations decreed that any clergymen who should disregard the above rules, or should take undue liberties with the liturgy, must be censured as the convention might think fit. The same censure would apply to any minister, warden, or other Church officer who allowed any man to preach in a church without an episcopal license. Under penalty of censure, every clergyman must behave as worthy of his sacred office in life, manners and conversation, and strive to edify the Church, "having always in mind, that he ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be an example to the people, to live in a christian-like manner." Violations of these rules would be examined by the convention. In the trial of a clergymen a bishop would preside, and in that case would be considered as a member of the convention.

The convention had heard disturbing reports of carelessness in keeping parochial records and maintaining constant services. The new rules stated that the wardens of every parish must provide a proper register for baptisms, marriages and burials, including those not yet recorded, so far as proper vouchers could be procured. The minister (or if there were none, one of the wardens) should record the names of all persons baptized, with the names of their parents, also the names of all persons married and buried, with the dates, and certify the entries. Finally, the convention advised congregations to open their churches *every* Sunday and to appoint

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proper persons to read divine service when there was no clergyman.⁴¹

PERFECTING THE ORGANIZATION

So much of the intense labor of organization had already been accomplished that the fifth convention, held at Christ Church in Shrewsbury, June 4-5, 1788, was rather short. The attendance was the largest up to that time, consisting of twenty-four lay deputies representing thirteen churches, and the Rev. Messrs. Uzal Ogden, William Frazer, Henry Waddell of Shrewsbury, and Joseph G. J. Bend of Perth Amboy. Saint James' Church, Knowlton, and Saint Peter's, Freehold, were represented for the first time.

The sessions opened with prayers by Mr. Bend and a sermon by Ogden. Waddell as vice-president took the president's chair in the absence of Beach, and Matthias Halstead of Perth Amboy was unanimously chosen as secretary. The convention ordered that the yeas and nays on any question should be recorded, upon a motion made and seconded. Ogden, seconded by Abraham Hewlings of Burlington, attempted to persuade the convention to abolish the article of the Rules and Regulations concerning the admission of non-resident clergymen to sit in the convention, or to make the number of residents six instead of nine, but was voted down. The delegates were willing, however, to except lectures or "other particular occasions" from the rule regarding censure of clergymen who did not respect their declaration of loyalty or conform to the liturgy.

For the first time the convention considered the matter of parochial reports, which had been almost completely neglected. Congregations were *enjoined* to enable their deputies to make complete reports, including the number of families, the amount of endowment funds, the state of clerical services, and copies of their charters or acts of incorporation.⁴² Events proved that congregations were inclined to view such matters

as their own business and to make reports when they pleased.

Their attitude became painfully evident at the sixth convention, held in Saint John's Church, Elizabeth Town, June 3-5, 1789. The attendance of six clergymen was the largest up to that time, and included Ogden of Newark, Frazer from Amwell, Waddell of Middletown and Shrewsbury, Spierin of Perth Amboy, Heath of Burlington, and Samuel Spraggs of Mount Holly. Twelve churches were represented by twenty-three delegates, including one from Woodbridge for the first time. But the expected parochial reports did not appear, and the convention decided that the resolution of last year had not been sufficiently known, and resolved that reports must be submitted *next* year. That, too, turned out to be optimistic. Reports of disgracefully neglected cemeteries inspired a recommendation to clear and enclose them, and not to allow them to be used for any other purpose, such as pasturing cattle, which had been altogether too common a practice.⁴³

Another disturbingly lax practice had been the admission of clergymen to seats in the convention without any strict inquiry into their credentials. On motion by Uzal Ogden, the convention unanimously decided that the clergy should be required to bring their letters of orders to the next meeting. No clergyman should be admitted as a member at any future session, unless he could produce his letters of orders and satisfactory testimonials of his religious life and conversation.⁴⁴

There had been also a lack of definition of requirements respecting candidates for holy orders, and after a thorough discussion the convention unanimously adopted the qualifications suggested in a committee report. They required every candidate to have a thorough and grammatical knowledge of English, and to be able to translate the Greek Testament into Latin and English, to write an essay in Latin and English on any given subject in Theology, and to have a competent knowledge of history and divinity. He should pass an examina-

tion before the convention if it were sitting, otherwise before at least three clerical members, the president or vice-president being one of them. The candidate would be expected to deliver one or two discourses in church. The certificate of his examination and qualifications, with the requirements in the Rules and Regulations, would be sufficient for his application to a bishop for ordination.

The convention was unwilling to exclude men who had not been able to acquire the literary qualifications, but gave evidence of natural ability, piety and exemplary lives, who ardently desired to enter the ministry, and might promote the welfare of religion. They might be recommended for ordination, if they could satisfy the convention, or at least two-thirds of the clerical members and of the congregations, that they could not conveniently obtain the literary education. They must give the convention satisfactory certificates of moral life and exemplary behavior for two years previous. In an examination before the convention, they should show a competent knowledge of divinity and Church history, a grammatical knowledge of English, ability to give a discourse in theology, and ability in composition. If they could survive the ordeal, the convention would consider that they had met the requirements of the Rules and Regulations.⁴⁵

According to the democratic and enlightened spirit of the period, the convention desired an educated laity as well as a trained clergy, and to encourage reading of the Holy Scriptures. At that time Isaac Collins, the official printer of the state of New Jersey, proposed to print a large quarto edition of the Bible by subscription. The convention stated that correct versions of the Bible were "of the utmost consequence," and earnestly recommended to the congregations "to encourage this laudable American undertaking," by getting subscriptions and giving it every other help in their power.⁴⁶

For some time there had been a growing dissatisfaction with the order of business, and the delegates adopted unani-

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mously a set of rules reported by a special committee. Every convention should open with a sermon, and each day's business with prayers, and there should be prayers and a sermon in the evening when convenient. The president, vice-president, and secretary should officiate until the election of their successors at the next annual meeting, whose first business would be the election of those officers. The previous day's proceedings must be read before each day's business, and the minutes of each session before its rising. Members wishing to speak must rise and address the president, and if two rose at once, the president would determine precedence and decide controversies about order. No motion would be entertained unless seconded, but a motion to adjourn should be put without debate. The clergy and the laity must be represented equally in all committees except the whole. At the president's request or on motion, the convention might become a committee of the whole, after taking a question. No member could speak more than twice on the same question without leave by the president, or more than three times on any occasion. No member could leave the convention without permission, under penalty of censure to be recorded in the minutes. Two-thirds of each order might expel a member for improper conduct during a sitting. No minutes could be recorded or published except by a committee of four, with three consenting. Each order should appoint its own deputies to the General Convention, with the approval of the other order.⁴⁷

NEW JERSEY'S ATTITUDE IN 1789

By far the most important business was to instruct deputies to the General Convention of 1789, to represent frankly New Jersey's attitude regarding the adoption of a Prayer Book and a constitution. The convention appointed the Rev. Messrs. Frazer and Spraggs and Messrs. Chetwood and Robert S. Jones to prepare instructions. The deputies were not left in doubt regarding their duty:

"This convention being of opinion that the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, have no intention or desire essentially to depart either in doctrine or mode of worship from the church of England, as a mother or sister church; but on the contrary that it is their wish to maintain the doctrine of the gospel as now held by that church, and to adhere to the liturgy thereof, so far as shall be consistent with the American revolution, and the constitution of the United States, firmly persuaded that its doctrines are warranted by the holy scripture, and its mode of worship most rational and edifying. But the general convention held in September and October, 1785, having in our opinion unnecessarily abridged and altered the Psalter and version of the Psalms, and other parts of the book of common prayer.

"We therefore instruct you, gentleman, our representatives, to use your endeavors to render the deviations from the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments of the church of England, as few as may be, and to make all reasonable opposition to such alterations, as may in your opinion be unnecessary.

"And we further recommend to you, to endeavor to preserve the articles of religion, the Psalter, and the version of the Psalms, in their original plenitude and extent.

"And lastly, as we are unanimously of opinion, that the union of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and uniformity in its government, are necessary for its prosperity and welfare, and ought to be promoted by all Episcopalians, we do therefore earnestly recommend to you, to move for, and use your endeavors to effect the same."⁴⁸

The delegates entrusted with that weighty charge were the Rev. Messrs. Uzal Ogden, Henry Waddell, William Frazer and George H. Spierin, and the laymen John Cox, Samuel Ogden, Robert Strettell Jones and James Parker.⁴⁹

NEW JERSEY IN GENERAL CONVENTION: 1789

When they entered the General Convention at Christ Church in Philadelphia on July 28, 1789, they were among an unprecedented number of deputies—thirty-three—from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina. They found also a more hopeful atmosphere than formerly, for since the meeting in 1786 the leaders had been drawn closer together by Bishop White's tact and diplomacy and Bishop Seabury's anxiety to prevent disunion. White presided while Provoost was ill in New York and Seabury waited upon events. Some of the New Jersey deputies were well acquainted with the brilliant man who sat at the secretary's table—Francis Hopkinson, formerly of their state.⁵⁰

The General Convention adopted ten canons for the Church's government and altered the constitution to provide that when there were three or more bishops they should sit as a separate house and have a limited negative upon the acts of the House of Deputies. By unanimously resolving that Seabury's consecration was valid, the deputies took a long step towards union with the New England churches. Their decision was due to the reading of a letter from Seabury to White, saying, "For my own part, gladly would I contribute to the union and uniformity of all our churches. But while Bishop Provoost disputes the validity of my consecration, I can take no step toward the accomplishment of so great and desirable objects." The Convention informed him and all the unrepresented churches that it would adjourn to await their attendance "for the good purpose of union and general government."⁵¹

The adjourned General Convention met on September 29, 1789, to perfect the Church's union, discipline, uniformity and government. For the first time there were representatives from New England: Bishop Seabury, the Rev.

Samuel Parker as deputy from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the Rev. Messrs. Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis from Connecticut. Seabury brought his letters of consecration and joined with White to form the first House of Bishops. The New Englanders were willing to approve the constitution, with an amendment giving the bishops the right to originate legislation and to veto acts of the deputies. The first proposition was accepted, the second was postponed to the next Convention, and the Yankees agreed and took their seats.⁵²

Warned by the discontent aroused by the *Proposed Book*, the Convention prepared a Prayer Book with an obvious desire to please the conservatives of New England and New Jersey, and to flout English tradition as little as possible. As a gesture of friendliness to Connecticut, White was willing to restore the Athanasian Creed with *permission* to use it, but the House of Deputies objected and the New Englanders reluctantly abandoned it. Bishop Seabury attained his dear desire in the adoption of the Scottish Prayer of Consecration in the Communion Office, which he had recommended to his churches in Connecticut, according to a promise to his Scottish consecrators. Probably that alone was worth more than the loss of other things he and his friends would have been pleased to see adopted. Because they felt that the Prayer Book itself is a statement of doctrine, they did not object strongly when the Articles of Religion were left for further consideration.

The venerable Book of Common Prayer did not escape some tinkering, for the spirit of the time was "rational" and reforming. New sentences appeared in Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Te Deum people would notice the new words, "Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a Virgin." There were also new prayers for the President of the United States, for Congress, and for all in civil authority. In reciting the Apostles' Creed, the minister and the people might say "He went into the place of departed spirits," instead of "He descended into Hell," for the latter word had become very

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"Gothick" to gentlemen of the eighteenth century. The minister would be suffered to add the summary "Thou shalt love . . ." to the Ten Commandments, to "give to the weight of Moses, the greater authority of our Saviour."⁵³

While the Convention perhaps did not completely satisfy all of them, the New Jersey deputies must have returned to their homes with a sense of genuine victory. They could present to their constituents a fully organized Church with Bishops, a Constitution, Canons, and a Prayer Book not so radically changed as they had feared. No small share of the credit for that accomplishment was due to their patience and persistence in standing for the primitive principles of the Church. Their triumph must have been peculiarly pleasant to a dying old man in Elizabeth Town, Dr. Chandler, whose sufferings from cancer were somewhat assuaged by the knowledge that the Church in America at last had attained what he had been fighting for since he came to New Jersey as a young missionary.

UNITY ACHIEVED: 1790

When the seventh New Jersey Convention assembled at Saint Michael's Church in Trenton, on June 2, 1790, the delegates could feel that after six years of struggle the Church's future was assured. The dawn of a more orderly era seemed to break when parochial reports were presented from Saint Mary's in Burlington and Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, and two of the clergy (Uzal Ogden and Levi Heath) presented their letters of orders. The convention appointed a standing committee to recommend candidates for holy orders, and tightened the discipline by an addition to the Rules and Regulations. No minister or clergyman of the Church should hold any religious meeting or society, or publicly preach or "exhort" in any place having a resident or settled minister, except occasionally at the minister's particular request or that of the parish in his absence, at a funeral or some other unusual and

necessary occasion.⁵⁴ Methodism was definitely warned to depart.

On the second and final day, the deputies to General Convention reported their cooperation in forming and establishing the Church's Constitution, Canons, and Prayer Book, and received the convention's unanimous thanks. The delegates resolved that the Church in New Jersey was bound by their action, but could not let the occasion pass without stating their belief that the House of Bishops should have a *full* negative upon the proceedings of the House of Deputies. In confidence that some day that power of the episcopate would be recognized, the convention inscribed on its minutes the General Convention's resolution accepting Seabury's consecration. The deputies also accepted the minutes noting the New Englanders' attendance, their agreement to the constitution and taking their seats, the Convention's agreement to use the Prayer Book from October 1, 1790, the general canons passed on October 16, 1789, and the constitution dated October 2, 1789, and signed by Uzal Ogden, William Frazer, Samuel Ogden, and Robert Strettell Jones.⁵⁵

On June 3 the convention adjourned without day, and the five priests (Frazer, Ogden, Waddell, Spraggs and Heath) and the thirteen lay delegates rode home over the dirt roads, through the spring woodlands and past growing crops. It was the growing season again in New Jersey, and in a few months the harvest would be gathered in. They also had planted where others would reap. They had watered and tended the field sown by the missionaries. Now it comprises two dioceses and hundreds of parishes and missions. There have been few more startling examples in history of the vitality of our Holy Church.

EPILOGUE

Growth and Progress During a Century and a Half 1800-1950

THE mental peace of the priests who returned from the diocesan convention of 1790 would have been disturbed if they could have realized how distant was the fruition of their work! Thirty years passed before the Church had recovered from the Revolutionary chaos and could advance again. The war left a weary burden of popular dislike and prejudice, which would vanish only with the generation who had known its terrors and hatreds.

The quarter of a century after the convention of 1790 was one of painfully slow growth. A handful of priests carried the burdens of parishes and missions weakened by the departure of Loyalist exiles, by post-war poverty, by apathy due to long interruptions of services, and by the active hostility of Deism and atheism and the ultra-liberal attitude of the educated classes. From 1790 to 1799, there were never more than eight clergymen at a convention, in the latter year only thirteen parishes sent delegates, and as late as 1814 there were only seven Episcopal clergymen residing in the state.

But that period was by no means barren. A growing sense of loyalty and discipline appeared in 1794, when the convention made baptism and "good character" necessary qualifications for holding Church offices. Zeal for missions was not dead, and that convention directed its treasurer to pay to General Convention certain contributions "for supporting missionaries on the frontiers." In 1795 the delegates displayed a wise conservatism by resolving that "this Convention agree to vest the House of Bishops with a full negative on the pro-

ceedings of the House of Deputies in General Convention."

For thirty years after 1785, the clergy and the laity acted without the guidance of a bishop. New Jersey was an "acephalous" (headless) diocese. Episcopal acts were performed by bishops in neighboring states, generally White of Pennsylvania and Moore and Hobart of New York. Three bishops came to the General Convention (the first of two to be held in New Jersey) at St. Michael's, Trenton, September 8-12, 1801. They were White of Pennsylvania, Claggett of Maryland, and Jarvis of Connecticut. The secretary of the House of Bishops was the Rev. Henry Waddell, rector of St. Michael's, Trenton. The president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies was the Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D., formerly rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick.

That General Convention was notable for two events. One was the legal establishment, September 12, of the "Thirty-nine Articles," still printed as an appendix to the Book of Common Prayer. The other was the consecration of Benjamin Moore as Bishop Coadjutor of New York, on September 11.

New Jersey had already tried to obtain a bishop. An "ad-journed" convention met in New Brunswick on August 15-16, 1798, "for the express purpose of deliberating on the expediency of electing a Bishop." It was an unusually large gathering, comprising seven clergymen and deputies from twenty-two congregations. The choice fell upon the Rev. Uzal Ogden, D. D., rector of Trinity Church in Newark. The House of Deputies in the General Convention refused to confirm him, ostensibly because not all the voting clergymen had been canonically resident. A later New Jersey convention declared that the election had been "regular in every respect," but the House of Deputies still declined to agree, and Ogden never was consecrated. The real reason for rejecting him is given by Bishop White in his *Memoirs*:

"The truth is, that the gentleman elected was considered by his brethren generally, as being more

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attached to the doctrines and practices obtaining in some other churches, than to those of his own.”¹

The objectors to the confirmation of his election found justification in Ogden's later secession to the Presbyterians after a quarrel with his parish, his refusal to accept a fair judgment of the diocesan convention, and his consequent suspension from the ministry.² Until this quarrel arose, according to Bishop White, considerable apprehension existed as to what Ogden and his supporters would do:

“Until this took place, the few gentlemen referred to had adopted so zealously the cause of the rejected clergyman, that they contemplated an application to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. This would certainly have failed: but the project was communicated by one of the gentlemen to the author” [Bishop White].³

About 1810 the Church in New Jersey began to emerge from a long comparative quiescence, and “the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees” was heard.⁴

The first “sound of a going” occurred on May 28, 1809, in Trinity Church, Swedesborough, which, although of colonial foundation (1703), was Swedish Lutheran until 1786 when it passed under the jurisdiction of the Episcopal Church. On that Trinity Sunday, Bishop William White of Pennsylvania confirmed 251 persons presented by the rector, Simon Wilmer, father of Bishop Joseph P. B. Wilmer of Louisiana. It was the first confirmation service ever held in the state, and it created a sensation. It stimulated others of the clergy to do likewise. In July 1812, Bishop Hobart confirmed 74 persons in St. John's, Elizabeth Town; and on October 18th of the same year, Hobart confirmed 50 persons in St. Peter's, Perth Amboy. The next year, 1813, Hobart confirmed 42 persons in Trinity Church, Newark, and White confirmed

¹For the text of this and other numbers, *see below*, “Notes.”

36 in St. Mary's, Burlington. This was a total of but 453 confirmands in five years in five parishes, and there were to be no more until New Jersey had its own bishop; but it was a beginning of revival and growth which has never since ceased, for the regular administration of confirmation has been the principal means of the growth of the Church both in and out of New Jersey.

Another sign of returning health was the organization on October 12, 1810, of "The Episcopal Society of New Jersey for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Piety." It is commonly mentioned in the old diocesan *Journals* as "The Episcopal Society of New Jersey," and is now called "The Christian Knowledge Society." Its purposes as stated in the constitution were to provide a fund to buy and distribute Bibles, Prayer Books, and religious tracts to the poor; and to aid young men "of piety and talents" in preparation for the ministry. In 1822, the directors were empowered to appropriate the interest on the endowment to aid the missionary fund.

Although the Society had no heavily endowed parishes to help it, and depended upon a few Churchmen in the northern counties for leadership and support, its activities largely accounted for the revival after 1810. In 1879 a committee reported to the diocesan convention of New Jersey that to this Society the diocese was "more indebted in its early history for efficient aid in establishing and building the Church than to any single organization."⁵ It taught rather somnolent and satisfied Churchmen to look out upon the fields "white already to harvest."⁶ It trained them to shoulder responsibilities outside of their parochial bounds and interests, and was the first agency in the diocese to mobilize Church women through organizing parochial auxiliaries, beginning in 1816. Its significance was far out of proportion to the money it spent—which now would seem trifling—or to the amount of literature it distributed.

THE EPISCOPATE OF JOHN CROES: 1815-1832

The new stir of life made the inconvenience of not having a bishop intolerable, and the convention in St. Michael's, Trenton, August 30, 1815, elected the Rev. John Croes, D. D., rector of Christ Church in New Brunswick and treasurer of the diocese. On November 19th, he was consecrated the sixteenth in the American succession in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, by the Presiding Bishop, William White of Pennsylvania, John Henry Hobart, Assistant Bishop of New York, and James Kemp, Suffragan Bishop of Maryland. New Jersey was the ninth state to receive its own bishop, thirty-one years after the American Church had received the episcopate.

In Croes, the diocese received a chief pastor it knew and trusted, one who had been elected as Bishop of Connecticut, but who preferred to be among his friends in New Jersey. He was born in Elizabeth Town on June 1, 1762, and was a man of the people, the son of Polish immigrants who ran a bakery. When the Revolution broke out, he was studying for the ministry; but he enlisted in the Continental Army at sixteen, and rose to the rank of sergeant-major. After the war he taught a school, in 1790 Bishop White ordained him as a deacon, and in 1792 a priest. In 1792 Croes was called as rector of Trinity Church, Swedesborough, which under his care became one of the state's largest parishes.

In 1801, Croes accepted a joint call to be rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, and principal of the Grammar School of Queen's (now Rutgers) College, because neither one could afford to engage his services separately. According to the historian of Rutgers College, "The school gained a national reputation," and encouraged the trustees to reopen the College, which had been closed.⁷ In 1808, he resigned the principalship because of ill health and the increasing pressure of church duties. He retained the rectorship of the parish until his death,

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July 30, 1832, because the diocese could not afford their bishop a living salary.

Although Croes was not brilliant, he was solid, reliable, and conscientious. The condition of the diocese challenged his full ability. There were but twenty-seven organized congregations—only a few more than at the outbreak of the Revolution. Seven had a constant ministry, and four or five others were served on part time. The clergy numbered nine, but only six were instituted rectors.

The bishop met the situation head-on, and at the close of his episcopate in 1832 the number of clergymen had risen to eighteen, serving thirty-two congregations and nine hundred communicants. The diocese had several flourishing organizations, including the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, the Missionary Fund, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety. Mentioning Croes' death to the General Convention of 1832, the diocese reported:

"In him the Diocese lost a head who had presided over it for nearly seventeen years, with great credit to himself and usefulness to the Church—a friend who gave his heart, affections and time to the service of his spiritual charge, with a disinterestedness seldom surpassed—a friend who had been with and aided in sustaining the Church during the period of her greatest depression, and who, having thus for more than forty years persevered in laboring for her, lived at last to see her elevated from her low estate, and rising into strength and influence. As Bishop Croes was the first spiritual head the Diocese ever possessed, so he may be justly said to have been the originator and author, directly or indirectly, of almost all the institutions connected with the Diocese. He loved to labor for the Church. Her welfare was his greatest delight."⁸

Bishop Croes adjusted his Church to new social and political conditions.

"We owe a debt of gratitude to him," wrote Dean Baker. "He was the first to make trial of the adaptiveness of the episcopate to the needs of our people; the first to show how a bishop should behave himself among communities which were greatly prejudiced against him as being an aristocratic and pompous official of a state-bound church. He had no trodden paths to guide him; he had to hew his own way, a pioneer, and met with many difficulties, yet his firm but conciliatory advocacy of the Church's principles found favor through the purity, simplicity and devotion of his life . . . He was not restrained from active labor by the infirmities of age, and he went down gradually and gently to his grave, leaving as a legacy to his family, his Diocese, and the world a character pre-eminently honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report."

FACTORS IN THE CHURCH'S GROWTH

Even with a bishop the Church's growth was modest until after 1830. That was due not only to the aftermath of revolution and war, but also to New Jersey's character as an agricultural community with a slowly growing population. The state indeed lagged far behind its two giant neighbors, New York and Pennsylvania. While poor little "Jersey" slightly more than doubled its population from 1790 to 1840, the Empire State grew more than seven-fold and the Quaker commonwealth about fourfold. Until the decade 1850-1860, the state's decennial rate of increase was below that of the nation and generally limped well behind the rates of its big neighbors. They had good unoccupied lands, but New Jersey did not, and so lost swarms of the young people to whom the Church would naturally look for growth.

But between 1840 and 1850, New Jersey's rate of increase made a spectacular advance and zoomed ahead of New York's, and the trend continued until the depression of the 1930's. The explanation was rapid industrialization, which

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raised the percentage of urban population from practically zero in 1800 to over seventeen per cent in 1850, and almost eighty-three per cent in 1930.⁹

The Episcopal Church in this country—rather unfortunately—has generally grown with industrialism, urbanization and wealth, and New Jersey after 1830 was a brilliant example of the fact. (The present problem is to evangelize the small towns and the country districts where the Church is still comparatively weak.) The revival in New Jersey shows, beyond all doubt, that an expanding society, together with an energetic episcopate and regular administration of confirmation and the Holy Communion are essential factors in both numerical and spiritual growth.¹⁰

THE EPISCOPATE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE: 1832-1859

The beginnings of New Jersey's industrialism and of urbanization, an energetic episcopate, and a new emphasis upon the sacraments of confirmation and Holy Communion, all combined in the startlingly effective advent of Bishop Doane. By that time the bitter prejudices of the Revolutionary era were rapidly fading away, and the Church had gained a remarkable galaxy of new leaders, including such memorable men as Bishop Hobart of New York (who died in 1830), Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, Bishop Chase of Ohio, and Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. Bishop Doane, like them, was a man of the new age, not an eighteenth-century colonial gentleman with a state-church background, but an American born and bred, who knew perfectly well that the time for a privileged Church was past.

Under him, the modest revival and growth in the episcopate of Croes burgeoned into a sturdy tree that spread its branches over the whole state. He also was a native son, born in Trenton on May 27, 1799. After graduation from Union

College at Schenectady, he was ordained deacon in 1821 and priest in 1823, by Bishop Hobart. Following service as professor of Belles Lettres in Trinity College at Hartford, from 1824 to 1828, he assisted at Trinity Church in Boston and in 1830 became rector.

His reputation as a pastor and preacher spread swiftly to New Jersey, and on October 3, 1832, the diocesan convention at Christ Church, New Brunswick, elected him as bishop. He accepted, although he knew the poverty of the diocese, and frankly said that he might have to take his salary in watermelons and sweet potatoes! Fortunately, he had a rich wife. He was consecrated on October 31, 1832, in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, during the session of General Convention, by William White of Pennsylvania, Presiding Bishop of the Church.

Doane's arrival was like an electric shock, stimulating all who were not hopelessly paralyzed. Becoming rector of St. Mary's in Burlington, which happened to fall vacant, he speedily made the parish a model. Its rapid growth required a new building according to plans by Richard Upjohn, a pioneer of revived Gothic architecture. The church is still considered one of our loveliest, and its great chancel for truly liturgical services symbolizes Doane's influence for the revival of ancient Church usages.

His spirit was soon felt in every corner of the diocese, and with startling results. New Jersey's population doubled between 1830 and 1860, but the Church grew much faster. The eighteen clergymen of 1832 increased to ninety-eight in 1859, the twenty-seven parishes and missions became eighty-five, while the communicants increased from nine hundred to five thousand. The proportion of communicants in the population advanced from one in 385 to one in 134.¹¹

Figures by no means tell the whole story. The bishop promoted parochial schools, in spite of opposition by public-school advocates, and earned the title, "the father of Church

schools in the American Church." At Burlington, in 1837, he established St. Mary's Hall, a school for girls that still flourishes. He increased the endowment of the Episcopal Fund, and augmented the Missionary Fund so that in 1859 it could support twenty missions. The feeble Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen received a new lease of life, and the diocese started a Fund for Disabled and Infirm Clergymen.

Doane's zeal spread far beyond his diocese. He was an ardent missionary, and became a leader in the General Convention of 1835 that marked a new era by declaring every baptized person a member of the Church's Missionary Society. He led the progressive forces and preached at the consecration of our first missionary bishop, Jackson Kemper. That sermon is still heard in the Church like a trumpet call.

Doane had vast and enduring influence also as a lucid thinker, a polished writer, and impressive preacher, and a graceful poet. He introduced to America John Keble's poems, *The Christian Year*, and our hymnal still contains his "Softly now the light of day" (1824), "Thou art the way" (1824), and "Fling out the banner" (1848). His reputation as a preacher was international, and upon the removal of the legal ban that prevented American bishops from preaching in English Churches, he became the first American bishop to stand in an English pulpit.

He was a champion of the "High Church" group that made news—often sensational news—after the English "Oxford Movement" of the 1830's. He therefore became involved in the sometimes bitter clash of parties, and animosity was directed at him especially after his elder son joined the Roman Church. His younger son, William Crosswell Doane, remained loyal and became a great Bishop of Albany. Partisan malice found a way to persecute the father, when his too ambitious plans for schools sank him in financial troubles. With the aid of three bishops, hostile laymen brought him to trial, but the

diocesan convention stood by him, and he won out by his courage and patience, and by his resolve to "make the trial of a bishop hard."

After one of the Church's most laborious and fruitful episcopates, Doane died on April 27, 1859, and was buried in St. Mary's churchyard, Burlington. His life could not be described better than by his reputed last words: "I die in the faith of the Son of God and in the confidence of His one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I have no merits—no man has—but my trust is in the mercy of Jesus." Now that the ancient partisan rancor has died, he is universally acknowledged as one of our greatest bishops.

THE EPISCOPATE OF WILLIAM HENRY ODENHEIMER: 1859-1874

The third Bishop of New Jersey was born in Philadelphia, August 17, 1817. He was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, and from the General Theological Seminary three years later. After ordination as deacon in 1838, he became assistant to Dr. William Heathcote DeLancey, rector of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, succeeded his chief when the latter became the first Bishop of Western New York in 1839, and was ordained as priest in 1841. He was elected Bishop of New Jersey at the convention in Burlington, May 25, 1859, and was consecrated during the session of the General Convention at Richmond, Virginia, October 13, 1859.

Although lacking Doane's brilliance, the new bishop was a scholar of fine spirit and ability, and encouraged a remarkable growth of the diocese. New Jersey's population jumped from 672,000 in 1860 to about 1,000,000 in 1874, but the Church outstripped that rate of increase, and in the latter year one out of every eighty-three persons in the state was a communicant.¹²

By that time the diocese had become too large for one

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bishop, and the General Convention of 1874 approved a division. Hudson, Bergen, Passaic, Essex, Morris, Sussex, and Warren Counties were erected into the "Diocese of Northern New Jersey" (now called "Newark"), with sixty-nine clergymen, the same number of parishes, fifteen missions, and 6,600 communicants. Due to vast industrial and suburban growth of the counties near New York, Newark rapidly outran the Diocese of New Jersey.¹³ Bishop Odenheimer chose to be its first chief pastor, but after five years he died on August 14, 1879, and was buried in St. Mary's churchyard, Burlington.

The later Bishops of Newark have been Thomas Alfred Starkey (1880-1903); Edwin Stevens Lines (1903-1927); Wilson Reiff Stearly (Suffragan 1915, Coadjutor 1917, Diocesan, 1927-1935); Benjamin M. Washburn (Coadjutor, 1932-1935; Diocesan, 1935-); Theodore R. Ludlow, Suffragan, 1936-1953; Leland W. F. Stark, Coadjutor, 1953- .

THE EPISCOPATE OF JOHN SCARBOROUGH:

1875-1914

He was born in Castlewellan, County Down, Ireland, April 25, 1831, and was brought to the United States in boyhood. He was graduated from Trinity College at Hartford in 1854, and from the General Theological Seminary in 1857, and was ordained by Bishop Horatio Potter of New York as deacon on June 28, 1857, and as priest on August 14, 1858. After serving briefly as curate at St. Paul's Church in Troy, he became in 1860 the first rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, Poughkeepsie. He was rector of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, from 1867 until he became Bishop of New Jersey, elected November 12, 1874, and consecrated in Burlington on February 2, 1875, with Bishop Horatio Potter presiding.¹⁴

His was the longest episcopate in the history of the diocese—nearly forty years. It was also a prosperous and fruitful one, for he was "a wise master builder and a faithful chief

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shepherd of the flock, endearing himself to all by his genial, warm-hearted manners, and his gracious and sympathetic nature. Under his benign rule, peace and harmony ever prevailed in the diocese, and under his wise leadership the work grew and prospered in abounding measure." At the same time he became one of the leading American bishops, and for many years was very active in the Board of Missions and other phases of Church work.

Cold figures partially reveal the startling results of his quiet labors. When he came, the diocese had ninety-two clergymen, seventy-four parishes, twenty-eight missions, 7,071 communicants, 773 teachers, and 7,109 Sunday school pupils. At his death in 1914, New Jersey had more than regained its loss caused by the division in 1874, and had 176 parishes and missions, 130 clergymen, and 24,000 communicants as compared with 12,000 in the undivided diocese.¹⁵

Scarborough died on March 14, 1914, after an illness of less than a week, and was buried in Riverview Cemetery, Trenton, the city where he had lived throughout his episcopate.

IMMIGRATION AND THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

Beginning in the episcopate of Scarborough, immigration began to have a serious adverse effect upon the rate of growth of the Episcopal Church in the United States in general and in the state of New Jersey in particular—a factor which we have only latterly begun to appreciate and to appraise.¹⁶ The effects in New Jersey and elsewhere are still with us, and will be for the foreseeable future.

There were four aspects of immigration after 1880 which radically affected the growth of the Episcopal Church: (1) the more rapid increase in immigration from 1880 to 1930; (2) the change in its ethnological character; (3) the change in its religious background; and (4) the change in place of settlement in this country.

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In 150 years, 1780-1930, a total of 38,000,000 immigrants entered the United States; but 72.5 percent, or 27,572,583, came in the fifty-year period, 1881-1930. Even worse than that, almost one-half of the total, or 18,600,000, arrived in the thirty-year period, 1901-1930.

One result was that by 1930 the Foreign White Stock (the foreign born plus those of foreign or mixed parentage) comprised almost one-third (31.5 per cent) of the total population of the United States. New Jersey received more than its share: by 1930, out of a total population of 4,041,334, some 55.8 per cent, or 2,257,681, were of Foreign White Stock.

The second aspect of the radical change in immigration after 1880 was its ethnological character. Whereas prior to 1880 the immigrants came chiefly from northern and western Europe—principally from the British Isles, Germany and the Scandinavian countries—after 1880 they came principally from southern and eastern Europe. The former is known as the *old* immigration, the latter as the *new*.

The third aspect of the radical shift in immigration was the religious background of the new immigrants, which was predominantly Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Eastern Orthodox and Jewish—in approximately that order. None of the immigrants from continental Europe had any Anglican background, and even in the *old* immigration prior to 1880 the religious background of most was Nonconformist, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran. Relatively few in the total immigration of 150 years were Anglicans.

The fourth aspect which distinguished the *new* immigration from the *old* was the place of settlement. The *old* immigration had been predominantly agricultural and rural, and had settled largely in the unoccupied lands of the West, but with the passing of the agricultural frontier this had ceased. The *new* immigration became industrial and urban, settling in the larger cities in great blocks. As of 1930, almost one-half

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of the total Foreign White Stock in America—47.4 per cent, or 18,379,075—was to be found in the ninety-three cities of 100,000 or more population each. In the six cities in New Jersey of this class in 1930, the Foreign White Stock exceeded the national average in all but one: Paterson, 73.3%; Newark, 66.47%; Elizabeth, 66.4%; Jersey City, 64.3%; Trenton, 59.0%; Camden, 45.8%.

The almost immediate effect of the huge immigration which set in after 1880 is startlingly revealed in Table I at the end of this Epilogue. As we have said, almost one-half (18,600,000) of the total immigration of 150 years (38,000,000) occurred in the thirty years, 1901-1930. In 1870, four years before the diocese was divided, the ratio of communicants in the total population of the state was 1 in 90.3; in 1880, after the division, but combining the communicants of the two dioceses, the ratio was 1 in 71.2—a healthy improvement; in 1890, it was 1 in 49.3—another gratifying gain. But the rate of increase now began to slow down, for in 1900 it was 44.6 to 1—a gain of less than five points in the ratio standing. In the ensuing decade, 1900-1910, it gained but one point, standing in 1910 at 43.6—the highest standing before or since. Since then it has thus far been a losing battle to keep it there: in 1920, it was 44.6 to 1; in 1930, 45.8 to 1. In the decade 1930-1940, immigration had practically ceased, and the ratio had improved by 1940 to 43.8. But the tumult of World War II, the critical shortage of parochial clergy, and the movement of population produced a sharp decline in the ratio standing to 1 in 48.4—less than one point better than it had been in 1890, sixty years before.

It is, therefore, not difficult to see why in the sixty years between 1880 and 1940 there has been a silent revolution in the religious allegiance of the population of the State of New Jersey. In 1940, with a total population of 4,160,165, the religious situation was as follows:

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Roman Catholics	33.4%
Protestants (including Episcopalians)	17.8%
Jews	6.0%
Total <i>with</i> Religious Affiliation	57.2%
Total <i>without</i> Religious Affiliation	42.8%
Grand Total	100.0%

There are, to be sure, other reasons for the slowing down of the rate of growth of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey, Secularism in all its ramifications and appeal was never so strong as during the last sixty years, which witnessed such an increase as the world has never known in the number and variety of its "gadgets"—the telephone, the automobile, phonograph, movies, radio, television. Moreover, New Jersey has during the same period been the "playground" of the Middle Atlantic States. Two world wars, and especially the aftermath of World War I, have left in their wake evidences of a spiritual and moral decline of serious proportions. According to the National Council of Churches, New Jersey is spiritually and morally one of the "toughest" states in the union.

As this is being written, there are some signs of a spiritual revival in America, in which New Jersey may well share. On our college campuses, there is "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees." The 42.8 per cent of the total civil population of the state who profess no religious affiliation number over 1,780,000 men, women and children. They—the unchurched—represent both a challenge and an opportunity to the Episcopal Church, as well as to the other religious bodies in the State of New Jersey.

THE EPISCOPATE OF PAUL MATTHEWS: 1915-1937

In excitement and accomplishment Bishop Matthews' episcopate compares favorably with Doane's, for it covered the first World War, the "Coolidge Boom," the "Great Depres-

sion," and the beginning of economic recovery. During it the diocese shared in the beginning of the Church Pension Fund, the Nation-wide Campaign, and the Bishops' Crusade.

The leader in those stirring days was born in Glendale, Ohio, on Christmas Day of 1866, and was the son of Stanley Matthews, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He received his early education at St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, and in 1887 was graduated from Princeton as valedictorian of his class. The General Theological Seminary awarded him his B. D. degree in 1890, and he was ordained deacon in June 1890 by Bishop Boyd Vincent of Southern Ohio, and priest in October 1891 by Bishop George Worthington of Nebraska.

From 1891 to 1895, the future bishop was a member of the famous Associate Mission in Omaha. Later positions were: rector of St. Luke's, Cincinnati, 1896-1904; dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Cincinnati, 1904-1913; dean of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour, Faribault, Minnesota, and professor of Divinity, Seabury Divinity School, 1913-1914. He was elected Bishop of New Jersey on October 7, 1914, and was consecrated on St. Paul's Day, January 25, 1915, in St. Mary's Church, Burlington.¹⁷

Through all trials Bishop Matthews vigorously administered the diocese, advanced its work and resources, and developed its organization and institutions. The chief task was to make a living and working force of the Cathedral Foundation, legally established under Bishop Scarborough. Its culmination in a visible structure was marked on October 5, 1935, by the laying of the cornerstone of Trinity Cathedral in Trenton. That was a brave vote of confidence in the future—in the very middle of the economic depression.

Diocesan administration was consolidated into the "Cathedral Foundation," now called "The Trustees of the Diocesan Foundation in the Diocese of New Jersey," with special administrators for four departments: Missions, Social Service,

Religious Education, and Field and Publicity, each with a vice-chairman. The government comprises also a secretary and registrar, a treasurer, a chancellor, an historiographer, a standing committee of four clergymen and four laymen, and a board of examining chaplains consisting of nine clergymen headed by the Suffragan Bishop. There are five Convocations, each with a dean, called Atlantic, Burlington-Trenton, Camden-Woodbury, Monmouth, and Northern.

Active management of diocesan work rests upon the archdeacon, the executive officers of the Diocesan Foundation, the canons of the Cathedral, and a certain number of clergymen and laymen elected by the convention, under the leadership of the bishop and his assistant, coadjutor or suffragan.

Bishop Matthews greatly strengthened and furthered the diocesan institutions, including the Christian Knowledge Society, the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen (controlled by both dioceses in the state), the Evergreens Home for the Aged now at Moorestown, Christ Church Home for Children, St. Bernard's School for boys in Gladstone, the Church Mission of Help, the William Alexander Procter Foundation for College Work with headquarters in Princeton, and St. Mary's Hall School for girls, Burlington. The latter was made an official diocesan institution, with a board of trustees elected by the Cathedral Foundation, and Bishop Matthews strongly backed the campaign to raise an endowment for it.

The mere statistical results of his efforts were impressive. In twenty-two years, 1915-1937, in spite of war and economic depression, clergymen increased from 130 to 167, and communicants from 24,000 to 36,757. Most remarkable of all was the growth of offerings for parish, diocesan, and general Church work, in defiance of financial stringency in the 1930's. In 1934, under Bishop Matthews' leadership, the diocese was host to the General Convention, meeting in Atlantic City.

Such growth required episcopal assistance as early as

1923, when the Rt. Rev. Albion Williamson Knight, D. D., was elected as Bishop Coadjutor at a special convention on October 9 in Christ Church, Trenton. The bishop was born in White Springs, Florida, August 24, 1859, and was ordained deacon in 1881 and priest in 1883 by Bishop John Freeman Young of Florida. He served as a missionary in South Florida (1881-1884), rector of St. Mark's Church in Palatka (1884-1886), rector of St. Andrew's, Jacksonville (1886-1893), and dean of St. Philip's Cathedral in Atlanta (1893-1904). On December 21, 1904, he was consecrated as the first Bishop of Cuba. He served there until 1914, and from 1908 until 1920 acted as Bishop of the Panama Canal Zone. He recorded his experiences in a popular book, *Lending a Hand in Cuba* (1916).

In 1914 Bishop Knight became president and vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, having already served from 1893 to 1904 as president of its standing committee and as an alumni trustee. As president he continued until 1922, raising an endowment of one million dollars and taking charge of the Church Pension Fund Campaign in the Province of Sewanee.¹⁸

At sixty-four, when most clergymen are planning what to do when they retire, Bishop Knight plunged into a fresh round of strenuous activities, as supervisor of missions and summer churches, chief of missionaries, chairman of the Boards of Missions, Religious Education, and Social Service, member of the Cathedral Foundation and of the Cathedral Chapter, trustee of St. Mary's Hall and of the various diocesan institutions, and chairman of the committee for the Advancement of St. Mary's Hall and of the committee on Commemoration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the diocese. When Bishop Matthews was away in the winter of 1935, Bishop Knight served as the ordinary of the diocese. In that same year, at seventy-six, far beyond the usual retirement age, he resigned with the good will and affection of the

clergy and laity, and went to live in his native Florida, where he died June 9, 1936.

Several years before, the increasing burden of diocesan administration had required a third bishop—Ralph Ernest Urban, D. D., elected at a special convention on June 15, 1932, and consecrated as Bishop Suffragan on November 11, 1932, at Trinity Cathedral, Trenton. He was born on March 29, 1875, at Mount Hope in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was graduated from Princeton in 1896, and from the General Theological Seminary in 1899. Bishop Scarborough ordained him as deacon in 1899 and as a priest in 1900.

The new bishop's entire ministry of thirty-five years was devoted to All Saints', Trenton, first as a mission and then as a parish, and finally as united with Trinity Church in 1931 to form Trinity Cathedral, of which he was dean until his untimely death. His election was a belated recognition of his ability, sound judgment, and deep capacity for friendship.

The nucleus of the Cathedral was virtually the fruit of his work, for All Saints' Chapel and the Bishop's House were built in his pastorate and became the first units of the Cathedral organization. He supervised the purchase of neighboring properties and the completion of the Synod Hall in 1934, and planned (but because of illness could not attend) the breaking of ground for the Cathedral on May 7, 1935. He died on May 19, deeply lamented throughout the diocese, and was buried from All Saints', Trenton. He was interred in St. Thomas' churchyard, Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, and the officiants were his two priest brothers—the Rev. Percy L. Urban, rector of St. John's in North Haven, Connecticut, and the Rev. Leigh R. Urban, rector of St. Andrew's, Long Meadow, Massachusetts.¹⁹

Urban's death and the resignation of Knight in the same year left Bishop Matthews, at sixty-nine, to carry the diocesan burdens alone, until the consecration of Wallace J. Gardner as Bishop Coadjutor in 1936.

GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH

Bishop Matthews resigned in 1937, after exercising jurisdiction as diocesan for twenty-two years and nine months. On January 17, 1954, at the age of eighty-seven and after being a Bishop in the Church Militant for nine days short of thirty-nine years, he died in Winter Park, Florida. On January 20th, he was buried from the recently completed Trinity Cathedral, Trenton, which he had done so much to make a reality, and which was formally dedicated on the Sunday following — January 24, 1954.

THE EPISCOPATE OF WALLACE J. GARDNER: 1937-

The sixth Bishop of New Jersey was born in Buffalo, New York, on July 25, 1883. He was educated in the schools of Catskill, New York, and was graduated from St. Stephen's College, Annandale, in 1906, and from the General Theological Seminary in 1911. He was ordained as a deacon in April 1911 by Bishop William Croswell Doane of Albany, and as a priest in June 1912 by Bishop Frederick Burgess of Long Island.

Before coming to his diocese, Gardner had served as chaplain to the House of St. Giles the Cripple, Garden City, Long Island; honorary canon, Cathedral of the Incarnation, Garden City, 1915; chaplain to the Cathedral Schools, 1911-1919; rector of St Paul's Church, Flatbush, 1919-1933; and vicar, Chapel of the Intercession, Trinity Parish, New York City, 1933-1936. He was consecrated as Bishop Coadjutor of New Jersey on June 3, 1936.²⁰

Bishop Gardner administered his large and growing diocese alone, until the consecration of Alfred Lothian Banyard as Suffragan Bishop, September 29, 1945. The new bishop was born in Merchantville, New Jersey, July 31, 1908, and after attending the Camden High School, studied at the University of Pennsylvania and was graduated there in 1929 and from General Seminary in 1931. Bishop Matthews ordained him as

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

a deacon in June 1931, and as a priest in August 1932. His service previous to the episcopate included the rectorates of St. Luke's, Westville, New Jersey (1932-1936); Christ Church, Bordentown (1936-1943); archdeacon of the diocese, beginning in 1943; and many official positions in the diocese and in the Second Province. He is now secretary to the House of Bishops of the Second Province, vice-president of the Diocesan Foundation, and a member of the Chapter of Trinity Cathedral.²¹

Under Bishops Gardner and Banyard, the diocese has bravely weathered World War II and the difficult post-war adjustments, and appears now to be on the eve of a great expansion, especially by the establishment of new missions in suburban residential areas and in the mushrooming industrial "developments." Even though the number of clergymen, parishes, and missions was curtailed by economic depression and war, the Church has continued its steady numerical increase. As of 1951, the diocese had 166 clergymen and 45,000 communicants. The trying future problems will be recruitment and education of clergymen, and building new churches. But nobody who has read this history can doubt the outcome, knowing how much more terrible conditions the Church in New Jersey has encountered and conquered. An indication that the outcome is encouraging is that the Diocese of New Jersey alone has today, 1954, over fifty men studying for the ministry in college and seminary.

CONCLUSION

A backward glance over the long traveled road compels one to agree with the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, historiographer of the Episcopal Church in the United States, that the achievements of the Church in New Jersey have been "little short of the miraculous and the spectacular."

When the province became British in 1664, there was not one Episcopal church, and as late as 1698 Anglicanism

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was represented by one makeshift church and a lone priest. Without a bishop, the flock by 1776 had increased to eleven missionaries and over twenty churches. Still without a bishop and under most disheartening post-war conditions and intense popular dislike, the Church recovered and became part of a national organization by 1789, and by 1815 was re-winning much lost ground and opening up new work.

Once a bishop had come, the Church grew so much more rapidly than the population that, as we have seen in the episcopate of Bishop Doane alone, one out of every 134 persons in the civil population was a communicant of the Episcopal Church by 1860, compared with only one out of every 385 persons thirty years before. By 1874, the division of the diocese had become imperative. Forty years later, 1914, the Diocese of Newark had three times as many communicants as the undivided diocese, and the Diocese of New Jersey twice as many. Each diocese required the full energies of two bishops: Newark had them in 1915, New Jersey in 1923.

As of 1952, in spite of two world wars and the power of secularism in modern life, the Episcopal Church as represented by the two dioceses in the state of New Jersey had over 156,000 baptized members, of whom over 100,000 were communicants, which is more than the Episcopal Church throughout the nation had a century before. This means that one out of every 33 persons in the civil population is a baptized member of this Church, and one out of every 48 persons is a communicant. There are 314 churches, 344 clergymen, 4,000 Church school teachers, 32,000 pupils, and a total of \$4,800,000 is contributed annually for all Church purposes.²²

If they could return to view the distant fruits of their labors, how George Keith, John Talbot, and Alexander Innes would beam with surprise and joy!

NELSON R. BURR

*Middlefield, Connecticut,
February, 1954.*

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

Growth of The Episcopal Church in New Jersey

1790 — 1950

TABLE I
RATIO OF COMMUNICANTS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION
OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, 1830 - 1950

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population of the State</i>	<i>Communicants in the State</i>	<i>Ratio in State of N.J.</i>	<i>Ratio in U.S.A. [Continental]</i>
			1 to	1 to
1830	320,823 ¹	c.800 ²	401.0 ³	415.8 ⁴
1840	373,306	1,565	238.5	307.6
1850	489,555	3,054	160.2	235.0
1860	672,035	5,563	120.8	208.7
1870	906,096	10,032	90.3	171.9
1880	1,131,116	N.J. 7,774 Newark 8,108 Total 15,882 ⁵	71.2	147.0
1890	1,444,933	N.J. 13,104 Newark 16,200 Total 29,304	49.3	118.4
1900	1,883,669	N.J. 18,111 Newark 24,036 Total 42,147	44.6	102.3
1910	2,537,167	N.J. 23,731 Newark 34,450 Total 58,181	43.6	98.8
1920	3,155,900	N.J. 27,177 Newark 43,450 Total 70,627	44.6	98.4
1930	4,041,334	N.J. 33,811 Newark 54,270 Total 88,081	45.8	97.3
1940	4,160,165	N.J. 38,691 Newark 56,108 Total 94,799	43.8	90.2
1950	4,835,329	N.J. 44,215 Newark 55,609 Total 99,824	48.4	91.8

GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH

NOTES TO TABLE I

1 The population statistics are those of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1830-1950.

2 The number of communicants for each decade, 1830-1870, is taken from the *Journal of the Diocese of New Jersey*, except that the figure for 1830—c.800 — is the number reported by the Committee on the State of the Church, *General Convention Journal*, 1829, (W. S. Perry's *Reprints*, Vol. II), p.261, and is the most reliable figure available, as the *Diocesan Journal*, 1830, does not list any number.

3 The Ratio of Communicants to the Total Population in New Jersey is obtained by dividing the total population of the state by the number of communicants. It means that on the average, for example, only one out of every 401 persons in the civil population of the State of New Jersey was a communicant of the Episcopal Church in 1830.

4 The Ratio of Communicants to the Total Population in Continental U.S.A., listed here for comparison with the growth of the Episcopal Church as a whole, is taken from *The Episcopal Church Annual*, 1953, p.26.

5 The number of communicants for each decade, 1880-1950, in the Dioceses of New Jersey and Newark, is taken from the *Living Church Annual*, 1882, 1892, 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952. The reason for this is that the statistics in the *Living Church Annual*, 1952, for example, were compiled in 1951 from diocesan journals containing information for the year 1950.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

TABLE II

GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY,
1790-1951, ACCORDING TO THE EPISCOPATES OF THE
DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Clergy</i>	<i>Parishes and Missions</i>	<i>Communi- cants</i>	<i>Church Members (Baptized Persons)</i>	<i>Church Schools Teachers</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
1790 ¹	7	21	No report	No report	No report	
1815 ²	9	27	676	No report	No report	
			(18 churches reporting)			
1832 ³	18	32	900	No report	113 (9 par- ishes re- porting)	813 (11 par- ishes re- porting)
1859 ⁴	98	85	5,000	No report	504	4,410
1874 ⁵	152	129	12,176	No report	1,500	13,041
1914 ⁶						
N.J.	130	176	23,627	No report	1,457	12,506
New.	157	136	37,598	No report	2,185	18,351
Total	287	312	61,270		3,642	30,857
1937 ⁷						
N.J.	165	165	36,757	54,580	1,737	12,129
New.	173	154	55,024	74,292	2,142	17,901
Total	338	319	91,781	128,872 ⁸	3,879	30,030
1951 ⁹						
N.J.	166	168	45,004	66,617	1,848	14,379
New.	178	146	55,777	89,656	2,172	17,710
Total	344	314	100,781	156,273	4,020	32,089

NOTES TO TABLE II

1 In 1790, the Diocese of New Jersey accepted the Constitution of the Church as adopted by the General Convention of 1789. The diocese was to exist for another twenty-five years without a bishop.

2 John Croes was elected and consecrated, November 19, 1815, as first Bishop of New Jersey. He died July 26, 1832.

3 George Washington Doane was consecrated second Bishop of New Jersey, October 31, 1832. He died April 27, 1859.

4 William Henry Odenheimer was consecrated third Bishop of New Jersey, October 13, 1859.

GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH

NOTES TO TABLE II (*continued*)

5 These are the figures before the division. The Diocese of New Jersey was divided in 1874. Odenheimer chose to become first Bishop of Northern New Jersey (now Newark); died, August 14, 1879.

John Scarborough became the fourth Bishop of New Jersey, February 2, 1875; died, March 14, 1914.

Thomas Alfred Starkey succeeded Odenheimer as second Bishop of Northern New Jersey, January 8, 1880; died, May 17, 1903. Name of diocese changed to "Newark" in 1886.

Edwin Stevens Lines consecrated third Bishop of Newark, November 18, 1903; died, October 25, 1927.

6 Paul Matthews consecrated, January 25, 1915, as fifth Bishop of New Jersey; resigned, 1937. Died, January 17, 1954.

Wilson R. Stearly (consecrated October 21, 1915, as Suffragan Bishop of Newark; Coadjutor, 1917) succeeded Lines as fourth Bishop of Newark, 1927; resigned 1935.

Benjamin M. Washburn (consecrated October 14, 1932, as Bishop Coadjutor of Newark) succeeded Stearly as fifth Bishop of Newark, 1935.

7 Wallace John Gardner (consecrated Bishop Coadjutor of New Jersey, June 3, 1936) succeeded Matthews as sixth Bishop of New Jersey, 1937.

8 The number of Church Members (Baptized Persons) as distinct from Communicants was never reported until after the General Convention of 1925, and the year ending December 31, 1926, was the first full year for which such reports are available.

9 December 31, 1951, marked the close of 14 years of Gardner's episcopate.

[NOTE: The sources of the above statistics are: For 1790 and 1815, the *Journals* of the Diocese of New Jersey for those years; for 1832, 1859, and 1874, the *Journals* of the General Convention, for those years; for 1914, the *Living Church Annual*, 1915; for 1937, *ibid.*, 1939; for 1951, *The Episcopal Church Annual*, 1953.]

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

TABLE III

CIVIL POPULATION, CHURCH MEMBERS (BAPTIZED PERSONS) AND COMMUNICANTS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY: 1930-1950

<i>Diocese</i>	A. CIVIL POPULATION: 1930-1950		
	<i>Population</i>		
	1930	1940	1950
New Jersey	1,647,835	1,730,076	2,134,614
Newark	2,393,499	2,430,089	2,700,715
State of N. J.	4,041,334	4,160,165	4,835,329

<i>Diocese</i>	B. INCREASE IN CIVIL POPULATION: 1930-1950			
	1930-1940		1940-1950	
	<i>Increase in Number</i>	<i>Increase Per Cent</i>	<i>Increase in Number</i>	<i>Increase Per Cent</i>
New Jersey	82,241	4.99%	404,538	23.3%
Newark	36,590	1.52%	270,626	11.1%
State of N. J.	118,831	2.9%	675,164	16.2%

<i>Diocese</i>	C. CHURCH MEMBERS (<i>Baptized Persons</i>): 1930-1950				
	<i>Total Number</i>			<i>Increase or Decrease</i>	
	1930	1940	1950	1930-1940	1940-1950
New Jersey	53,557	56,243	62,850	2,686 or 5.0%	6,607 or 11.1%
Newark	80,435	77,352	84,859	-3,083 or -3.8% (loss)	7,507 or 9.7%
Total	133,992	133,595	147,709	- 397 or -2/9 of 1% (loss)	14,114 or 10.5%

<i>Diocese</i>	D. COMMUNICANTS: 1930-1950				
	<i>Total Number</i>			<i>Increase or Decrease</i>	
	1930	1940	1950	1930-1940	1940-1950
New Jersey	33,811	38,691	44,215	4,880 or 14.4%	5,524 or 14.2%
Newark	54,270	56,108	55,609	1,838 or 3.3%	-499 or -8/10 of 1% (loss)
Total	88,081	94,799	99,824	6,718 or 7.6%	5,025 or 5.3%

GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH

TABLE III (continued)

E.

RATIO OF CHURCH MEMBERS (*Baptized Persons*) AND
COMMUNICANTS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION: 1930-1950

Diocese	1. Ratio of Church Members (Baptized Persons)			2. Ratio of Communicants		
	1930	1940	1950	1930	1940	1950
New Jersey	1 to 30.7	1 to 30.7	1 to 33.9	1 to 48.7	1 to 44.7	1 to 48.2
Newark	1 to 29.7	1 to 31.4	1 to 31.8	1 to 44.1	1 to 43.3	1 to 48.5
Total	1 to 30.1	1 to 31.1	1 to 32.7	1 to 45.8	1 to 43.8	1 to 48.4

TABLE IV

FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN
THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY AS OF 1930

Total Population (1930)	4,041,334
*Total Foreign White Stock	2,257,681 — 55.8%

Country of Origin	Number	Percentage
Italy	507,180	12.0%
Germany	345,060	8.5%
Poland	262,708	6.5%
Irish Free State	194,804	4.8%
England	149,774	3.7%
Russia	147,754	3.6%
Czecho-Slovakia	80,908	2.0%
Hungary	72,235	1.7%
Scotland	70,285	1.7%
Austria	63,060	1.5%
North Ireland	55,707	1.3%

*FOREIGN WHITE STOCK is a United States Census Classification which includes: "Foreign Born White," "Children of Foreign Born White," and "Children, one of whose parents was foreign born." Jews are not classified as such in the U. S. Census Reports. No official U. S. data on the number of Jews in America or in its subdivisions are available. Many of the above from Poland, Hungary, Germany, Russia, etc. are undoubtedly Jews.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY

TABLE IV (*continued*)

The following are less than 1% of the total population of the State:

12. Netherlands	37,463	32. Other Europe	3,661
13. Canada (not Fr.)	32,925	33. Armenia	3,469
14. Sweden	29,849	34. West Indies	3,356
15. France	28,623	35. Latvia	2,376
16. Lithuania	23,247	36. Newfoundland	1,935
17. Switzerland	20,673	37. Other Asia	1,162
18. Norway	16,070	38. Australia	1,147
19. Denmark	16,045	39. Africa	796
20. Rumania	13,891	40. Atlantic Islands	601
21. Greece	11,046	41. Mexico	541
22. Canada (French)	7,423	42. Palestine	539
23. Spain	7,301	43. Born at Sea	394
24. Yugoslavia	7,117	44. Esthonia	350
25. Belgium	5,648	45. Luxemburg	292
26. Wales	5,613	46. Albania	257
27. Syria	5,564	47. Bulgaria	224
28. Portugal	5,099	48. Pacific Islands	215
29. Finland	4,954	49. Turkey (Europe)	118
30. Cen. & So. America	4,027	50. Iceland	115
31. Turkey (Asia)	3,973	51. Not Specified	109

TABLE V

FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN THE DIOCESES OF NEWARK AND
NEW JERSEY AS OF 1930

A. SUMMARY

<i>Diocese</i>	<i>Population 1930</i>	<i>Foreign White Stock: 1930</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Population</i>
Newark	2,393,499	1,439,115	60.1%
New Jersey	1,647,835	818,566	49.6
State of N. J.	4,041,334	2,257,681	55.8%

GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH

TABLE V (continued)

B.

FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN THE DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY AS OF 1930

Counties	14		
Area, Square Miles	5,506		
Total Population (1930)	1,647,835		
*FOREIGN WHITE STOCK	818,566	or 49.6%	of Diocesan Pop.
Negroes	114,551	or 6.9%	of Diocesan Pop.

County	Population 1930	Tot. Foreign White Stock	% of Tot. Pop.	For. Born White	For. or Mix. Parentage	Negroes
Atlantic	124,823	49,814	39.9%	17,558	32,256	19,708
Burlington	93,541	27,709	29.6%	9,157	18,552	6,762
Camden	252,312	151,017	59.8%	83,997	67,020	16,813
Cape May	29,486	8,974	30.4%	3,103	5,871	2,782
Cumberland ..	69,895	21,940	31.3%	7,504	14,436	4,748
Gloucester	70,802	21,244	30.0%	6,946	14,298	6,077
Hunterdon	34,728	10,393	29.9%	3,982	6,411	407
Mercer	187,143	97,975	52.3%	35,780	62,195	11,949
Middlesex	212,208	144,401	68.0%	53,373	91,028	5,895
Monmouth	147,209	54,659	37.1%	19,000	35,659	13,897
Ocean	33,069	10,087	30.5%	4,177	5,910	1,253
Salem	36,834	6,640	18.0%	2,235	4,405	4,763
Somerset	65,132	37,819	58.0%	14,032	23,787	1,638
Union	305,209	175,894	57.6%	65,467	110,427	17,859
TOTALS	1,647,835	818,566	49.6%	326,311	492,255	114,551

*FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: see definition on p. 483.

C.

FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN CITIES OF NEW JERSEY OVER 100,000 POPULATION AS OF 1930

Dioecese and City	Population 1930	Foreign White Stock, 1930	Per Cent of Total Population, 1930
DIOCESE OF NEWARK:			
1. Jersey City	316,715	203,786	64.3%
2. Newark	442,337	294,022	66.4
3. Paterson	138,513	101,586	73.3
DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY:			
1. Camden	118,700	54,371	45.8%
2. Elizabeth	114,589	76,127	66.4
3. Trenton	123,356	72,839	59.0

APPENDIX A

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF COLONIAL PARISHES

I. Surviving Parishes

II. Extinct Parishes

NOTE: The biographical sketches of clergymen who served in the colonial parishes should be consulted in Appendix B.

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF COLONIAL PARISHES

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Part I

Surviving Parishes

1

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH PERTH AMBOY (1685?)

ON THE EVIDENCE of a stone dated 1685 and inserted into the rear wall of the present church, it has been assumed that Saint Peter's was founded in that year. Probably it was a stone in the grist mill of David Mudie, on the site of the present church. It occupied the same place in the wall of the first church, demolished in 1852 to make way for the present one. There is a tradition that services were held after 1685 in the court house, then the capitol of East Jersey.

No certain record tells when the first Church services were held in Perth Amboy. But Saint Peter's *is* the oldest Episcopal parish in New Jersey, and the only one that can claim to be older than the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Jeremiah Bass, who should have known, declared that while occasional services had been held previously by transient clergymen, the parish's history could not "properly" begin until the arrival of the Rev. Edward Portlock in 1698. He came as the result of a petition in 1695 from several East Jersey proprietors to the Bishop of London, who ordained him especially to take care of a parish in "the Metropolis." The proprietors gave him "the old house on the point," on the Long Ferry property and on the "Church lot" shown by an early map. That building was one of four stone ones erected by them on the Long Ferry property in 1685. The patent for the "Church lot" was not ordered until March 31, 1702. Several pious persons contributed to have the building covered, glazed, and fitted with seats and a pulpit. Portlock, a singular character, ministered there for about two years before his removal to Virginia. His rude little church, the first of the Anglican Communion in New Jersey, has long since vanished, and is believed to have stood at the foot of High Street, near the ferry over the broad Raritan.

Saint Peter's was the first organized religious group in the city and represented the predominant faith. Although Portlock was soon tempted by greener pastures, the parish did not lapse, but drew renewed strength from the missionary tour of George Keith and John Talbot. Keith preached

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several times to a small congregation between October 3, 1702, and January 2, 1704. The people felt so encouraged that in 1702-03 they refitted the old house and considered building a real church, and in 1705 even collected materials. From 1702 until 1718, services were maintained by the Rev. John Talbot of Burlington, Chaplain John Sharpe of the fort in New York, John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, and his successor, Edward Vaughan. The ill-starred Thomas Haliday was missionary in 1711-13, and apparently came there again in 1717-18. After 1714, Vaughan resided in the city and ministered every fourth Sunday, and he continued to visit even after his return to Elizabeth Town in 1721, for he is mentioned two years later in a letter from the vestry to the Bishop of London.

Under Vaughan's care, Saint Peter's really began to flourish, and on July 30, 1718, was incorporated by a royal charter, granted by Governor Robert Hunter of New York and New Jersey in the name of King George I. A singular provision was that the parish, if required, should solemnly give one peppercorn every year on Saint Peter's Day to the receiver-general of New Jersey. The first wardens were William Eier, Perth Amboy's first mayor, and John Barclay, the clerk, who held several high offices in New Jersey and in 1704 represented the city in the assembly. The vestrymen were Thomas Gordon, secretary of the colony; John Rudyard; Robert King; and John Stevens, chamberlain and treasurer, who sat for Perth Amboy in the assembly and was a member of the provincial council. Throughout its colonial history the parish comprised many eminent characters, including three governors who served as wardens or vestrymen: William Burnet, 1720-27; William Cosby, 1732-36; and John Hamilton, 1736-38.

At last the time came to replace the old dilapidated house with a decent church. As early as 1702 the Quaker followers of Keith and "some other persons well affected to the Church" contributed about £200, and three years later they contemplated a stone building. But nothing happened until George Willocks, Thomas Gordon, and John Barclay gave the church lot, and ground for a rectory, a school, and a teacher's dwelling. Willocks and John Harrison in 1719 gave twelve acres near the town, which still constitutes a handsome endowment, and Willocks bequeathed the Long Ferry property to the Church in 1728. Mrs. Willocks bequeathed a house and two acres of land as a glebe.

With all that encouragement, in 1719 the parish began erecting a stone church, forty-eight feet long and forty broad, without tower and steeple. It was dedicated in 1722, and was in use for one hundred and thirty years. Immediately after Parson Skinner's arrival on November 22, the church was floored and fitted with a pulpit and a reading desk on the north side, and an altar in a little circular chancel at the east end. Pews were ordered

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in 1728 and finished three years later, and in 1742 a "very worthy gentlewoman," who declined to be known, adorned the pulpit and desk with crimson damask silk and a fringed cushion. At that time a gallery was added, and bricks were bought for a tower. About 1706 Saint Peter's acquired a "Queen Anne" silver Communion set, and in 1728 the widow of the Rev. John Talbot of Burlington gave a paten, and a chalice dated 1612, probably the oldest in use in this country.

The rectory for nearly a century was the George Willocks house, but Skinner once complained that it was so poorly built that he had to secure the joints with iron plates to keep every wind from shaking it to pieces. The glebe, he protested, was not in his hands, and the profits from the ferry were "trifling." The rectory was replaced by another one in 1815, and with some alterations stood until 1844.

Apparently little was added to the church for many years. In 1764, the people raised money by a lottery to repair it and the rectory, the walls were extended, and the appearance was made more churchly by the addition of a tower with a plain spire. A less sturdily constructed building would not have survived the Revolution, when the windows were smashed and the wind and rain poured in; the building was used as a stable and as a barracks, and the furnishings were ruined. The graveyard was desecrated, as the soldiers broke monuments, blackened headstones by lighting fires against them to cook, and used the flat tombstones for tables.

When the church was reopened in 1785, it was repewed, the pulpit was removed to the east end, and the chancel was rearranged. Saint Peter's was therefore "swept and garnished" to receive the second convention of the recently organized Diocese of New Jersey, May 16-19, 1786.

Saint Peter's was fortunate in its pastors, except for an unhappy experience with Haliday, who became embroiled in personal and political quarrels. Skinner was generally liked, probably because he confined his ministry largely to Perth Amboy, only occasionally visiting Piscataway, Woodbridge, and Monmouth County. He was, however, chiefly responsible for building up the flourishing parish of Saint Peter's, Spotswood, and erecting its church; and he was the clerical leader in organizing Christ Church, New Brunswick, in 1742. In his later years Perth Amboy somewhat declined, due to his age, to the removal of Governor Morris to Trenton in 1747, and to the ravages of smallpox during that winter, when the congregation shrank from one hundred and fifty or two hundred to only one hundred.

Skinner's death in 1758 left the parish to struggle with a series of disappointments. The Rev. Philip Hughes, chaplain to the 44th Regiment of Foot, was appointed in 1759, but declined. After a brief service, the Rev. Solomon Palmer returned to Litchfield County, Connecticut, in 1762. Mr.

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Carter, missionary in the Bahamas, could not leave over the governor's strenuous objections. Skinner had been in his grave behind Saint Peter's for more than four years, when the parish in February, 1763, welcomed the Rev. Robert McKean. He served until his death on October 17, 1767, at the early age of thirty-five.

When he arrived, McKean ruefully surveyed the depressing results of a long vacancy. The parsonage and the church were in poor condition, and there were only forty Episcopal families and thirty-four communicants. He insisted upon having the church repaired, the windows sashed and glazed, the steeple finished in 1765, another gallery built, a new bell founded, the rectory put in order, and the glebe fenced. The result was increased interest, especially among notable persons, including Lady Franklin, the wife of Governor William Franklin, who in 1765 presented a handsome surplice to the parish.

McKean's death put Saint Peter's again on the lookout for a parson. For a time the Rev. Isaac Browne of Newark looked promising, but on second thought the people did not want him, as they feared that his practice of medicine would divide his interests and mar the harmony of the parish. They finally found the right man in the Rev. William Preston, chaplain to the 26th British Regiment stationed at Perth Amboy. His popularity so increased the congregation that the vestry had to build a new gallery, the whole length of the church. He was forced to leave in 1774, when the provincial assembly in its growing revolutionary mood refused to contribute anything to the regiment's maintenance. Soon the typhoon of war roared over Perth Amboy, destroying parish life. After the Declaration of Independence, Preston stopped reading the liturgy, which he refused to alter to please the patriots. When the British took Staten Island, the Americans garrisoned the city and quartered troops in the church, and Preston retired to the country and returned to his chaplaincy. He returned briefly in December, 1777, during a British occupation of the city, and on the Sunday before Christmas read the service and had twenty communicants.

By that time the parish was prostrate. Many loyalists, expelled from the city, were so ruined in fortune that they could contribute nothing. The property was seriously damaged, and the register was lost. Services were rare until 1782-84, when the Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick occasionally officiated under the auspices of the S. P. G.

In 1784-87, at the vestry's request, the Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, rector of Saint Andrew's on Staten Island, added Perth Amboy to his charge. He officiated occasionally, and sat in the diocesan conventions of 1785 and 1787 as "minister" of Saint Peter's. The parish took a distinguished part in the conventions of those formative years, being represented by James Parker,

Matthias Halsted, Richard Stevens, and Thomas Farmer. Its survival reveals how solid were the foundations laid in the decades since Edward Portlock began to read the services to a mere handful of the faithful in that makeshift church by the ferry.

[*Records*: Four volumes of Parish Minutes beginning July 17, 1718. The minutes of congregational meetings begin with March 31, 1719.]

2

SAINT MARY'S CHURCH
BURLINGTON
(1702)

BURLINGTON was a natural location for an Anglican parish, being the home of many friends of George Keith. At the opening of the eighteenth century, it contained around two hundred families, living mostly in neat brick houses. It was the capital of West Jersey, the meeting-place of the courts, and a center of considerable trade, with a well-stocked market. The Churchmen began to become active in 1695, and on July 13 several bought a piece of land on Wood Street near Broad, for a cemetery, which they later enlarged and fenced. On March 6, 1702, Nathaniel Westland, Robert Wheeler, and Hugh Huddy bought the adjoining lot at the corner of Broad Street, as the site for a church.

Plans were far advanced when Keith and Talbot appeared on October 29, 1702, and preached in the town hall on All Saints' Day. They were delighted to find many persons eager for services and willing to give about £200 to build a church at once. The faithful proceeded with a speed that pleased the Society and thoroughly alarmed the Church's opponents. They had an enthusiastic and powerful friend in Governor Nicholson of Virginia, whose generosity moved them to a lavish effusion of praise. On August 22, 1703, the church was sufficiently ready for use, and Keith and Talbot preached the first sermons to a congregation from New York and various parts of New Jersey, including Governor Cornbury, who was proclaimed that day in the town hall. The Holy Communion was not administered, however, until Whitsunday, June 4, 1704.

The parishioners joyfully left the court house and moved into the church, even though it was without floor, plaster, or glass. They still had a long way to go, and in 1703 the wardens begged the Society for a staggering list of necessities: chests of window glass, lead and solder, nails, linseed oil, "a Bell to be heard at some distance," Prayer Books, catechisms,

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and furnishings for the Communion table and pulpit. It took years to complete the church in the handsome style observed in 1728 by the recently arrived missionary, the Rev. Nathaniel Horwood. He described it as "a fair fabric erected of Brick, the dimensions 40 foot in Length, in Breadth 22*, very decently seated, with regular Pews, below, and a fair Gallery above at the West end." It was dedicated to Saint Mary the Virgin when the cornerstone was laid on March 25, 1703, the Feast of the Annunciation. It is now believed to be the oldest church building in the state, and is the second oldest edifice in the city.

The parish was organized under the name of Saint Mary in 1702, but was renamed "Saint Anne's" in a charter granted on October 4, 1704, by Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne. The charter never passed, and Cornbury in a few years was recalled to England to answer for numerous delinquencies. On January 5, 1709, Lieutenant-Governor Richard Ingoldsby granted another charter that restored the original name. That was unfortunate, as the parish owed much to "good Queen Anne," who in 1708 gave lead and glass, a silver chalice and salver, a pulpit cloth, and a brocade altar cloth.

By that time, the parishioners had become devoted to their rector, the Rev. John Talbot, George Keith's loyal friend and companion on his missionary tour of New Jersey. The people petitioned for his services in November, 1705, and to supplement his salary from the Society used funds raised in England to purchase a glebe.

The parish eventually acquired a large amount of property, which sometimes became burdensome. Besides the church lot, there was a three-acre cemetery, fenced in 1703. Seven years later, Thomas Leicester bequeathed two hundred acres. Before the death of Queen Anne it was confidently expected that Burlington would soon be the seat of an American bishop, and in 1712 a legacy of £100 from Bishop Frampton of Gloucester was used to purchase a house and twenty-seven acres of ground for a residence. The house was the so-called "Palace," first occupied by the wealthy John Tatham, a good Churchman who favored the idea of a bishop and willingly sold the estate to Governor Robert Hunter for £600 Sterling.

Although described as "the sweetest situation in the world," the house never saw a bishop cross its threshold, and the Society was glad to unload the care of it upon Saint Mary's, allowing the parish to use it as a rectory. After having fallen into a most wretched state of disrepair, it burned down in 1748. Until then it served as an excuse for not building a rectory, to the vast annoyance of the Rev. Colin Campbell, missionary in 1738-66, who begged the Society to remind the people of their duty. He was living

*Should be 33, after the repairs of 1763-69. See below.

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in Talbot's house, used since 1711, but in 1746 the vestry assured the Society that they had bought a house and lot. The new parson's home served until 1799, when the guild house was erected.

Another annoyance was the perennial question about the use of certain lots purchased by Governor Hunter and assigned by the Society to support a bishop. The missionary got the profits until after the coming of Jonathan Odell in 1767. The Society disputed his right, and in 1775 received a long explanation of his need for the income, and of his trouble and expense in protecting and improving the property.

Whatever their other shortcomings, the Episcopalians of Burlington always took pride in beautifying their handsome church. In 1741, Peter Baynton contributed funds to roof and shingle it, and three years later "some charitable person at home" (in England) gave £40 to replace the "very ordinary" bell. As the wooden steeple built in 1708 was "like to drop down," the parish erected a new brick one, paid for in 1748 by the proceeds of a lottery.

By 1763 Saint Mary's was already old, sadly in need of repairs, and the assembly allowed the parish to conduct another lottery to meet the cost. Work began in the summer, but because of frequent interruptions, was not completed until 1769. The repair job practically became a new church, as gladly described by Odell in a letter to the Society:

"We have enlarged it by one third of its dimensions; it is now sixty three foot long by thirty three foot wide, is neatly finished, and may rather be said to have been *rebuilt* than *repaired* . . . I was in hopes it would serve as a bond of union to the People, to see their Church, from a most shattered Condition, made not only decent & comfortable, but an ornament to this place. And I think I have reason to conclude that I was not disappointed in the expectation."

During the work, the parish ordered a new wooden belfry, and recast the old bell, still rung on special occasions. The interior was rearranged, as a gallery was built, and room was made for the clerk's desk and the organ. Outsiders helped generously, especially Governor William Franklin, who made a handsome subscription, while his wife gave "very rich & elegant furniture for the Pulpit Desk & Communion Table." All beholders were impressed by the results, and in 1774, Dr. Chandler of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, mentioned Saint Mary's as one of the four handsomest Episcopal churches in New Jersey. All debts had been paid the year before, and the parish voted £30 a year to Odell, who had gallantly refused a salary as long as they owed a penny. Unlike many others, the church survived the Revolu-

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tion in fairly good condition. After the erection of the present Gothic stone edifice, it was remodeled in 1875, and now it houses the Church school, the Bible classes, and the library.

The parish was most fortunate in its able missionaries, who deserved far better support than they received. The first, who stayed about twenty-five years, was the devoted and tireless John Talbot, settled by the Society in response to popular petitions, April 2, 1704.

For a time Talbot was assisted by the Rev. John Sharpe, who soon left to become chaplain to the British troops in New York. Then Talbot was the only recognized Anglican priest in the Jerseys, until the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor (also spelled "Moore") came from Albany and the Mohawk mission in the fall of 1705. Talbot told the S. P. G. that he "never knew his Fellow of his age, nor ever shall again I fear," and proposed to leave him in charge while he voyaged to England to urge a colonial suffragan bishop. Governor Cornbury consented, "because ye Quakers are very numerous at Burlington." Moor stayed until he and Brooke of Elizabeth Town could no longer bear Cornbury's meanness, and in 1707 started on their fatal voyage to England to complain of his conduct, which included his imprisoning Moor for rebuking his immorality.

Talbot returned in 1706, and threw his heart and soul into his ministry, excepting for an occasional visit to England. Year after year he pressed onward, through personal hardship and sectarian attacks, sometimes alone in the Jerseys, and always in the midst of a religious destitution that appalled him, with no neighboring priests to comfort him, no competent school teachers, and missionaries deserting to take more lucrative parishes in Virginia and Maryland. In 1707, he told the Society that planting the Gospel was like the Indians trying to plant gunpowder, "which can never take root but is blown away with every wind."

In 1714, his health sank so low that the Society sent Robert Walker to help him. The capable assistant stayed three years, ministering at Burlington, Hopewell, and Bristol, Pennsylvania. In spite of thronging troubles, Talbot's mission was successful until about 1722, when he was consecrated in England by the nonjuring bishops, Ralph Taylor and Robert Welton, of the section of the church that refused to recognize the Hanoverian kings and remained loyal to the Stuart dynasty. Although Talbot never tried to exercise episcopal authority in America, he was accused of disloyalty, and in 1725 was dismissed from the Society's service and ordered by the governor to cease officiating. On July 13, 1724, he gave his house and lots to the parish as a parsonage and glebe.

About three years passed before the vacancy was filled by the Rev. Nathaniel Horwood, originally appointed to Salem. After only about two

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years, he died in 1730, and was succeeded by Robert Weyman from Oxford, Pennsylvania, who served until his death in November, 1737. He bore the extra burden of ministering once a month at Bristol, and the sorrow of seeing his parish in Burlington depleted by a terrific smallpox epidemic.

Colin Campbell, who succeeded him on May 10, 1738, had one of the longest pastorates of the colonial period — twenty-nine years. He had scarcely settled down when the Great Awakening burst upon New Jersey, and he had to contend with Whitefield's traveling preachers. At first he had no rectory. Then the executors of Joseph Adams, for their own benefit, corruptly disposed of property he had left to the parish. He complained also of the arrogant attitude of some adherents of Quakerism "in its zenith of pomp and power." Another hard cross was the performance of marriages by justices of the peace, which he said hurt the Church's prestige and lowered the popular moral tone. Death and the decline of trade made inroads on the congregation. But there were gains: the parish bought a new rectory and received some gifts and bequests, and in 1759 he saw the parish "rather increase than diminish," and enjoyed happy relations with his people. He struggled on, taking care of both Burlington and Mount Holly, in spite of war and heavy taxes, smallpox, and bitter winters, until his faithful ministry ended with death in 1766.

He lived long enough to take alarm at the Stamp Act riots, the onset of the storm that drove away his successor, the formidable Jonathan Odell. He came in July, 1767, and was the first American-born pastor of Saint Mary's — but that did not in the least diminish his loyalty to the king. The vestries of Burlington and Mount Holly agreed to join in one cure, and he agreed to divide his services equally between them, provided that Mount Holly should contribute equally to his salary. He found at Burlington a well-behaved congregation, including about a quarter of the two hundred families in town, and many people from the surrounding country; and until the Revolution, his was a happy pastorate.

Although he tried to keep his resolve "not to interfere directly or indirectly in Public affairs," he was too much of a High Churchman to sacrifice his religious duty, or keep silent when the Church was assailed. He boldly criticized Congress, and soon was singled out for special hostility, insulted, and restricted in his movements. In December, 1776, he fled before hot pursuit by a party of Tory-hunters, and took refuge in New York, leaving his wife and three children. He occasionally served as a British army chaplain, while his family remained as hostages in Burlington; his property in New Jersey was confiscated, and his financial condition became straitened. The vestry remained loyal to him, and on Easter Monday of 1777 voted him

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his salary in absence. He never returned to Saint Mary's, and died at Fred-erickton, New Brunswick, in 1818.

While he adjusted himself to life on a new frontier, his old parish re-ceived, although it had no settled pastor until 1789, when the Rev. Levi Heath began his ministry of some four years. Abraham Hewlings, Esq., and Samuel Roe represented Saint Mary's at the diocesan convention on July 6, 1785, and the former attended the convention of May, 1786, and helped to organize the Church in New Jersey. In those years of quiet recovery, Saint Mary's saw the fulfilment of John Talbot's vision of an American episcopate. [*Records*: The "Burlington Church Booke" begins in October, 1702. The first Parish Register begins in 1768.]

3

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH FREEHOLD

(1702)

WHILE KEITH was realizing his ambition to plant the Church firmly in the capital cities of the Jerseys, he did not neglect the countryside, particularly Monmouth County, where many of his former Quaker followers rallied to him, and Alexander Innes had prepared the ground. In 1687, as surveyor-general of East Jersey, he had moved from Perth Amboy with his servants and books, and founded the township of Freehold, where he lived comfortably among his many Quaker scholars and friends. They generally followed him when he left the Quakers in 1692-94, and welcomed him with open arms when he returned to America in 1702 as an Anglican missionary.

Keith lingered a long time in Monmouth, and preached repeatedly in 1702-04 in the seceding Quaker meeting at Toponemus in the present town-ship of Marlboro. Those gatherings, the germ of Saint Peter's, assembled in a meeting house built under Keith's auspices upon land given by his good friend, Thomas Boels, who had bought it on March 2, 1689, from Peter Sonmans. The building was erected before December, 1693, when Boels sold one hundred acres of his land, excepting an acre and a half "at the meet-ing house." It is believed to have been a rude wooden building, without even a floor. After Boels joined Keith in the Church, it was furnished for Episco-pal services and became known as "St. Peter's of Topanemes," and on March 20, 1709, was devised by his will "to the use of the church."

Keith returned to England in 1704, but did not leave his flock of ex-

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Quakers without a pastor, as they were visited now and then by John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, and constantly by Alexander Innes, who worked without any charge to the Society until shortly before his death at Perth Amboy on August 1, 1713. In his will, dated July 27, 1713, he gave £10 to be spent by Thomas Boels for the benefit of the church in Freehold.

After his death, except for occasional ministrations of William Skinner of Perth Amboy, Freehold had no regular pastor until John Forbes, another Scot, arrived in 1733. He was the Society's first settled missionary in Monmouth County, and as the rector of all its churches, began the *Record Book of the Episcopal Churches of Monmouth County New Jersey 1733*. Until his untimely death in 1736, he apparently lived among his fellow Scots at Toponemus, had a very successful ministry, was much respected as "a man of most excellent spirit," and greatly increased the Church. His heavy burden was occasionally lightened by visits of neighboring missionaries, who had penetrated the county before his coming.

The great event of his pastorate was the charter granted to the parish on June 4, 1736, in the name of King George II, by John Hamilton, president of the council and commander-in-chief of New Jersey. The petitioners and incorporators were John Campbell, William Nichols, Joseph and Job Throckmorton, Joseph Newton, James Anderson, Thomas Hankinson, Matthew Rew, James Dey, Kenneth Anderson, and William Madock. As "the Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry of St. Peter's Church in the Town of Freehold," they could accept gifts, hold property, and conduct all usual parochial business. The parish could have one minister, twelve vestrymen, and two wardens, one elected by the minister and the vestry (including the other warden), and one by a plurality of the seat-holders and subscribers. The wardens and vestrymen could nominate and appoint the rector, and were whimsically required to pay an annual rent of one peppercorn, if lawfully demanded, to the receiver-general of New Jersey at Perth Amboy.

The second pastor was the Rev. John Milne, an Englishman, who for ten years before his coming in 1736 had been missionary at Albany, New York. Although he was a man of deep piety and probably more than ordinary ability, he was too fond of the convivial cup. The Society grew tired of paying him without getting any reports, and finally dismissed him. But their troubles were not over, as he remained in the county and for some time refused to give up the glebe at Middletown. That greatly distressed his successor, Thomas Thompson, and provoked a sordid wrangle, in which Freehold supported Thompson, while Shrewsbury and Middletown favored Milne.

Thompson deserved a better welcome, for he was one of the Society's most scholarly, devoted, and self-sacrificing missionaries. He arrived in the late summer of 1745 and served until he sailed for the west coast of Africa

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in the fall of 1751. He found the old church at Toponemus dilapidated and inconvenient, as it was "distant from any town," and urged its removal to the growing village of Freehold. The present church lot there had been deeded to the parish in 1738. It is a tradition that when the old building at Toponemus was abandoned about 1771, its materials were used in the new and larger one at Freehold. The parish retained title to the old church lot and cemetery at Toponemus, with the graves of many founders and other early members. It is now completely overgrown and almost inaccessible, although the parish has a right of way to it from the nearest road.

While the ancient site gradually slipped into neglect, the parish prospered in its new home. Considerably repaired and altered at various times since then, Saint Peter's is now the second oldest Episcopal church building in New Jersey. During the Revolutionary War, it became very dilapidated, having been used and abused at various times as an army hospital and as a storehouse.

The fourth pastor, Samuel Cooke, arrived late in the fall of 1751, and found the parish flourishing. But before long Saint Peter's was in trouble with the parishes at Middletown and Shrewsbury. They were grieved that Freehold paid half of the popular subscription for his salary, and therefore claimed half of his time. They proposed that each church should pay one third and get a proportionate share of his ministry, and Saint Peter's agreed. He served the three parishes until 1766, when the Society divided the huge Monmouth mission, by setting off Freehold and Spotswood. The latter parish originated in the demand for local services among Churchmen who lived at South River, Cranbury, and Matchaponex, and objected to riding many miles to Toponemus or Freehold.

The first pastor of the new mission, George Spencer, set off on the wrong foot, and soon left under a cloud. The people were not much more fortunate with his successor, the Rev. William Ayres, who came in 1767-68 and served until 1796, through the confusion and barbarous devastations of war and the formative years of the Diocese of New Jersey. He was a sickly and unhappy man, completely disabled by insanity for years at a time. Saint Peter's long struggled through dark ways, with a desecrated church, and a scattered and dwindling congregation. The parish had no services for long periods, and was not represented in the diocesan convention until 1788. After the war, a mere remnant of the congregation remained, and the church was not well repaired until 1792-95. Although further work was done in 1799 and 1810-11, Saint Peter's reached a low ebb in the early 1830's. It was revived largely through the zeal of Bishop George W. Doane, who in 1838 consecrated the completely renovated building.

CHRIST CHURCH SHREWSBURY (1702)

THE PARISH originated in a group of prominent families headed by Colonel (later Governor) Lewis Morris of Tintern Manor. They listened with respectful attention to the ardent preaching of George Keith, who had taught Morris and came over in the same ship with him from England in 1702. In the preceding year, the colonel petitioned the Society for a missionary, and Keith was the answer to his prayer. Together they lit in Shrewsbury a candle that has been burning steadily for two hundred and fifty years.

When Keith came in October, 1702, he found the nucleus of a parish in Shrewsbury. On the 24th, he preached in a home near the meeting house where the Quakers were holding their annual assembly, and had "a great congregation" of Churchmen and sympathizers. The place probably was the house of Nicholas Brown from Rhode Island, a good friend of Dr. Alexander Innes.

By tradition, the organization of Christ Church is dated from Keith's visit to Colonel Morris' home on Christmas Day, 1702, with Dr. Innes and the Rev. John Talbot. Keith preached and Talbot administered Holy Communion to the original members, who are supposed to have been Colonel Lewis and Dame Isabella Morris; William Leeds and his sister Mary; Janet Ray (or Rhea); John, Anna, Helena, and John Reid, Jr.; Thomas Boels and his wife Margaret; Alexander Neaper (Napier) and his wife, Alexander Neaper, Jr., David Neaper and another member of the family; John Johnston and his wife Euphame; John Anderson; and Margaret, wife of John Reid.

Keith was anxious to plant the Church in Shrewsbury village, and preached there two days later, on Sunday, at a home near the Quaker meeting house, to "a considerable auditory of Church people, lately converted from Quakerism, with divers others of the Church of best note in that part of the country." After a long tour in the South, he returned in October, 1703, preaching twice at Shrewsbury; and in January, 1704, held two meetings in Colonel Morris' mansion "at the Falls." He left Monmouth with an amazing record of converts and baptisms, having permanently rooted the Church in Shrewsbury.

Colonel Morris in his enthusiasm proposed to build and endow a church at Tintern Manor, for his friends and the laborers at his farm and iron

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works, but he sold the estate, and Shrewsbury seemed a more promising location in the shrewd foresight of Dr. Innes. His good friend, Nicholas Brown, gave the land upon which Christ Church now stands, and he drew the deed to the Society, dated May 20, 1706, and acknowledged by Brown on July 9, 1714. The first church probably was begun shortly after the recording of the deed, on the corner opposite the "Friends Meeting house" and "John West's great house lot."

The building was not completed until a few years before the arrival of John Forbes, the first missionary, in 1733. The Rev. William Skinner of Perth Amboy described it in 1732 as a solid edifice "of Brick and lime . . . the largest and best proportioned Structure in that County," erected by the people "in mere hopes that they might have a Missionary."

Within a generation, the parish became perhaps the richest in the province. Early donations included the handsome silver Communion set sent by Queen Anne in 1708 and continuously used ever since. Five years later, Dr. Innes, near his death, bequeathed £5, and his books to be shared with Middletown and Freehold. By the will of William Leeds, probated in 1739, Christ Church shared with Middletown a glebe of 438 acres, divided between them when they separated in 1854. A tablet in memory of Leeds is in the vestibule of the present church, north of which is the grave where his remains were deposited after their removal from the glebe in 1906.

The parish, including Middletown, was incorporated by a charter granted on June 3, 1738, in the name of King George II, by John Hamilton, president of the council and commander-in-chief of New Jersey. It is now displayed in the vestibule of the church. By its provisions, until 1854, Shrewsbury and Middletown had the same rector and shared the benefits of the Leeds "Church Farm."

A settled missionary was expected when the church was built, but for about twenty years after the death of Innes, there were only occasional and irregular services by distant missionaries, including John Brooke and Edward Vaughan of Elizabeth Town, and Thomas Haliday and William Skinner of Perth Amboy. The latter was especially faithful, devoting "great Pains and Charges and hard labour even to the Impairing his health in attending the numerous congregations of people in Monmouth County."

John Forbes, the first missionary pastor, died in 1736, "worn to a nub" by hard work. His successor was John Milne, who came from Albany and served until 1745, when the Society discharged him for neglect of duty and intemperance. Many people disliked him, because he had no Scottish or Quaker background, and because he displayed the unpolished ways of the frontier, acquired among the Mohawks and in the garrison at Fort Hunter. They said that he tore through the service at top speed in the banal manner

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of somebody reading a newspaper, and that whole families attended other services rather than listen to him. Yet the *Record Book of the Episcopal Churches of Monmouth County*, now in the keeping of Christ Church, shows that he did not neglect to enter his many baptisms, marriages, and burials. After William Leeds' death, he lived on the "Church Farm" at Middletown until he left to become a physician in an expedition against Canada.

His successor, Thomas Thompson, was probably the most intellectual of the colonial pastors, and published an account of his mission at London in 1758, after returning from his mission to Sierra Leone, Africa, and becoming vicar of Reculver in the County of Kent, England. It bears the title, *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages*, and has become a book collector's prize.

Thompson succeeded in rescuing the three Monmouth churches from their dissension on account of Milne. He encouraged the Shrewsbury schoolmaster, Christopher Robert Reynolds, who began teaching under Milne and continued until his death in 1760. (See Chapter X). Together they extended the Church's influence far down the lonely coast and in the forbidding pine barrens at Shark River, Manasquan, Barnegat, and Manahawkin. The church in Shrewsbury became too small for the congregation.

"People of all sorts," he wrote, "resorted thither, and of the *Quakers*, which are a great Body in that Township, there were several who made no Scruple of being present at Divine Service, and were not too precise to uncover their Heads in the House of God."*

In his ministry, on May 1, 1747, begin the minutes of the vestry of the Episcopal churches in Monmouth County.

The vestry meetings were the bond of parish life, and continued even through the dark times of the Revolution. They decided how the pastor should apportion his time among the churches, voted his salary, elected "sidesmen" to assist the wardens, appointed the sexton, and regulated the building and sale of pews. In 1751, just before Thompson sailed for the feverish coast of Africa, the church was "pew'd," and the vestry decided to charge 15s for "the Ground for each Pew . . . to be applied to the use of the Church." Pews belonged to the owners and their heirs as long as they remained resident members and attended the church.

The old building became uncomfortable when the parish increased still more under the ministry of Samuel Cooke. It was only thirty by twenty-four feet, without a floor, and had a small rear gallery reached by an inside

**Account of Two Missionary Voyages* . . ., pp. 17-18.

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staircase. The pews and benches were jammed when the new pastor arrived in the late autumn of 1751.

But the people were not ready to bear the expense of a new and larger church, and contented themselves for the next decade with repairing the house on the glebe, paying 20s a year to a person for cleaning the church before services, selling vacant pews at auction, getting a lottery to repair the church, building gates for the yard, furnishing the "glebe house" or rectory, and having the bell hung better and rung at the proper times for service. In 1766, the vestry appointed a sexton and grave-digger, who could charge a dollar for opening a grave, and another for the use of the pall. In Cooke's time, Christ Church received two handsome gifts which it still uses. Robert Elliston, the comptroller of customs in New York, in 1752 gave a quaintly illustrated folio Bible, printed by John Basket at Oxford, England, in 1716-17, and bearing the Elliston coat of arms on the inside cover. It is known as a "Vinegar Bible," because of a curious error in printing "The Parable of the Vinegar" instead of "Vineyard" at the head of a page. Only seven copies are known to exist. In 1767, Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin, presented a Book of Common Prayer printed at Cambridge, England, in 1760.

By that time, the necessity of a new church could no longer be disregarded. The parish had grown considerably since 1765-66, when it happily secured more of Cooke's ministry through the combination of Freehold with Spotswood as a separate mission. In 1767, two parishioners were appointed to "examine the church and make a report of the cost of rebuilding or repairing thereof." They evidently thought it was beyond hope, as the parish decided to rebuild. The last important event in the old building was a convention of the clergy in 1766, to discuss the need of an American bishop.

Cooke was anxious to get ahead with the work, and secured a plan from an amateur architect in Philadelphia, the well-known Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia. On January 27, 1769, he produced a subscription of £450. The parish solicited some outside help, particularly a collection in New York by Captain Thomas Randall. Captain Haggerty donated the timber, and many others donated lumber and labor. The vestry became eager to "set about" at once, and on July 10 voted with the rector to locate the new church on the same site, due north and south, but two feet farther south. The wardens were requested to ask the Presbyterian minister, Mr. McKnight, for permission to use his meeting house during the building.

The builder's agreement, dated June 12, 1769, and now in the vestibule of the church, provided for an edifice to cost £300 Sterling, and to measure

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sixty-two by thirty-eight feet, with posts "as high as timber on the spot will admit of," which was twenty-four feet. When the cornerstone was laid, the mason, who might have been a careless Churchman, made a curious error in the inscription, carving "S. G. P." instead of S. P. G. with the date, 1769. The building was not completed until 1773, due to the scarcity of glass and nails during the trade stoppage against Great Britain. It was dedicated with pomp, and Cooke proudly wrote that he had "one of the most compleat & best furnished Churches in this Province." It was consecrated by Bishop George W. Doane in 1845.

Christ Church remains substantially as it came from the workmen's hands nearly two centuries ago. It has canopied pews for the rector and the governor, and chandeliers originally fitted with candle sockets. Another interesting feature is a bishop's throne, carved by Robert H. White, clerk of the vestry, from the oak tree in which the church bell formerly hung. Some of the large tombstones were set in the floor, while others were covered by the building. The general atmosphere is that of a carefully tended English rural church.

Unhappily for the parish's peace, the great undertaking resulted in a breach between the rector and Josiah Holmes, one of the wardens. The latter did not like the building committee, of which he was not a member, and disapproved the arrangements for work. He resigned in a huff, and his name was crossed out in the minutes, not to appear again until 1777. By that time, he and his pastor were on opposite sides of the political fence, as he was one of the patriot leaders in Monmouth County and the rector was just as ardent a loyalist. In December, 1778, Cooke's property was confiscated in his absence, because he had become a deputy chaplain to the Brigade of Guards in the king's army. His churches were greatly weakened, because many parishioners took his side and suffered with him. In the summer of 1775 he went to England, and later was appointed by the Society as missionary at Fredericton, New Brunswick. There he was drowned, May 23, 1795, while crossing the St. John's River in a canoe on a dark and windy night.

Judge Holmes was left supreme, and sat in the vestry until he died in 1790, sometimes with as many as four from his quiverful of sons. Aside from business regarding the glebe and other property, there was little for the vestry to do throughout the war. Services were held now and then by Abraham Beach of New Brunswick and William Ayres of Freehold and Spotswood, sometimes even by "dissenting preachers." For a time the church was used as a barracks by American soldiers. At one time a company of them became so enraged by the sight of a royal crown on the steeple, that they tried to burn the building when their bullets would not bring it down. It was saved by the efforts of a Quaker named Parker, who happened to be

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riding by. The crown is still on the spire, and is believed to be the only one so located in the United States. The ball beneath it shows bullet marks.

Christ Church was without a rector until the induction of the Rev. Henry Waddell, who served from 1788 until 1798, when he accepted a call to Saint Michael's, Trenton. The parish took an active part in organizing the Church in the United States and in New Jersey. On Easter Tuesday, 1786, the vestry elected Henry Waddell (then still a layman), Joseph Throckmorton, and William Pintard as delegates from Shrewsbury and Middletown to the diocesan convention at Perth Amboy in May, "with full power to act and do whatever shall appear to be necessary for the Good of the church." They thus assisted in realizing the dream of Keith and Talbot for a diocesan organization in America.

[*Records:* The first volume of the Parish Register, including the records for Monmouth County, was begun by the Rev. John Forbes in 1733 and extends to 1775. The first volume of Vestry minutes begins in 1747 and ends in 1854, when the churches in Shrewsbury and Middletown were separated. The parish also possesses a deed, dated 1676, from Lord Carteret to William Stout, for the old glebe land, and a deed of 1684 from Indian chiefs to William Leeds, also for the glebe land.]

5

CHRIST CHURCH MIDDLETOWN (1702)

THE PARISH in Middletown was one of the lasting works of that noble apostle, the Rev. Alexander Innes. He settled in the township probably around 1700, for on October 28 of that year, Dr. and Mrs. John Johnston sold him a farm of forty acres. It was located south and west of Hop River and across the stream from the William Leeds "Church Farm." An old tradition claims that before there was a church he used to hold services in the home of John Stout. He gathered a considerable congregation before George Keith came to preach in Middletown in October, 1702. One of his converts was that wealthy and influential landowner, William Leeds, whose devotion to Innes caused him to patronize the parish in a way it still remembers with gratitude.

After Keith sailed for England, Innes kept his old friends and converts active and loyal, and secured the site for a church. He appealed to his friend, neighbor and fellow Scotsman, Dr. John Johnston, who in 1705

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gave him two acres of the proprietary lands on the main street, for the use of the Church. According to the record of survey, dated November 12, 1705, this is the church and rectory lot now owned by the parish. Innes' concern for the Church's welfare in Middletown never tired, and by his will, dated July 27, 1713, he gave £5 for its use.

The intended location of the church was already historic ground, for upon it had stood a blockhouse used as a refuge during Indian troubles. In 1684, after that danger had disappeared, it was used as a jail and as a court house. Probably because no regular missionary came until 1733, and because there were churches at Shrewsbury and Freehold, nearly forty years passed before the people finished a church. The Rev. Thomas Thompson, who arrived in 1745, wrote in his *Narrative* that it had been begun only the year before, "and had nothing done on the inside, not even a floor laid. So that we had no Place for the present, to assemble in for divine Worship, only an old House, which had formerly been a Meeting House." He referred to the Presbyterian meeting house. He could not stand the sight of the useless shell of a church, and in 1746 induced the people to lay the floor and make it fit for worship.*

By that time the Church in Middletown was sure of financial support, due to the devotion of William Leeds II. To his name has clung a ridiculous and slanderous legend, that he was one of Captain Kidd's pirate cronies, who endowed the Church merely out of anxious and repentant desire to "get right with God." He was the grandson of Thomas Leeds, an English Quaker who lived in 1676-86 at Little Silver Point, Shrewsbury; and son of William Leeds, a cooper, who on February 7, 1679-80, acquired part of the later "Church Farm." William Leeds II inherited that property, and in his will, June 20, 1735, bequeathed it as a glebe to the churches of Middletown and Shrewsbury. Each church should have an equal right in the land, and the executors and the vestry were forbidden to divide it. Any clergyman, who wasted the estate or brought scandal upon his calling, should be deprived of its use.

The bequest became available after Leeds' death in 1739, and in anticipation of obtaining it, fifteen "freeholders and inhabitants," on June 3, 1738, obtained a charter incorporating the two churches. (See Christ Church, Shrewsbury). The charter anticipated the provisions of Leeds' will by forbidding the corporation to alienate property contrary to the intention of the donors. Until the first annual meeting on Easter Monday next, the incorporators were to serve as vestrymen for the united churches. They were William Leeds, Henry Leonard, John Throckmorton, Samuel Osburn, Thomas Morford, James Hutchins, Jeremiah Stillwell, John Redford, Jacob

**Account of Two Missionary Voyages*, pp. 8-9, 14. James Steen, *New Aberdeen*, p. 9.

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Dennis, Paul Hill, Benjamin Cooper, Pontius Still, Samuel Pintard, Anthony Pintard, and Josiah Holmes.

The Church in Middletown thus shared in an almost princely estate, 438 acres of farm land near Swimming River. It held joint possession until 1854, when in accordance with a resolution of the vestry it was incorporated as a separate parish by a law of New Jersey, with the rights enjoyed by the Leeds will and the charter of 1738. The respective parishes secured their lots, buildings, furniture, and rectories, and an equal division of the glebe and all other real and personal property. On March 15, the vestry named David Williamson of Middletown and John M. Lippincott of Shrewsbury to meet with three commissioners appointed by the act, to help divide the glebe. The partition took place in 1855, and Middletown took 187 acres, the portion west of the road from Leedsville south into Atlantic township. The parish finally sold this tract, obtaining a release from the Bishop of London in 1888, but still enjoys a small income from the proceeds of its share in the endowment. The donor is commemorated by a monument in the churchyard.

Christ Church waited many years for the services of an appointed missionary. For twenty years after the death of Innes in 1713, the only pastoral care was occasional visits by distant missionaries, especially those at Elizabeth and Perth Amboy. After 1733, the church shared with Shrewsbury and Freehold the services of John Forbes, 1733-36; John Milne, 1738-45; Thomas Thompson, 1745-51; and Samuel Cooke, 1751-1775. By agreement with the great vestry, they divided their time among the parishes of Monmouth County, so that they came to Middletown only once, or at most twice, in a month. Thompson's *Narrative* states that the congregation was small, and did not seem likely to grow much, because of stiff competition from a long established Baptist church that met every week.

The sky began to brighten in the energetic ministry of Cooke, who brought great strength and prestige to his churches by his marriage to Miss Graham Kearney, who had many wealthy and influential relatives. Mainly through his efforts, Christ Church was repaired with the proceeds of a lottery of 600 "Pieces of Eight," drawn on October 12, 1758, at "Biles Island" in the Delaware. Among the managers were John Taylor, Esq., and John Cooper, of Middletown.

Cooke's ministry ended unhappily when the Revolution caused a division in the parish. Services lapsed for a long time while the church was used as a hospital and declined into miserable disrepair. It finally became so unsafe that in 1835 a new building was erected around the old frame. It was consecrated by Bishop George W. Doane on June 19, 1836, and is still in use — a charming clapboarded edifice with pointed windows and front door,

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and a square belfry with latticed Gothic openings and pinnacles. The bell was a gift from the people of Middletown village. Beside the church stands the rectory, built in 1899 with funds partly derived from the sale of lots in the original church property. The title was cleared in 1900 through the Bishop of London. The parish completely renovated and modernized the house in 1949, and in 1949-50 erected a parish house in a style harmonizing with the venerable church.

Christ Church recovered slowly from the damages of war, and as late as 1834 the rector, Harry Finch, informed Bishop Doane that "the political prejudices of the Revolution are still unjustly excited to the injury of this Church." During the post-war depression, Christ Church was served by the rectors at Shrewsbury, the Rev. Messrs. Henry Waddell, 1787-98; Andrew Fowler, 1802-05; and John Croes, Jr., 1809-24.

[*Records*: The Vestry Minutes, 1747-1854, and the Parish Register, 1733-75, are in the custody of Christ Church, Shrewsbury. The parish possesses a copy of the will of William Leeds II, dated June 20, 1735.]

6

TRINITY CHURCH WOODBIDGE (1702)

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH had more difficulty in getting established in Woodbridge than in any other town. The original settlers were dyed-in-the-wool Puritans from Newburyport, Massachusetts, and named the place for their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Woodbridge. Later came Quakers, Baptists, and "Ranters," and a group of Scottish Presbyterians, whose influence drew the Congregational church into the Philadelphia Presbytery. In his "Memorial" on religion in the Jerseys in 1700, Colonel Lewis Morris despaired of planting the Church in Woodbridge.

There was a faint ray of hope, as the town charter, granted on June 11, 1669, provided for a glebe of "two hundred acres of good upland and meadow" to support a minister, who might be of the Church of England if "the pluralitie of voices of the freeholders and freemen" wished. The inhabitants should contribute to his support "according to their estate." As there were few Episcopalians, the Puritan majority favored their own minister and eventually seized the glebe.

The town therefore stared coldly at the first Church minister ever to enter it, the Rev. Edward Portlock, who settled at Perth Amboy in 1698

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and during his ministry of about two years "preached some time in Woodbridge," according to Governor Jeremiah Bass. His occasional ministry inspired the formation of a parish, probably in 1702. The event is believed to be commemorated by a stone, inscribed "A.D. 1702" and set in the face of an arch at the rear of the church, about thirty-five feet above the ground. George Keith found a congregation when he preached at Woodbridge on December 30, 1703. Puritan disapproval had melted somewhat by that time, as Mr. Shepherd, the minister, and some others invited him to use the "Independent" meeting house, and Shepherd entertained him at the parsonage after the sermon.

The next ten years foretold the parish's up-and-down fortunes during the colonial period, when it was pushed about from one mission to another, and the people hardly knew from year to year who their parson would be. Services were occasionally held by John Talbot of Burlington, John Sharpe of New York, John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, and Thomas Haliday of Perth Amboy. The prospect began to brighten about 1711, when some people became dissatisfied with the town's preacher, the Rev. Samuel Wade. Ten men, including the influential Benjamin Dunham, invited Edward Vaughan of Elizabeth Town to visit them at his convenience. He began to come about every two weeks, and as he was then in the early energy of his mission, the feeble parish gained new life and hope. It was increased considerably by people who left the "Independent" or Congregational church because they disliked its absorption into the Presbyterian fold.

As they still had no church, the faithful gathered in the town meeting-house, or in the home of the most prominent member, Benjamin Dunham. His house probably stood at Dunhamtown, just north of the meeting house green. He was a son of Jonathan Dunham, who about 1670 built a brick house that was the origin of the present rectory. His grist mill stood by the river, near the later site of Trinity Church, and one of its massive grindstones now lies in the "island" in the rectory driveway.

Benjamin Dunham threw his weight behind the movement to build a church, which was to occupy a lot on the green north of the meeting house, given to the Episcopalians by general consent, as a part of the two hundred acres assigned for church purposes in the town charter granted by Governor Philip Carteret. Soon after he was invited to Woodbridge, Vaughan sought a license to build a church from Governor Hunter, who consented graciously and gave £5 to the building fund. The parson raised nearly £100 by subscription, work began apparently in 1713, and next year he began to hold services in the building whenever weather permitted. It was a wooden-frame chapel, contemptuously described by the Rev. William Skinner of Perth Amboy as "made up of clapboards nailed together in a very sorry

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manner." In 1718 it still lacked a floor and window glass; it never was completed, and finally fell to pieces from sheer neglect. Vaughan called it "probably the smallest you have ever seen, but amply sufficient for the congregation at this day."

He spoke more truly than he could have guessed, for misfortune began to pursue the parish when it was barely started. Mr. Dunham died in 1715, the Presbyterians refused to share the glebe, and Vaughan was too busy with his growing parish at Elizabeth Town to give much attention to poor little Woodbridge. For a few years Haliday came now and then, and from 1722 to 1752 his successor, William Skinner, held services at long intervals. He reported that the congregation numbered "about 50" in 1724, and thereafter the parish practically lapsed, only a few faithful people going to Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy.

The Church was saved by the energetic and confident personality of James Parker, who in 1751 established in Woodbridge the first printing press in New Jersey. When no priest could come, he read the services, and the people liked him. Through his influence, the doughty Thomas B. Chandler, missionary at Elizabeth Town, took the fledgling parish under his ample wing, and bluntly reminded the S. P. G. that no priest had visited the town "for upwards of twenty years." He began a monthly "lecture," with seldom less than two hundred hearers, and within three years increased the Church families from one to twenty. Later he could come only once in six weeks, because he was so much needed elsewhere, but the Presbyterians were so scared that they dismissed their poor old minister, who had served them for over thirty years, because they thought he could not stand up to Chandler and Parker. They then began to persecute the Church.

"They claim," Parker told the Society in 1764, "that liberty of conscience for themselves which they dont seem willing to allow to others. We do not trouble them, but they will not eat their bread in quiet with us . . . It hath pleased God to gather and increase the Church here a little, though the chief of us, being old, can't hope long to continue; notwithstanding, our children, we hope, are growing up in the same path."

He moved to New York City in 1766 to be postmaster, and the parish sorely missed him. When he died in 1770 at Burlington, his body was brought to Woodbridge in procession and buried in the presence of a host of friends.

His zeal and devotion inspired the erection of a new church on the site of the unfinished first one. Begun in 1754, it was completed by October 31, 1756, and stood until destroyed by fire on March 7, 1858. A quaint

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sketch, made in 1838 by the noted historian, William A. Whitehead, shows it as a small frame chapel, with a steeply pitched roof, front and side entrances, and a small octagonal belfry with a spire topped by a ball and a weather vane. Around it stood the gravestones of former parishioners, and before the front door towered a huge tree. When the building was about completed, the Society donated a Common Prayer Book and a folio New Testament dated 1751, which is still preserved. The parish has also a beautiful silver chalice, inscribed

"The gift of Mary Dennis, Widow: to Trinity Church in Woodbridge, December ye 25th., 1760."

The revival of the 1750's bore the parish through a devastating small-pox epidemic in 1760, and into the dark days of the Revolution. In 1763-64, Chandler had to give all his time to Elizabeth Town and his missions on the northwestern frontier, and suggested annexing Woodbridge to Perth Amboy. He was accordingly succeeded for three years by Robert McKean, a young priest of brilliant promise. Although Perth Amboy did not like it, he gave a third of his service to Woodbridge, letting James Parker read the rest of the time. In 1764 there were twelve families, fourteen communicants, and fifty persons in the parish.

The last colonial pastor was the Rev. John Preston, chaplain to the 26th British Regiment at Perth Amboy, and missionary of the Society. With the assistance of a layreader, he served until the Revolution suspended public worship and shattered parochial life. The outstanding event of his ministry was the incorporation of Trinity Parish on December 6, 1769, by the still effective charter granted in the name of King George III by Governor William Franklin. The parish now possesses the original text, naming the incorporators: Samuel Jacques and Samuel Tingley as wardens, and David Alston, Esq., Thomas Hadden, Joseph Donham, and Ebenezer Foster as vestrymen.

When the son of "Ben" Franklin put his seal on the charter, time's dark events were charging upon Woodbridge. The Revolutionary troubles were seething, and in 1774 the parish became involved in a lawsuit against the Presbyterians to gain possession of the glebe, which the Episcopalians claimed had been granted to the Church of England. Although the rent of £60 a year, local currency, would have greatly increased his income, Preston disapproved going to law and suggested a division of the property, which the vestry vainly proposed to the Presbyterians. The only result was to increase hostility to the Church as a loyalist group, and the outbreak of war stopped the proceedings forever.

It was a very small group, consisting of only a few families in 1771,

and during the military confusion it practically faded away. When the king's army occupied the town, from December 2, 1776, until June 22, 1777, the church became the barracks of part of a regiment, and the rectory was turned into a fort.

After the war, the congregation was so scattered that the parish sent no delegate to the diocesan convention until 1789, and services were few and far between until 1810. The Church had to be practically refounded in Woodbridge; and as once before, the revival was chiefly due to the energy of one man, Daniel Terrill, a vestryman. Mostly through gifts from other places, the building was renovated in 1810, and since that time the parish has never lapsed. It has, however, never been as large and as vigorous as it is today — 1952.

7

SAINT MICHAEL'S CHURCH
TRENTON
(1703)

MOST OF THE NON-QUAKERS around Trenton were originally members of the Church of England. Settlement began about 1678, when the Quaker, Mahlon Stacy, erected a grist mill at the Falls of the Delaware. Within twenty years the region contained two large townships, Hopewell and Maidenhead, extending south to Assunpink Creek, which flows through the city of Trenton. By 1698-99, settlement was so advanced that Jeremiah Bass and Thomas Revell, agents of the West Jersey Proprietors, gave one hundred acres of land in Maidenhead for a meeting house, a cemetery, and a school.

Shortly after 1679, some plantations near the Falls were occupied by Church of England families, including the Pearsons, Hutchinsons, Tyndalls, Eatons, Parks, and Heaths. In 1700-10, they were visited by the Rev. Evan Evans of Christ Church, Philadelphia, who on one occasion baptized nineteen children, and in 1709 reported "a numerous congregation." John Talbot of Saint Mary's, Burlington, as early as 1702-03 recorded baptisms in the region.

Among the steady Churchmen was John Hutchinson, who inherited the 5000-acre "Hutchinson's Manor" on the Delaware in Hopewell, and lived in the "Manor House," some distance from the river. On April 20, 1703, for £10, he conveyed two acres in that part of the estate to Andrew Heath, Richard Eayre, Abial Davis, and Zebulon Heston, in trust for the

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people of Hopewell, "for the erection and building of a public meeting house," and for a cemetery. This property was part of the "Breeze farm" on the River Road, adjoining the grounds of the present State Hospital on the west. The title eventually came to Saint Michael's, Trenton, which sold the land in 1838, retaining only the small cemetery. By 1859 it had become so neglected that the stone wall was falling and only a few gravestones remained.

Although they despaired of getting a missionary in the near future, the faithful subscribed funds for a church, which was built on the Hutchinson lot and completed sometime in 1704-05. Although it was always mentioned as the Hopewell church, it was intended to serve the Episcopalians of both townships. It stood on "the Easterly Side of the Highway leading between the house of the said John Hutchinson and said Andrew Heath," and is supposed to have been "a very rude affair" of logs. But it must have presented a churchly appearance, as "good Queen Anne" gave lead, glass, pulpit and altar cloths. After the erection of Saint Michael's in Trenton about 1747-48, the little building was gradually abandoned, and disappeared long before 1801.

The parish was not legally organized until April 3, 1705, when Richard Ingoldsby, lieutenant-governor of New York and New Jersey, granted a "lycense" to Thomas Tindall, Roger Parke, Robert Eaton, and Andrew Heath, as "Church Wardens of the said Church to be called by the name of Christ Church." Together with the minister and the vestrymen, they could exercise all powers of such officers in England and receive gifts to complete the building.

About 1716 another church was erected at Maidenhead on part of the land deeded by Bass and Revell for a meeting house, a cemetery, and a school. It was used by John Talbot and other Anglican missionaries, but did not belong solely to the Church, being a sort of community building. The Presbyterians seized the land and defeated all efforts of the Church to claim it.

As the eagerly awaited missionary did not come for year after year, the name Hopewell must have seemed very ironic. The tireless Talbot took pity on the destitute people and came as often as he could be spared from Burlington and other places. His friend, the Rev. John Sharpe, ministered at Maidenhead and Hopewell in 1704-06, and in his journal* mentions preaching there on April 23, 1706, in the presence of Governor Cornbury. For a short time, Chaplain May of the ship *Feversham*, on the Delaware at Burlington, visited the parish through the kindness of Captain Paxton.

*In the *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, v. 40

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Others who served before 1720 were Talbot's assistant, Thoroughgood Moor, Robert Walker of Bristol, and Thomas Haliday of Perth Amboy.

Again and again Talbot reminded the Society to send a missionary, while the people fairly bombarded the secretary with petitions and addresses, and even wrote to the Bishop of London. At their special request, the Rev. Jacob Henderson, missionary at Dover Hundred in Delaware, preached to them from time to time, but could not comply with their pressing entreaties to settle there.

At long last, in 1720-21, the Society appointed the Rev. William Harrison as missionary to Hopewell and Maidenhead. But after he had crossed the vast Atlantic and landed at Lewes in Delaware, two hundred miles from Hopewell, he had to remain for a while at William Trent's house in Trenton, and then turn back because the impassable wintry roads forbade his reaching the church until Lent! He stayed in Philadelphia until he could travel, and then served the parish only about a year. The people liked him and he worked hard, but he was not young, found the frontier too exhausting, and in 1723 transferred to Saint Andrew's, Staten Island.

In their forlorn state, the poor people turned once more to the aged John Talbot. He visited Hopewell and Trenton in September, 1723, and preached, baptized, visited the sick, and gave the Communion even to some former Quakers, who were eighty years old and "loth to die without the comfort of it." His successor, Robert Weyman, also gave Hopewell the time he could spare from Burlington and Bristol.

Talbot's almost casual reference to Trenton reveals the change in density of population that eventually required a new location of the church. The movement was due largely to William Trent, an Episcopalian from Inverness in Scotland. After prospering as a merchant and politician in Philadelphia, he moved to Trenton in 1714, and bought from Mahlon Stacy an estate of eight hundred acres on both sides of Assunpink Creek, which he named "Bloomsbury." In the 1720's, through his winning manner and political finesse, he served as a representative in the assembly, speaker of the house, and chief justice of the New Jersey supreme court. Soon the village at the Falls naturally became *Trent's Town* or *Trenton*. It grew fast in the 1730's, and in 1746 was incorporated as a borough. By 1748 Trenton had several named streets and three places of worship — the Presbyterian and Quaker meeting houses and an Episcopal church.

The last represented a southward trend of population and the enterprise of several ardent members, who had wanted to move the church to a more convenient location. They found a sympathizer in William Lindsay, the traveling missionary in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, who in 1735-45 visited Trenton at least every third Sunday, and oftener in summer. He

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found that many had lapsed into infidelity because of neglect, and that the little church at Hopewell was in ruins. He began to reclaim the backsliders, and in 1737 reported nineteen communicants in Trenton.

One of them might have been Colonel Daniel Coxe, an eminent parishioner of Saint Mary's in Burlington, who owned a large tract of land in Maidenhead and used to visit Trenton. On April 30, 1739, he bequeathed the "Town Lott" of one hundred acres in Maidenhead "to and for the use of an Episcopal Church erected or to be hereafter Erected." The land upon which the present Saint Michael's Church stands is a part of this tract, a portion of the original purchase by William Trent from Mahlon Stacy, Jr., in 1714. John Coxe, a son of Colonel Daniel, bought the ground at a sheriff's sale in 1742, and gave a deed for it before 1748.

The old building, fronting on King (now Warren) Street, probably was started in 1747 and completed about 1752, when the parish conducted a Pennsylvania lottery for the purpose. It was constructed of stone, and measured sixty-four by forty-two feet, with a recessed chancel sixteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The name "Saint Michael's" does not appear in the vestry minutes until 1761. Peter Kalm, the noted Swedish botanist and traveler, saw the new church in 1748, but unfortunately did not describe it in the account of his American journey. Records reveal the general plan of the interior, with twenty large pews on each side of a broad aisle or "alley" from the front door to the chancel, and with the pulpit in the middle of the left side. One large pew, at the left of the chancel entrance, was reserved for strangers.

It was easier to erect a church than to get a settled parson. For a long while after Lindsay left, the only ministers were Richard Locke, the traveling missionary in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and his successor, George Craig, who lived sixty miles away and came only once. Before the Revolution, Saint Michael's never kept a rector very long. The first was that fascinating character, Michael Houdin, the ex-Roman Catholic monk from Canada. He came in 1750 to serve Trenton, Allentown, and Bordentown, became missionary to Trenton and Amwell in 1753, and two years later became rector of Saint Michael's. After serving in Canada under military orders from 1757 until 1761, he was transferred from disappointed Trenton to the old French parish in New Rochelle, New York. The extant records of Saint Michael's begin in his ministry, on April 30, 1755, when the wardens were Daniel Coxe and Robert Lettice Hooper, and the vestrymen were Joseph Warrell, William Pidgeon, John Allen, Elisha Bond, Charles Axford, and John Dagworthy.

Between 1763 and the Revolution, Saint Michael's had three rectors. The Rev. Agur Treadwell served from April 4, 1763, until his death in

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August, 1765, giving two thirds of his time to Trenton, the rest to Allentown or Maidenhead. In his ministry the church obtained its first bell, given by the local merchant, Charles Coxe. It was later hung in a tower on a part of the old graveyard, now covered by the parish house.

Treadwell's death was a severe blow, as he was much liked by the people, and had begun to make up for the losses caused by long neglect. The wardens mourned him in a letter to the Society, and begged to have the Rev. Philip Reading. But he declined because of physical disability, and months glided away until the Rev. Jonathan Odell of Burlington tartly reminded the Society that the parish was declining. "Within the memory of many persons yet living," he wrote, "the Inhabitants of Trenton and the country for some distance around it, were chiefly members of the Church of England."

Fairly jolted into action, the Society finally complied with the parish's request, after a sharp prod from one of the wardens, Daniel Coxe, when he was in London. In May, 1769, they transferred the Rev. William Thomson from York and Cumberland Counties, Pennsylvania, to Trenton and Maidenhead. He arrived in town the next month, and to his dismay found the usual results of a long vacancy — indifference, neglect, no parish library, the surplice and Communion cloth stolen. He pitched in and worked until he could look down from the pulpit upon a well-filled church. He visited Princeton and offered to minister there on week days, as the Churchmen were raising a subscription to build a small church. In 1774 he resigned to accept a parish in Maryland.

His successor, the Rev. George Panton, came on April 11, 1774, and at first all went smoothly; but the Society disgusted the parishioners by cutting his salary in half, as it did for all missions ten or more years old. The wardens bluntly protested, and so did a committee of the New Jersey clergy, who declared that as the parish was small, the Church in Trenton would be ruined. By that time the storm of Revolution was brewing. At first it did not appear to endanger the Church, for when the New Jersey Provincial Congress met at Trenton in May, 1775, the rector was invited to share honors with the Presbyterian minister in opening the daily sessions with prayer, and was duly thanked for his "polite attention and services." Prayers for the king and the royal family soon became increasingly obnoxious. On July 7, 1776, the day before the Declaration of Independence was read from the steps of the court house, the rector, wardens, and vestry decided to suspend public worship temporarily, "till God in His Providence shall so order that it can be performed agreeably to the Principles & Constitution of the Church."

That "Temporary Suspension" proved to be "for the duration." Panton,

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a loyalist, soon fled to Philippsburg (Yonkers), New York, and served as chaplain to the Prince of Wales' American Regiment. He returned briefly in December, 1776, only to find his church turned into a barracks and stable by the Hessians. Their music-mad commander, Colonel Rahl, used to order the military band to parade around and around in the churchyard, playing with all their might. After Washington's surprise of the drunken mercenaries in the early morning of Christmas Day, Pantown again had no parish and had to decamp, abandoning all he had. The Continental Army used Saint Michael's as a hospital, and in 1781-82 the parish presented a large claim for damages, but there is no evidence that it was ever paid.

The people were not entirely abandoned, as William Frazer of Amwell had to leave his parish and come to live among them, running a boys' school to earn his living. He baptized, married, and buried many Trentonians before 1785, and in 1787-95 served as rector. On January 4, 1783, the congregation met, voted to revive public worship, and chose wardens and vestrymen. They repaired the church in 1785, and sent a lay delegate to the second convention which organized the Diocese of New Jersey in May, 1786. On October 26, 1795, the parish was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, as "The Trustees of St. Michael's Church in Trenton," and on January 28, 1818, was incorporated by a special act of the Assembly.

[Records: The only records dating from before the Revolution are the Vestry Minutes, beginning in 1755.]

8

SAINT JAMES' CHURCH PISCATAWAY (1704)

ACCORDING to Colonel Lewis Morris' description of religion in the Jerseys in 1700, Piscataway was about as flinty a soil for the Episcopal Church as its neighbor, Woodbridge. Most of the original settlers were New England Baptists, and the rest were a Babel of sects or had no religion. The pioneer minister of the Anglican Church was Edward Portlock of Perth Amboy, who used to visit some of the nearby towns in 1698-1700. The seed he planted was watered and cultivated by George Keith, who officiated in Piscataway on December 30, 1702.

The real organizer of the parish was John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, who gathered a large congregation before Lord Cornbury harried him out of the land in 1707. As the "Independent" (Congregational) preacher had

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left town, the people would have welcomed an Episcopal minister, provided he should *not* be a Scotsman. Brooke believed that if the Society would send the right kind of man, he would do more for the Church there than anywhere else. He was delighted to find "the best of all sorts of people coming over to the Church of England."

The people repaired the old town meeting house for services, but it soon became too small, and they moved for several years to the home of "a serious Christian," John Burroughs. In anticipation of a new church, the Society sent a Bible, a Prayer Book, and a Book of Homilies, or instructions. The parish was not formally organized until December 24, 1714, when the members elected John Barrow and Thomas Wetherel as wardens, and John Molleson, William Hodgson, Robert Webster, Charles Glover, Hopewell Hull, Henry Langstaff, Samuel Walker, John Jennings, William Olden, and Samuel Royce as vestrymen. Most of these men were early settlers and large landowners. The organization they formed was sufficient until 1837, when the parish was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey; it was reincorporated in 1913.

The difficulty in getting a church seemed endless, in spite of the parish's apparent prosperity. In 1711 Thomas Haliday declared that Piscataway had a larger congregation than Perth Amboy, with some pious and well-disposed people and some who came long distances to church. They had no surplice, no Bible, and no Communion table, and the only meeting place was an old broken-down town-house shared with the Baptists. Next year he reported progress in the plans for a church, and was visiting once in a fortnight, but he got into serious trouble and was not the man to finish the job.

It fell upon the shoulders of his energetic and devoted successor, Edward Vaughan of Elizabeth Town. One of the wardens, John Barrow, at the time of the parish's organization, agreed for £100 to build, floor, and plaster a timber church, with a decent Communion table and pulpit. But the agreement was broken, and Haliday blamed it upon Vaughan and some others, who insisted upon having a brick building too large for the parish, and collected £100 for it. At that time Piscataway contained only about one hundred families, with about ten who were truly loyal to the Church or lived at a convenient distance to come on Sunday.

Finally, the parishioners and the parson reduced their plans to conform with their means, and in 1717 erected the massive frame of a timber church. It was completed seven years later in the ministry of William Skinner of Perth Amboy, who was delighted with the "handsome Wooden Chapel." It served until a howling gale demolished it in 1835, and next year was replaced by the present church, consecrated in 1837 by Bishop George W.

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Doane. The original title to the land was considered defective, and in 1916 a perfect one was granted by the General Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, and by the Township of Raritan.

Saint James' parish began really to flourish with its new church and the able ministry of Skinner, who in 1722 joyfully reported that the congregation was growing every day, and would soon be as large as any in the region. In 1724-25, there were nineteen communicants, only six less than at Perth Amboy. Sixteen years later the congregation generally was two hundred; and at Christmas, 1748, forty-five persons received the Holy Communion. Next year Skinner told the Society that the church was crowded with Baptists. Although he could visit only every third Sunday, the parish grew steadily, and included many people higher up the Raritan River in the western part of the township. By 1742 some of them were meeting with Episcopalians in New Brunswick to select the site for a new church about two miles from the old one. That movement soon resulted in the founding of Christ Church, New Brunswick. (*See below*, No. 15.)

Skinner died in 1758, and after a period of uncertainty, Saint James' in 1761 welcomed the Rev. Robert McKean of New Brunswick. He officiated every third or fourth Sunday, and in the evening returned for service in Christ Church. Apparently everybody was happy until 1763, when he was transferred to Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, which was not willing to share his time. Until some better plan could be devised, the Hon. Edward Antill, Esq., "a Man of most exemplary Life and singular Piety," read prayers and a sermon every other Sunday.

The New Jersey missionaries in 1763 recommended uniting Piscataway with New Brunswick under the Rev. Leonard Cutting. He was pleased to find a "pretty considerable" congregation, increasing every time he came, but he was not so happy about the £15 sterling in subscriptions, "in general by People in low Circumstances, and but ill paid." He had to take his living chiefly in any produce he could get.

The flock was a hard one to keep together, being scattered over a large township, and was exposed to the influence of sectarians, particularly the Baptists, who objected to the sign of the cross. The people were "ornery" about rights to land and private property, and Cutting wrote:

"I find it more difficult to appease them when their temporal Interest is concerned, than when any Scruples arise in their Mind concerning Religion."

It is hardly surprising that he stayed only about two years. The low tone of spiritual life at Piscataway appears from the fact that the Holy Communion was seldom celebrated, and apparently was little regarded.

After another vacancy, the Rev. Abraham Beach took charge of New

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Brunswick and Piscataway, and served through the terrible confusion of the Revolution. He met the gainsayers head-on, and ordered plenty of tracts about the Church's doctrine of baptism for the Piscataway Baptists. The parish held its ground and in 1773 was busy in repairing the church, but within three years it was sharing the wartime fate of many other churches. In December, 1776, British troops occupied the region and seized the church, which they used as a hospital until June, 1777. Beach remained in New Brunswick throughout the war, but was known to be a loyalist, and was so watched and confined that he could hardly stir abroad.

When the clouds lifted in 1782, he gave a sad account of St. James':

"The Church at Piscataqua is by no means in a proper Condition to receive a Congregation, having been used as a Barrack for Troops in the Year 1777. I shall therefore be obliged to make use of a Private House to officiate in, till the Church can be repaired, which Circumstance cannot possibly take place in the present Situation of my People."

The fire on the altar had sunk to a mere ember, but as he wrote, it was beginning to glow again, and in 1784 the Rev. John Hamilton Rowland of Perth Amboy began to assist Beach and other priests in tending it. The parish sent John Arnold and Henry Sutton to the first convention of the Diocese of New Jersey, July 6, 1785, and Arnold attended the convention of May 16-19, 1786. Although without a resident pastor and reduced to a small number, Saint James' sent representatives to every convention throughout the hard years of reconstruction, until 1809. The tree planted by Portlock and Keith was too deeply rooted to wither, and is still green.

9

SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH ELIZABETH (1706)

AMONG THE RIVAL SECTS in the town before 1700 were a few devout Episcopalians, who welcomed the occasional ministrations of journeying priests. One of them was Edward Portlock, who preached in Woodbridge, Piscataway, and Elizabeth Town in 1698-1700. When he departed for Philadelphia and Virginia, services lapsed until the arrival of George Keith. On November 3, 1703, he first preached in the town at the home of Andrew Craig, baptized his four children and seven others, and next day baptized

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eight children of Andrew Hampton. He returned on Sunday, December 19, and preached at the home of Colonel Richard Townley, who soon became a generous patron and benefactor of the Church.

Keith was greatly pleased by the good feeling towards the Church in the Puritan town, and wrote to the Society:

"Many of that Town having been formerly a sort of Independents, are become well affected to the Church of England, and desire to have a Minister."

Elizabeth Town was one of several places in New Jersey where, he thought, there should be churches.

Because of many other demands, the Society waited until 1704 to appoint the first missionary, the Rev. John Brooke, who reached the province on July 5, 1705. As Alexander Innes was caring for Monmouth County, Brooke regarded Governor Cornbury's advice and obtained the Society's permission to limit his ministry to Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, and the nearby towns. He did not want to spread himself too thin, and hoped to have a large parish in Elizabeth Town within a few years.

During the fall and winter of 1705-06, he held services in Colonel Townley's house, but that became too small, and in the spring he preached in a barn, which in winter would be too chilly for tolerance, and after the harvest was full of crops. For a time Brooke was permitted to officiate twice every Sunday in the "Independent" meeting house, provided he should *not* use the Prayer Book. But he said much of the service by heart, most of the "dissenters" generally stayed to hear him, and many began to lose their prejudice against the Church.

Colonel Townley came to the rescue again by giving a church lot and a cemetery and contributing heavily towards a building. By November, 1705, the people were planning to start construction next spring, and on Saint John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1706, Brooke laid the cornerstone of a brick church, fifty feet long, thirty wide, and twenty-one high, and well lighted by nine windows. In October it was being covered, and he hoped to preach his first sermon there in about six weeks or two months.

For a time everything seemed promising, and his incessant and tiring work steadily increased the Church in Elizabeth Town and other places in East Jersey. He visited Rahway, Perth Amboy, Cheesequake, Piscataway, Rocky Hill, and a congregation at Page's, near Freehold. The people were pleased and probably somewhat amazed by his "exceeding Diligence," but he had a difference of opinion with the authoritative Colonel Townley. He also had to face the growing hostility and oppression of Governor Cornbury, who resented Brooke's criticism of his conduct and threatened to imprison him in the fort at New York. To appeal for justice, in November, 1707, he

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sailed from Marblehead for England with his fellow sufferer, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor. Their ship vanished into the unknown, probably overwhelmed by some furious storm far out in the Atlantic. One hundred and fifty years later an historian of the parish wrote:

"The influence of his piety and devotion is still alive and is felt here, and the character he gave to this Church, it has never lost."

Among those whom he influenced were many "dissenters," with whom he conversed in their homes.

After a vacancy of about two years, with occasional visits by John Talbot, the people were glad to see their new Welsh parson, the Rev. Edward Vaughan. They and their children and grandchildren got to know him well, for he stayed until his death in 1747. At first he had a hard time, as Colonel Townley was still sore from his quarrel with Brooke, and would not accommodate him in his house. His salary was small, Elizabeth Town was an expensive seaport, and he was not used to the American distances and ferocious extremes of heat and cold, and the expense of ferries. But in 1714 he had the good luck to win the hand of Mrs. Mary Emott of New York, the step-daughter of Colonel Townley. Her estate of £2000 relieved his financial and domestic worries. For a few years he moved to Perth Amboy, but continued to serve Saint John's, and in 1721 returned to Elizabeth Town.

By that time his congregation there had grown to two hundred, with forty communicants. His ministry was rather uneventful, mostly in a long period of peace between two imperial wars between Great Britain and France. His reports suggest a quiet and retiring disposition, and a parish life that generally kept on an even tenor, until Whitefield, the evangelistic bombshell, descended upon the town in 1739-40. No match for such a sharp critic of quiet ways, Vaughan worked out his indignation in long letters to the Society.

In the 1730's, the congregation continued to increase, and included many poor folk who could not afford books, which Vaughan ordered for them from the Society. They were very grateful, but he never could get enough to keep up with the demand. Occasionally the parish received a generous bequest, as when in 1739 a "very worthy widow" left "nine Acres of good Land, with a fine Orchard thereon, for a Glebe for the Minister there for ever."

As the quiet years passed, age crept upon the missionary and the parish began to decline. Not that he had been exactly idle: in October, 1731, he reported 556 infant and 64 adult baptisms in the last two years, and in 1739 had 84 communicants. But there are hints that the vestry was not

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pleased, and his successor, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, even accused him of indolence, carelessness, and unpopular manners. While at the start of his ministry the Church outnumbered the "dissenters," the opposite was true when he died, the parish having actually declined, while the Quaker meeting was nearly as large, and the town had five other churches with ministers.

The Society did not improve the situation by deciding, in 1749, to attach Elizabeth Town to the new mission of New Brunswick under the Rev. Thomas Wood. Chandler, an ex-Congregationalist fresh from Yale, had been serving as layreader since about December 1, 1747, and in May, 1748, was appointed as catechist. The people justly resented their subordinate position, and soon perceived the vigorous and aggressive character of their young reader. Yielding to their pleas and the advice of the neighboring clergy, the Society recognized his three years of hard and excellent work, and allowed him to sail to England for ordination.

On £30 a year—only half of Vaughan's salary—he began to revive the sluggish church, not only in Elizabeth Town, but also in Rahway, Woodbridge, and Westfield. Refusing tempting offers elsewhere, he won the loyalty and affection of his people, while his ability as a pastor, preacher, evangelist, teacher, and defender of the Church commanded their respect—and that of his opponents. He served Saint John's for thirty-nine years, from his return in priest's orders early in November, 1751, until his death on June 17, 1790, except for the war interlude of 1775-1785.

His ministry was as stirring as Vaughan's had been generally uneventful. Even before he was ordained, the parish decided that it must have a rectory, and on December 11, 1749, bought about four acres of ground on Pearl Street, with a house built in 1696-97 by Andrew Hampton. It was enlarged in 1765, and after serving as the rectory for more than a century, became Saint John's Home. Another notable event was the incorporation of the parish by royal charter, July 20, 1762, as "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Church in Elizabeth-Town." Chandler headed the list of incorporators, including the wardens, John Halsted and Jacob De Hart, and the vestrymen: Henry Garthwait, Jonathan Hampton, Amos Morss, Ephraim Terrill, Matthias Williamson, John De Hart, John Ogden, Cavalier Jouet, and John Chetwood.

In 1763, extensive repairs made the church "the most decent in the Province." Eleven years later, the parish began the foundation for a new building, to be eight-five by fifty feet. The Revolution interrupted the work, and only traces of the construction remained around the old church to inspire either regret or a resolve to realize the dream. Another disappointment was the capture by the French on the high seas of a set of chimes, a

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valuable library, and altar plate, which King George II ordered for the parish about 1757. In spite of misfortunes, the parish continued to increase, and at the close of 1754 contained eighty-five families and ninety communicants. Fifteen years later, there were one hundred families and eighty communicants, and in 1771 Chandler reported a steady increase from the conformity of "dissenters" to the Church.

His aggressive character swept Saint John's into the full current of colonial life, which was inevitably setting towards the Revolution. He displeased the increasingly vocal religious and political radicals by his denial of the pulpit to Whitefield in November, 1763, thus alienating some of his own flock and reducing the communicants to about seventy-five. In 1767, his *Appeal* for an American bishop made him and his parish the storm center of a long controversy. His criticism of riotous opposition to the British government, and his vain warnings to the mother country not to "drive matters to a dangerous Extremity," revealed his statesmanlike moderation, wisdom, and candor, but also excited the suspicion of fanatics on both sides. His reception of a degree of D.D. from Oxford University, interpreted as a mark of British approval, did not help him in America.

As the year 1775 deepened in confusion and bitterness, popular clamor became so loud that on May 24 Chandler left for England. There he lived for ten years, trying to soften the harshness of conflict and to help exiles less fortunate than he. He was spared the torture of seeing his congregation scattered to the four winds, the interior of his beautiful church desecrated, the pews and floor torn up and burned, the earth covered with filthy straw and the manure of horses stabled there. The organ pipes were used to make bullets, and the bell was saved from the melting pot only because nobody could reach it. There were even two efforts to burn the church by kindling a fire under the pulpit.

One consolation was the loyalty of his people. In 1783, even before peace was proclaimed, the wardens and vestrymen requested him to return, as his family had stayed in the rectory. In June, 1785, he came, too ill to serve, but he kept the title of rector by request of the people as long as he lived.

In the meantime, about 1779 or 1780, the congregation began to meet in a private house for Sunday service. Easter elections were resumed in 1778, and next year took place in the church. In 1786-87, the building and the steeple were repaired, and the seats were rented for revenue. The Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick came occasionally, and Uzal Ogden of Sussex County officiated as acting pastor while serving also as rector of Trinity Church, Newark. There was no resident minister until the Rev. Samuel Spraggs was called from Mount Holly, April 13, 1789. On January

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1, 1791, he succeeded Chandler as rector. For years Saint John's had sent delegates to the conventions that organized the Diocese of New Jersey, and it has always been one of the outstanding parishes of the diocese.

[*Records:* The parish possesses a copy of the charter, granted July 20, 1762. The record of baptisms and marriages dates from 1750. The Vestry Minutes begin in 1762, but the earlier ones record only the annual elections on Easter Monday, with the names of those elected to the Vestry.]

10

SAINT ANDREW'S CHURCH AMWELL Now Saint Andrew's, Lambertville (1716)

OLD SAINT ANDREW'S was one of a group of missions planted northwest of Trenton in Hunterdon County early in the eighteenth century. John Talbot and other missionaries traversed the region about 1716, and seven years later Talbot reported his ministrations there as if the Church were already well established. The people heard services in their homes until 1725, when they decided to have a church. At that time, William Lummoxy conveyed to John Knowles and Duncan Oliphant eleven acres of land above the present village of Ringoes, "in trust to the sole benefit and towards the settling of the Church of England Ministry."

The little church, believed to have been built of logs, stood on the west side of the York Road, six miles northeast of Lambertville. Next to it was a cemetery, still owned by the parish in Lambertville, although no building has stood there for over a century. By 1751 the log church was too rickety for use and the congregation, urged by the Rev. Michael Houdin of Trenton, began a stone building, opened in 1753.

It was hard to secure regular services in that region of scattered farms. For many years Hunterdon County was in the northwestern frontier mission, including churches at Kingwood (St. Thomas', Alexandria) and Musconetcong. The Rev. Messrs. William Lindsay, Richard Locke and George Craig, as traveling missionaries in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, visited Amwell from 1735 to 1750. Their successor was the Rev. Michael Houdin, missionary to Saint Michael's Church, Trenton, who had to leave for military duty after a few years. (*See above*, Saint Michael's, Trenton.)

In 1732 the congregation wanted a settled pastor, and joined the Churchmen of Hopewell in appealing to Edward Vaughan to use his in-

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fluence with the Society. They had to wait until 1760 to welcome the long-expected pastor, Andrew Morton. His zeal for the Church made enemies, and a trumped-up charge of immorality made his life miserable and divided the congregation. In 1766-67, the Society tried to settle the wretched business by removing him to North Carolina.

The mission really began to prosper under his successor, William Frazer. He arrived in May, 1768, and found himself face to face with a lamentable situation. Only three rather poor families were still loyal after the recent dissension and a long vacancy. The little stone church was a mere empty shell, and the congregation every third Sunday consisted chiefly of "dissenters." The hardy Scot rolled up his sleeves and pitched in, and in the autumn of 1769 told the Society that within a few weeks he hoped to see the long-neglected building "completely and decently furnished." In November, 1770, the congregation was increasing.

Frazer had every intention of seeing the job through, and in 1768 took unto himself a wife—Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. Colin Campbell, late rector of Saint Mary's, Burlington. On March 22, 1772, he baptized his eldest son, William Bard Frazer, who died in infancy and was buried in the old graveyard. Evidence of the high infant mortality in those days could be read as late as 1890 on his grave stone with the touching epitaph:

Beneath this stone an infant lies,
To us a season lent.
Whose ashes shall more glorious rise,
But not more innocent.

Frazer worked devotedly until the Revolution, when he declared himself a loyalist, declined to omit prayers for the King and Parliament, and was obliged to close the church and abandon his ministry. Persecuted by ardent patriots, he endured severe trials and sufferings, but behaved so prudently, except for a temporary lapse of intemperance, that he was not driven into exile. He was even allowed to open a classical school in Trenton, and was invited to take charge of Saint Michael's, then more important than Amwell. Immediately after the war, he resumed his ministry to Saint Andrew's and opened the church on Christmas Day, 1784. The people evidently retained their respect for him, and on September 17, 1785, a certificate of his regular services and exemplary behavior was signed by the wardens and vestrymen. He served until his sudden death at the age of fifty-two, on July 6, 1795, the day after his return from a Sunday at Amwell.

For a few years after the Revolution, Amwell was active, being represented in the conventions of 1786-90 and 1792. The delegates were John

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Anderson, John Stevenson, George Garland, John Meldrum, and James Chatburn. The church subscribed for copies of the diocesan journal, 1786-90, and occasionally contributed to the missionary fund, but after Frazer's death it gradually declined. From 1793 to 1806, no delegates appeared, and thereafter only in 1807 and 1811, and in 1815, when Robert Sharp signed the testimonial at the election of Bishop Croes.

Old Saint Andrew's never again had a rector. Dr. Waddell of Saint Michael's, Trenton, visited occasionally from 1800 until his death in 1811. Until about 1815 the remnant of the congregation infrequently welcomed John Croes of Christ Church, New Brunswick, and Daniel Higbee, a missionary to vacant churches. In 1813-14, the latter found the old stone church a "heap of ruins," and held services for "considerable assemblages" in Robert Sharp's house.

The diocesan convention became concerned about the Church lands and in 1807 named a committee to confer with Mrs. Frazer in Trenton. Years slipped away without action until 1815, when a committee advised that the property should be sold. Another committee conferred with Robert Sharp, who held the lands, inquired how to convey them, and petitioned the legislature for power to sell. An act vested the property in trustees, with directions to sell it, and give the funds to the convention's treasurer to support the ministry. It does not appear that all the land was sold, as Saint Andrew's in Lambertville still owns the small enclosed cemetery.

Meanwhile, Coryell's Ferry on the north bank of the Delaware River was growing, and there George Washington as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army made his headquarters for a time. It was on the old York Road from Philadelphia to New York, once an Indian trail, and there as early as 1762 Emmanuel Coryell had erected his Indian trading post. The place later adopted the name "Lambertville."

The growth of the community gave an idea to the Rev. James Adams, pastor of Alexandria (Kingwood), Clinton, and Flemington. In 1845 he moved to Lambertville and there met three men who had the same idea—Dr. John Lilly, Colonel John Sharp, and Judge John Coryell, the last two being members of old Saint Andrew's, Amwell. Together, they reorganized the parish as "Saint Andrew's Church, Amwell, at Lambertville," which in the following year was admitted into union with the diocesan convention. Sharp as warden and Coryell as senior vestryman were living links with the old church at Ringoes. A new one was erected in 1845 at Old York Road and George Street. On January 16, 1891, it was destroyed by fire, and later it was replaced by the present one, consecrated on June 9, 1892, at York and Main Streets, where Coryell's trading post once stood.

[*Records:* Apparently no colonial records exist. The present Vestry Minutes

begin in 1867, the Register in 1898. All older records probably were destroyed by fire in 1891. They must have existed in 1867, when the Rev. Dr. Putnam of Jersey City wrote his historical sketch for the reopening of the church in Lambertville on August 4, and they supplied facts for the sketch of the parish in Snell and Ellis' *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties* (1881).]

11

SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH
SALEM
(1722)

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND probably came to Salem in 1675, with a few members of John Fenwick's predominantly Quaker company. More Anglicans arrived later, and there is record of a Church of England marriage in 1691.* The name of the minister is unknown, but it is recorded that the rector of Immanuel Church in Newcastle, Delaware, held occasional services, probably in the Salem Court House. After Saint Mary's was founded at Burlington in 1702, John Talbot used to visit Salem at irregular intervals. He mentions an unfinished church which had been generously aided by Colonel Francis Nicholson, a well-known benefactor of colonial parishes.

In 1722 the Episcopalians made a determined effort to secure a missionary from the Society, declaring that they had

"never been so blessed, as to have a person settled among us to dispense the august ordinances of religion: inasmuch that even the name of it is almost lost among us; the virtue and energy of it over men's lives expiring, we won't say forgotten, for that implies previous knowledge of it . . . The Lord in mercy look upon us, and incite you, according to your wonted piety, to have compassionate regard to our case."

The Society could hardly overlook such an appeal, and in 1722 constituted Salem as a mission, under the care of the Rev. John Holbrooke. Before he arrived, the Rev. Messrs. Hesselius and Lidenius, ministers to the Swedish Lutheran churches in West Jersey, read prayers and preached at Salem. The Society voted £10 to each of them for the favor, and even gave Hesselius £30 to help him return with his family to Sweden.

*Minute Book No. 2, Court at Salem, Office of the Secretary of State, Trenton, N. J.

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Holbrooke arrived in 1724, and ministered to the parish and neighboring places for about seven years, probably the toughest period of his life. The first difficulty was to persuade his flock to finish their church. A parish already had been organized, with Benjamin Vining and John Coleman as the first wardens. But little or nothing had been done to provide a place of worship, except in a room in the Salem County Court House. Some accounts allude to a "frame chapel" as having existed before the brick church, but Holbrook does not mention it, and an old picture of the brick church does not show a chapel beside it, as is sometimes stated.

Urged by Holbrooke, the people (although generally poor) contributed generously to erect a neat, brick church, which was begun on May 7, 1725, even though the land, including the present site, was not deeded until 1727. By February of that year the building was "almost completed," with a bell but without glass. It was formally opened for services on June 24, 1728, and accordingly was named "Saint John's." The parish was incorporated with that name in 1847.

The parish was most grateful to Samuel Hedge for giving the land, and Holbrooke was equally grateful to the people for his church, which he delightfully described to the Society:

"It is built of good brick and for ye materials and workmanship is reckoned a very neat church. It is forty feet long and twenty-eight broad. It was built by the contributions of the people of my congregations and of certain of ye adjacent inhabitants, among whom the people of Philadelphia were the most eminent contributors. His excellency, William Burnett, our Governor, gave ten pounds toward it."

The first Saint John's was a chapel-like edifice, with a high-peaked roof and a small square belfry topped by a short spire with a weather vane. The double-leaf front door had a narrow window on each side and a large fanlight several feet above it. There were side porches opening into the cemetery, separated from the street by a wall, with a double gate in front of the church. The building served until 1836, when the parish erected the present stone Gothic church. In 1884 the old brick church was torn down, and on its site rose a chapel, connected with the church by a cloister in 1911.

The erection of a church attracted a larger congregation, but Holbrooke was not happy. He got only £20 a year, aside from his £60 from the Society, and the low and marshy country began to play havoc with his health. The parish consisted mainly of poor farmers, and as Quakerism had "over-run" the country, he had only about seventy families and fourteen communicants in 1724-27. He had to travel a great deal, visiting a few families at

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Cohansey (Greenwich) and a larger congregation at Maurice River about forty miles away. There was no rectory or glebe, and he was forced to pay £15 a year in rent.

Soon after the parson arrived, he hinted that he would like to move to Trenton, where he heard the people wanted a missionary. Later he thought of going to Burlington, even though he hated to leave his poor congregation in the lurch, as some were "kind people, and seem to be well disposed." When the Society nodded approval in 1725, he declined to go, and then repented his decision. In 1732, disappointed at not receiving more help from the Society, he accepted a parish in Northampton County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

The Society could not let the mission fail, as it was the only one in the 140 miles between Burlington and Cape May, and had about 250 members. They therefore appointed the Rev. John Pierson, who arrived on January 30, 1734, and found the people delighted to see him. The congregation had held together fairly well during the vacancy, through the efforts of the Rev. Peter Tranberg, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Penns Neck.

One of the first things the new parson did was to take a parish census. It revealed 2700 people in the county, 207 professors of the Church of England, twenty-three communicants, and a Sunday congregation of over one hundred. He gave the mission a much-needed stimulant, and began preaching one Sunday in the month at Greenwich-in-Cohansey, where the people were finishing little Saint Stephen's Church, and ministered when he could to the Swedes and English at Maurice River. Although the people were still poor and did not equal their promised contributions, they came to church more regularly. He even hoped to regain some who had joined the Quakers, and to convert most of his flock to a more friendly attitude towards the sacraments.

Having little knowledge of the country at first, he was amazed to find "nearly half ye county destitute of ye Baptismal Seal, & have nothing to distinguish them from Heathens, Save a little Tincture of Enthusiasm, which ye Fathers took into ye country with them." In 1744 he was trying, with little success, to make a Christian impression upon the Negroes and servants. Two years later, he served the Swedish church at Penns Neck, where the congregation was larger than at Salem and the people were faithful, although "a Set of Travelling enthusiasts" (the Moravians) were "very Industrious in Raising disturbances & divisions in the Church." Although Greenwich was declining, the prospects for Salem looked better, but next year Pierson died and was buried in the Salem churchyard.

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Again the vast region of southern New Jersey was without a missionary, until the Society appointed the Rev. Thomas Thompson,* in response to a subscription sent by the wardens of Saint John's. Upon his arrival he was rudely surprised and disgusted to find "no house to lodge at & no Church-people to contribute to the Missionary's support," and that the so-called "wardens" were "never elected to that office, & what they affirm so confidently in their letter, that they have provided a house for me, is notoriously false . . . As I expected a companion of life from England, & had no home to carry her to in the cold season, I knew not what to do."

What he actually did was to resign and go to Chester, Pennsylvania. Perhaps feeling that he had been too hasty, he returned a year or two later and served Saint John's so regularly that the people were satisfied with his devotion, as well as his "sound & pure" doctrine. The Society tried to help him by ordering the vestry to get him a rectory and a glebe and add £20 to his salary. The poor congregation flatly refused, and was so offended by the attempted pressure, that they even said no minister was necessary or wanted. That was more than enough for Mr. Thompson, who in 1749 left them for good.

From that time until 1792, Saint John's had no settled Anglican pastor and the services were spasmodic. The parish owed its life to the Rev. Eric Unander of Saint George's Swedish Lutheran church in Penns Neck. From 1749 until 1755, he did his utmost to help Saint John's and attended other little Anglican congregations on weekdays. Although he was married and had several children, he had "no other support than the small & uncertain subscription of the Inhabitants of those Places which in the whole amounted to but a mere Maintenance." The parishioners of Saint John's requested the Society to assist him, but as they were unable or unwilling to help, the Society declined and the parish remained destitute.

The mission lapsed, and in 1768 a Society missionary, writing for the *Pennsylvania Journal*, complained that "at Cohansey (Greenwich) stands a church, but there is not the shadow of a congregation in the County (Cumberland). At Salem the Episcopal cause is almost as low." In 1772 the church was extensively repaired, through subscriptions solicited by a committee consisting of Edmund Wetherby, Robert Johnson, Thomas Sinnickson, and John Carey, Esqs., who contracted with John Maxwell, a carpenter, to do the work.

Within a few years, war clouds began to drive over the struggling parish, and in 1775 the people sent their last letter to the Society, saying:

"In this dark time of distress, may God of His infinite mercy, as

*Not to be confused with Thomas Thompson of Monmouth County. See below, Appendix B, Biographical Sketches of the Clergy.

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He hitherto has done, preserve our Church from the attempts of designing wicked men."

During the war British troops commandeered Saint John's as quarters, and of course utterly ruined it in their raid on Salem in March, 1778. Their spite was inflamed by the fact that so many of the congregation were patriots. When their commander, Colonel Charles Mawhood, posted a list of Salem men proscribed as "rebels," three-quarters of them were Episcopalians. Some of their names may still be seen on gravestones in the old churchyard.

When the long agony of civil war ended, the Church was almost dead in Salem and Cumberland Counties. The congregations at Greenwich and Maurice River had melted away, and Salem was but nominally alive. Saint John's sent no delegate to the diocesan convention until 1812, and had no resident pastor until Samuel Gray came in 1792 and remained for a couple of years before taking a parish in Virginia. Nothing was done to put the church in decent condition until 1810, and by that time it had become "a home for the birds, and a burrow for rabbits, its pulpit and pews rotten, and its velvet hangings faded and torn."

Within a few years the neglect of generations was repaired, services were revived, and Saint John's experienced an amazing revival of effectiveness which has continued to the present day.

12

SAINT THOMAS' CHURCH ALEXANDRIA Formerly Kingwood (1723)

SAINT THOMAS' is believed to be the second oldest Episcopal church in Hunterdon County. Anglican services apparently started about the same time as at Amwell, under the auspices of the Rev. John Talbot. In September, 1723, he visited Kingwood and found the Anglicans preparing to erect a church. The parish was organized around that time, under the name of "Saint Thomas', Kingwood," which it retained until about 1815, when it became known as Alexandria.

The first church was erected probably about 1723, and stood on the south side of the Pittstown Road, at Everittstown. It is supposed to have been a frame or log building, and some of its timbers were seen in the second church, as they showed mortises and other proofs of previous use.

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For about a quarter of a century after 1735, the parish was included with Amwell and other stations in the northwestern frontier mission, and was visited by the traveling missionaries, William Lindsay, Richard Locke, and George Craig, and by Michael Houdin of Trenton. Then came the unhappy Andrew Morton, who was licensed by the Bishop of London in 1760. Being an ardent Churchman and loyalist, he was persecuted by the growing patriot party, but was steadily supported by some of his flock. A memorial, expressing their sympathy and encouragement, was presented to him by the wardens and vestrymen: William Lowrey, Thomas Harris, Jeremiah Thatcher, John Crawford, William Thatcher, Constantine O'Neill, George Birkhead, Jr., Andrew Crawford, John Roat, John Taylor, John Taylor, Jr., George Birkhead, Richard Crooks, Philip Grandin, Mansfield Hunt, and Jonah Park.

The little parish had a powerful friend, the Hon. John Stevens, who is said to have been baptized by John Talbot, and lived until 1792. He was one of the most eminent and wealthy Jerseymen of his time, with varied interests in mining, farming, and commerce. He became a member of the governor's council in 1762, but resigned to take a distinguished part in the government of the state during the Revolution. He filled many honorable offices, including president of the board of East Jersey Proprietors, president of the state council, Congressman, and president of the state convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States. He was a vestryman of Saint Peter's, Perth Amboy, a delegate to the General Convention of 1785, and represented Saint Thomas' in several New Jersey diocesan conventions.

In 1752 Stevens belonged to a company that purchased a huge tract in Hunterdon County from the West Jersey Land Society. His influence probably inspired a resolution by certain purchasers, including himself, to help "to establish the Gospel in Amwell and Kingwood churches," by an annual payment of £10 from the Land Society's rents. In 1768, the wardens informed the donors that the sum was "more than they wanted," and agreed to accept £8, which they did until 1773. The day came when the parish would have been glad to have the £2 extra!

After Morton retired under a cloud, William Frazer took charge of Kingwood. He did not relish the situation he found there, and in May, 1768, disgustedly informed the S. P. G. that the old log church was so dilapidated that he had officiated in houses until spring. The thirty Anglican families and several people of other faiths were a large, serious, and devout congregation, and he urged them to subscribe for a handsome brick or stone church, to be started in the spring and completed in October, 1769.

The parson waited a long time for his new church, as the people were exasperatingly slow and did not meet until November 11, 1768, to decide

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upon a stone building on the opposite side of the road. The land, given by Lewis Stevens, was a part of his "Cornwall Plantation." In May, 1769, the church was not even begun, because the folks were still discussing the site. By September, however, the difference of opinion had been composed, and the stone walls were completed. The patient pastor hoped that if the people kept on in their initial spirit, it would be "completely and decently finished" by the autumn of 1770. But years sped, while the work lagged so much that in July, 1772, he preached a special sermon to remind his flock that the building was fit for services scarcely five months in the year.

Within three years the Revolution burst upon him, forcing him to close the little church "for the duration." After the storm had passed, he reopened it and continued to visit at intervals until his death in the summer of 1795. For several years in the early 1800's the congregation was very small, there was probably no vestry, services were irregular, and the building and grounds were shamefully neglected. Delegates attended the diocesan conventions of 1786, 1788, and 1789, but none appeared until 1801, and then none until 1815, when one shared in the election of Bishop John Croes. The tiny parish subscribed for copies of the journal from time to time, 1786 - 1809, and made small gifts to the missionary fund.

For many years all that kept Saint Thomas' alive was the courage of a few devoted members, and occasional visits by the Rev. Henry Waddell, rector of Saint Michael's in Trenton, from 1799 until his death in January, 1811. In 1808-10, he found the little church "very much out of repair," and likely to remain so until the people could regain possession of the glebe. John Croes came in 1809-12 and preached to a "considerable" congregation, and in 1813-14 the parish still included about thirty families.

A revival of interest began about that time, after the appointment of the Rev. Daniel Higbee as missionary to vacant churches. He inspired the people to repair their "ruinous" church, which by 1822 was fit for worship. He breathed life into the nearly extinct parish, which was kept alive for about forty years more by visits of clergymen from nearby churches, especially Trenton, New Brunswick, Delaware, Clinton and Flemington, and by the ministrations of layreaders. Bishop Doane occasionally visited and celebrated, and for some time a few women taught a Sunday school.

For about ten years before 1875, the church was unfit for use, and services were held in the Pittstown schoolhouse by the Rev. Dr. E. B. Boggs of Christ Church, New Brunswick. The Hon. Frederick A. Potts of that parish became interested in the historic church, and in 1875-76 generously financed and personally supervised a complete repair of the building. Since that time, Saint Thomas' has survived under the care of nearby parishes,

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especially after 1881, when the Rev. Edwin K. Smith of Saint Andrew's, Lambertville, took charge.

The small stone church, now covered with ivy, is still used for occasional services. The observant worshipper then sees evidence of the faith that has kept the fire burning there for over two hundred years: a tablet near the chancel in memory of Lewis Stevens, "whose willing hands helped to raise these walls."

13

TRINITY CHURCH NEWARK (1729)

OF ALL THE LARGER TOWNS, Newark was one of the hardest for the Anglican Church to penetrate. Settled by strict Congregationalists from Branford in New Haven Colony, for many years it preserved its original character and showed scarcely a trace of the Church. As late as 1700, Colonel Lewis Morris could find only "some few Churchmen" there. The date of first services is unknown, but it seems unlikely that such an energetic missionary as John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, only five miles away, would have neglected them. Probably there was an unorganized congregation as early as 1716, when the Rev. Thomas Haliday of Perth Amboy wrote to the Society as if he had been asking them to support the ministry in Newark. But there is no definite record of services until 1729.

Within two years, Newark became a well recognized dependency of the mission at Elizabeth Town, for in October, 1731, Vaughan mentioned his increasing congregations there and at Whippany. On his occasional visits, he preached and administered the Holy Communion. Only a year later the Church had become so strong in Newark that the Presbyterians tried to check its growth. In 1732, the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth Town preached a sermon there, comparing the Church to "the weak and beggarly elements" mentioned in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 9.

The Episcopal missionaries would not stay away. The Rev. William Harrison of Staten Island used to come when he pleased, and in 1736 the Churchmen gave notice that they were in Newark to stay. In the late summer, after repeated invitations, they welcomed the Rev. John Beach of Newtown, Connecticut, who as a young Congregational minister had been sent there to oppose the Church, but soon became one of her most

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devoted missionaries. On two Sundays in succession he had a congregation of three or four hundred people, who decided to petition the Society for a missionary. By that time there were one hundred and twenty-eight members.

A dramatic event brought them a powerful friend. Colonel Josiah Ogden bolted from the First Presbyterian Church because he had been "disciplined" for defying the rules by saving his cut wheat on Sunday, when a rising storm threatened to ruin it. To the ensuing fracas tradition ascribes the formal organization of Trinity Parish by the irate colonel and his friends. The event is commemorated in the present cathedral seal, by a sheaf of wheat surmounted by a thunder-head, also by the inscription on the doughty colonel's gravestone in the pavement at the left of the tower. Another early patron was Colonel Peter Schuyler, who left the Reformed Dutch church at Second River (Belleville), and contributed generously to secure the church, glebe, and rectory.

Such men soon grew tired of worshipping in houses and of vainly petitioning the Society for a parson, and decided to force a decision. Ogden and John Schuyler started a subscription for a church, and were so successful that in 1742-43 the parish built a handsome one of hewn stone, sixty-three by forty-five feet and twenty-seven feet high, with a tower twenty feet square and a steeple rising ninety-five feet. Vaughan praised it as "beautiful, stately & magnificent . . . of large fine-hewn stone," and probably admired the graceful, open arcade of the belfry and the slim spire. The tower was so well built that when a new church was begun in 1809, the contractors incorporated it into the new structure. Perhaps the original workmen in 1742-43 felt stronger because the parish voted them orders of rum, also "bread, Cheese and Sundries for Frolick." The interior was simply arranged, without a recessed chancel, and with the pulpit in the west end, the Communion table in the east. Old Trinity stood upon the present ground, at Broad Street and Military Park, a half acre of the town common land at the far end of the Training Ground, granted by the town and "staked out" by a committee from each parish.

There was still no resident pastor, and the parish depended upon the services of Vaughan, and of the Rev. Jonathan Arnold, the missionary on Staten Island. The latter complained to the Society that Newark paid him nothing, "they being willing to purchase heaven without money and without price." Possibly that was the reason for the Society's delay. Whoever was to blame, the parishioners became impatient and decided to call a pastor by themselves. They chose young Mr. Checkley, son of the Rev. John Checkley, missionary at Providence, Rhode Island, asked for his appointment, and at their own expense sent him to England for holy orders in

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October, 1743. The Society approved and appointed him, but in 1744 he died of the dreaded smallpox in London before he could sail for home.

Undiscouraged, the wardens and vestrymen offered the parish to Isaac Browne, the missionary at Brookhaven on Long Island, and promised to pay him a decent salary and buy him a house and a glebe. Upon recommendation by the Bishop of London, the Society appointed him in November, 1745; but the letter was lost at sea in a ship carrying the missionary who was entrusted with it. Appointed again on June 2, 1747, Browne settled in Newark and remained for thirty-two years, until driven into exile by the Revolutionists.

In the meantime, Trinity Church had been incorporated by a royal charter granted on February 14, 1745/46, by Governor Lewis Morris in the name of King George II. It was considered inadequate, and on February 10, 1746/47, was annulled and replaced by another, which was in effect until Belleville (Second River) became a separate parish in 1835. The charter defined the parish bounds to include Newark, Second River, New Barbadoes Neck, and "Acqwacknong," and provided that one warden and five of the ten vestrymen should be chosen from Newark, south of Second River, the other half from the northern part. The incorporators included the rector, Isaac Browne; the wardens, John Schuyler and Josiah Ogden; and vestrymen: William Kingsland, John Ludlow, Daniel Pierson, David Ogden, Jr., William Turner, George Vrelandt, Roger Kingsland, Emanuel Cocker, and Richard Bradbury.

Browne's ministry began on a pleasant note, and in spite of sickness in his family, he was happier than he had been at Brookhaven. He gladdened the hearts of the poor by giving them many little devotional tracts. The people were pleased, and informed the Society that he had

"abundantly dispelled the clouds of darkness & given us fresh occasion to rejoice, as he . . . hath true Religion at heart & practices it in his life, & we trust he will be an instrument of doing much Servis among us."

The good feeling appeared especially in November, 1750, when the whole parish rejoiced at the completion of their church, with the proceeds of a lottery. They had also just acquired a rectory and a good glebe of four and a half acres, "chiefly," as Browne told the Society, "through the bounty of Col. Peter Schuyler, a name very deservedly in high Esteem among them."

Browne worked hard to plant the Church at other places in New Jersey, particularly at Second River, where he preached one-third of the time to a congregation consisting mostly of converts from the Reformed Dutch Church. There also he established a charity school that saved hundreds of

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children from illiteracy. In the 1750's, he also visited Elizabeth Town and New Brunswick, and about 1752 began traversing the distant northern frontier, where he said no Christian minister had ever been. There, he reported,

"The people live in little huts & go half naked, being as poor in purse as they are in spiritual knowledge."

He also gathered the congregation which eventually grew into Saint Peter's, Morristown, and traveled in Morris and Bergen counties. To that ill and aging priest the Church in the present Diocese of Newark owes a great debt. He took a keen interest in promoting education, and urged his parish to join with the Presbyterians in 1774 in establishing an academy in Newark and an English grammar school. He served on the board of governors.

In Puritan Newark his ministry made slow but steady progress, winning good families now and then, and increasing the communicants to fifty-five in 1750. His letters in the 1750's are cheerful, but in the next decade they complain of "Vice and Immorality," opposition to the Church, personal quarrels, lack of support, and sickness. At one time he wanted to move to Perth Amboy or even to Jamaica. Ill health plagued him and greatly hindered his work, and sometimes he was depressed by "Infidelity on the one hand & Fanaticism on the other," and by the obvious favor shown by the provincial government towards "dissenters" who attacked the Church. Some rays of sunshine flashed across his letters, as in April, 1763, when he reported sixty-two communicants and rejoiced that the Church was holding her ground.

Some of his ministrations probably displeased the congregation. For a time in 1766 he served as chaplain of the British naval ship *Coventry*, stationed in the river a few miles from Newark, when anti-British feeling was rapidly rising. His people were not delighted by his practice of medicine, even though in 1776 it gained him election to the New Jersey Medical Society.

That year put the capstone on his pile of troubles. For a time the patriots allowed him to perform his duties in both parts of the parish, "with some degree of cheerfulness." As he was a Loyalist, persecution soon began, and in 1776 "after undergoing a long course of ignominies and vexations," he fled to New York City on the approach of the Revolutionary army after the British troops left. He eventually reached Nova Scotia, where he died in 1787.

The Americans used Trinity Church as a hospital and gymnasium for sick soldiers, destroyed the pews, broke windows and doors, and built "a large stack of chimneys" in the middle. For this and much other damage

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Congress later paid the parish. One of the "rebels," who slept under arms one night in Trinity Church, was Ensign Amos Slaymaker of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. When the parish celebrated the centennial of its charter, on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1846, the discourse was delivered by that soldier's grandson, the Rev. Dr. M. H. Henderson.

There is little trace of parochial life during the war. Records reveal that the church was repaired, and that the congregation met on Easter Monday, 1778, to elect wardens and vestrymen. On April 5, 1779, Warden Uzal Ogden was requested to write to his son, Uzal Ogden, Jr., missionary in Sussex County, to request him to visit the parish. He and Abraham Beach of New Brunswick held occasional services until 1785, and about that time Ogden became the minister. He represented Newark at the diocesan convention of July 6, 1785, with John Schuyler as lay delegate, and in 1788 he became rector. The parish slowly struggled to its feet, with Ogden giving it only every eighth Sunday, due to his thronging duties elsewhere. It took part in the conventions of the 1780's, and helped to organize the diocese, and within a few years was prospering again.

Today, 1953, Trinity Church is the Cathedral of the Diocese of Newark. [*Records: Scanty before 1785, consisting of one volume of Vestry Minutes beginning in 1778, and records of contributions, beginning in 1743.*]

14

SAINT ANDREW'S CHURCH MOUNT HOLLY (1742)

ABOUT THE MIDDLE of the eighteenth century, Mount Holly was a prosperous village, surrounded by well-kept farms and busily engaged in several small industries, including a grist mill, a wool-carding shop, a textile factory, and the iron works. It had regular market days, a town government, and some small shops. The Rev. Colin Campbell, missionary at Burlington (1738-1766), told the Society that a group of Churchmen there would like to have regular services and build a church if they could get a site.

With his encouragement, events moved fast. On March 31 and April 1, 1742, a group of proprietors of the iron works gave two acres of land in trust,

"to the intent that a Church might be built thereon for the cele-

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bration of Divine Service after the manner of the Church of England, and for a burial place for the dead of the Congregation."

The donors were Mahlon Stacy, one of the founders of Trenton, John Burr of "Bridgetown," and Isaac Pearson of Burlington. The plot was conveyed to Mr. Campbell, Philo Leeds, and Samuel Woolston for 5s, and the rent of a peppercorn at Easter, if lawfully demanded.

The site is at Iron Works Hill on Pine Street, south of the bridge over Rancocas Creek. The people soon built a "handsome Church," and donated it to the Society and three other trustees, always including the missionary at Burlington. It stood in the northern part of the cemetery, on the site of the grave of Alexander Shiras, who was buried there at his request. A monument near his headstone, carved by George A. Lippincott, a parishioner, bears a bronze plaque with a design of the original church. It was a plain wooden church, with a porch on the long side. The surrounding "Church Yard," considerably enlarged, is still owned and used by the parish, together with the Dobbins Memorial Chapel erected in 1876 near the site of the first church.

The church stood on an eminence, commanding a wide view, and parish tradition says that on days appointed for services the sexton used to watch for the missionary approaching on horseback along the road from Burlington, and would ring the bell to announce the service at eight in the morning. The bell is still rung at that hour every Sunday. Another tradition tells that the ground about the church was soft in wet weather, and that the wardens (then called trustees) used to keep sandals in the vestibule to replace the people's muddy shoes before they entered for service.

Saint Andrew's remained under the auspices of Burlington throughout the colonial period, and prospered under Campbell's care until his death in 1766. He had to visit every two weeks in all kinds of weather for £4 Sterling a year. On March 10, 1752, he went with Dr. Alexander Ross in what his wife called "a great storm, the like of which had not been known by the memory of the oldest people." The congregation increased from about a dozen to at least one hundred within about two years, and Campbell baptized many children and adults. In the fall of 1749, the interior of the church was finished, with a cedar ceiling, pulpit, altar, and rails, costing £50 S. The Society was delighted with this flourishing new parish, and in December, 1742, presented a folio Bible and Prayer Book. By 1751 the congregation fairly rivalled Burlington's in numbers and devotion.

About ten years later came a discouraging although temporary "cheque." Campbell refused the use of the pulpit to an "enthusiasticall" preacher, the Rev. William McClenachan, an admirer of the great evangelist,

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George Whitefield. Many parishioners thought they liked "enthusiasm" and were offended, and for a while refused to attend church. In June, 1762, they had got over their disaffection and were returning; by December the parish was so prosperous that the people thought Campbell's visits were not frequent enough, and wanted to become a separate mission. The suggestion was recommended by several New Jersey missionaries in convention at Perth Amboy, including Campbell, but nothing came of it.

Saint Andrew's grew steadily; in 1759 and 1763 it had to build galleries to relieve the congestion, and again thought of asking for a separate mission. The parish promised the Society to give a parson £30 a year and dwelling, bought a lot in 1766, and built a rectory in 1774. Within two years, 1764-65, Campbell in his old age baptized 212 children and 26 adults.

The crowning triumph of the mission came with the charter granted on October 28, 1765, by Governor William Franklin in the name of King George III. The parish still possesses the original parchment, granted on petition of Campbell and the twelve "Managers and Overseers" to "The Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry Men of the Church of Saint Andrew in Mount Holly." The original incorporators were Campbell, Thomas Budd, John Munrow, Esq., John Clark, Thomas Reynolds, Samuel and William Woolston, Thomas Cooper, Daniel Jones, Jr., John and William Budd, William Budd, Jr., of New Hanover, Daniel Toy, James Dobbins, Sr., and John Goldy.

The good Campbell died in 1766, and was succeeded for a time by the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, whose death frustrated a plan to have him as joint pastor of Burlington and Mount Holly. The Rev. Jonathan Odell became missionary to both places on July 25, 1767. He found about fifty families and nineteen communicants at Saint Andrew's, and evidently considered it as important as Burlington. The people had ample means, and annually paid £26 currency for his services every other Sunday. On June 8, 1772, the vestry voted to appoint a sexton to care for the church and the cemetery, and act as clerk during public service.

The war suspended activity for years at a time, but the parish revived at the dawn of peace in 1784, and on September 1 invited Samuel Spraggs, a former Methodist preacher, to be layreader. In September, 1785, he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut. He was immediately called as "Minister," and served until September, 1789, when he went to Saint John's, Elizabeth. During part of his ministry he served one-fourth of the time at Saint Mary's, Burlington.

With his care and Methodist zeal, Saint Andrew's recovered amazingly from the long depression of wartime. It sent John Clark and Spraggs as delegates to the first convention of the Diocese of New Jersey in Christ

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Church, New Brunswick, July 6, 1785. The congregation decided to continue under the royal charter, and to build a new church. They paid £200 for a new lot on the south side of Church Street, in "White Hall," the lower part of the village, and in 1786 erected a neat brick church. It was completed in 1813, with plastering, painting, and new pews, and was in the meeting-house style, with a low-pitched roof, a small cupola with a bell, and a weather vane. It was lighted by large windows, those in the end towards the street having fanlights and long pointed shutters. The gallery was lighted by small square windows, and the main entrance was a large double door with paneled leaves and a pediment supported by pilasters. A picket fence separated the yard from the street, and behind the church were horse sheds. After the parish abandoned it, the building became a foundry, in which one could read "I. H. S." painted on the wall over the former site of the altar. The parish still has the subscription book for the building fund, and the Alexander Plush Mills now occupy the site.

After about fifty years, Saint Andrew's outgrew the second church, and in 1844 bought a lot on High Street and erected the present church, which was consecrated on March 27, 1845, by Bishop George W. Doane. In 1853, the parish was re-incorporated under the laws of New Jersey.

15

CHRIST CHURCH NEW BRUNSWICK (1742)

ONE OF THE UNINTENDED RESULTS of George Whitefield's second visit to America, 1739-1741, which was largely spent itinerating in the Middle Colonies (*see above*, Chapter VI), was the founding of Christ Church, New Brunswick, in 1742.

Up to that time, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church were the only two organized religious groups in the town. Theodore Jacobus Frelinghuysen was the pastor of the former, and Gilbert Tennent of the latter. As early as 1720,

"Frelinghuysen combined loyalty to the teachings of the Heidelberg Catechism with the methods and fanatical zeal of a master revivalist . . . Many of his parishioners were quickly incensed by the directness of his preaching, the severity of his requirements for admission to the communion table, and the candor of his strictures on their manners, morals, and religious observances."¹

¹*Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 17-18.

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Before Whitefield arrived, Tennent had thrown in his lot with Frelinghuysen to the extent of emulating his fanatical zeal and adopting his methods:

"His searching examinations into the experiences of professing Christians — which brought him much unpopularity and abuse — convinced him that many of them had not been converted, and he preached with great vividness on sin, retribution, repentance, and the need of a conscious inner change."²

On November 13, 1739, Whitefield, then aged twenty-five, first visited New Brunswick, and recorded in his journal:

"I read the Church Liturgy and preached in Mr. Tennent's meeting-house; for there is no place set apart for the worship of the Church of England. I was above an hour in my sermon . . ."

Returning from New York on November 20th, Whitefield put in a hard day:

"Reached New Brunswick about six last night; and preached today, at noon, for near two hours, in Mr. Tennent's meeting-house, to a large assembly gathered together from all parts. About three in the afternoon, I preached again; and, at seven, I baptized two children, and preached a third time. Among others who came to hear the word, were several ministers, whom the Lord has been pleased to honour, in making them instruments of bringing many sons to glory."

Whitefield's fame now began to spread like a prairie fire and, when five months later, on Sunday, April 27, 1740, Whitefield made his third visit to New Brunswick:

"I preached morning and evening, to near seven or eight thousand people; and God's power was so much amongst us in the afternoon sermon, that the cries and groans of the people would have drowned my voice. One woman was struck down; and, at night, another woman came to me under strong convictions. She cried out, 'I can see nothing but hell.'"

Whitefield's ability to loosen the purse strings of tight-fisted colonials was evidenced by the fact that the collections morning and evening were about £25 sterling.

Whitefield's success encouraged both Frelinghuysen and Tennent to intensify their efforts, and those who disapproved of their methods had "no

² *Ibid.*, XVIII, 366-369.

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place to go," except to St. James' Church, Piscataway, two miles across the unbridged Raritan River. The few Anglicans in New Brunswick were now urged to build a church in town, and this they proceeded to do with the blessing of William Skinner, the S. P. G. missionary in Perth Amboy, in whose mission New Brunswick belonged.

Skinner begins his letter of December 9, 1741, to the Society with the statement, "I have inclos'd a Notitia Parochialis of Amboy, Piscataway and New Brunswick," and he ends it with a postscript:

"That which was formerly Piscataway is now divided into Piscataway and New Brunswick and separated by the River Raritan."

One year later, December 7, 1742, he reports:

"Those of Piscataway and New Brunswick for the greater conveniency of the people, are agreeing upon a place, about two miles distant from the old Church where they intend to build a new Church, not in proportion to the present Congregation, but in proportion to their Expectation of increasing, and if so, it will be large."

The next spring, May 27, 1743, he states, "A foundation of a Church fourty feet wide and fifty-five feet long is laid at New Brunswick." The support of dissenters in the project is clearly indicated in his letter of six months later, November 22:

"Mr Tennant finding himself much upon the decline in the affections of the people has left this Province, and this has occasion'd those of New Brunswick to depart from their first thoughts, Viz: of building a wooden Church and to build with stone and lime, and accordingly they have been preparing materials this summer with all diligence, and they who before were profest enemies to the Church, are now the most zealous Promoters of the work. This I thought proper to offer as a reason, why the Church at New Brunswick is not finished."

A year later, October 29, 1744, the church had been raised "8 feet above the ground," "the Building is of very good stone and lime, and is 56 feet long and 40 feet wide," and "next Spring, as soon as the weather will permit, they intend to prosecute that good Work, and to inclose it next Sumer, if they can." Skinner adds: "And it is surprising to see how willingly most of the Dissenters there . . . contribute their assistance to the Work."

The building of the church was in fact started before the congregation had any title to the ground on which it was being erected, probably because

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Philip French, the owner, was kindly disposed and had promised it to them. Philip French never sold any land; he always leased it. Accordingly, the title to the lot, 150 feet square at the corner of Church and Neilson streets, on which the first church was built and on which the original tower and the present nave still stand, is not that of a deed but of a two thousand year lease, signed December 4, 1745, but running from the preceding Christmas Day, December 25, 1744, at an annual rental of "one pepper corn only if demanded." The lease also states that "the building of said church . . . is now in great forwardness."

The optimism of the congregation outran its resources, and work on the building continued for many years. The steeple was not erected nor a bell hung in it until 1772. The tower, obviously modelled after one by Sir Christopher Wren, is the most glorious part of the church, and is today the only pre-Revolutionary structure belonging to a public building in New Brunswick.

The original nave had a gambrel roof, with a "noble window of small panes of glass" covering almost the entire east end. The pews faced the north or Church Street side, at which were the pulpit and reading desk, while the Communion table was at the east or Neilson Street end, until about 1811, when the pulpit and reading desk were also moved to the east end.

The nave was razed in 1852, but the same stone was used as far as possible in erecting the present larger one at a cost of only \$8,000! The original tower, however, links the present Christ Church with the colonial period.

In 1745, the congregation petitioned the Venerable Society for a resident missionary, in which Skinner and Commissary Vesey of New York joined. The Society replied favorably, provided the congregation supplied a house and glebe. This they promised to do, raised some money for both, but never fulfilled the promise. This was to be the principal cause of the rapid turnover of clergy until the time of Abraham Beach, who came as a bachelor and who solved the problem by marrying his ward, who brought as her dowry a fine farm on the Raritan River.

In 1749 the Society, assuming the house and glebe were ready, sent the Rev. Thomas Wood, described as "a Gentleman of very good Life and Conversation, bred to Physick and Surgery," as well as theology. He had charge of Elizabeth Town also, which was so much resented by the parishioners in the latter place that the plan was abandoned in 1751. Wood's parish was supposed to extend from there to Trenton, and his medical practice stretched from New York to Philadelphia. At his arrival early in 1750, he found a hundred or more Churchmen in New Brunswick, or about one-sixth of the

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people, but he was so dissatisfied with conditions that after two years he left for a parish in Nova Scotia.

In the meantime, momentous events had been happening in the educational world. On October 22, 1746, Acting Governor John Hamilton had granted to a group of Presbyterians a charter for the "College of New Jersey" (now Princeton University). The validity of the charter was challenged, and in 1748 Governor Jonathan Belcher granted a second charter. The first charter was lost and its contents were unknown to historians until as late as 1939, when a copy of it was found in the S. P. G. archives.

The College opened in Elizabeth Town in May, 1747, with a faculty of one — the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson. Upon his death on October 7th of that year, it was moved to the parsonage of the Rev. Aaron Burr in Newark, where, on November 8, 1748, its first commencement was held. Great rivalry developed over the permanent site of the college. New Brunswick entered the lists, and the Rev. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, New York, reported to the Society in 1752:

"As New Brunswick will in all Probability be the Seat of the Dissenting College, lately Incorporated by M^r Belcher, Governor of New Jersey, and the Dissenting Congregation hath delayed calling a Teacher [minister], with a View of having the President of the College [Aaron Burr], who M^r Barclay is told, is an agreeable Preacher and a Man of Sense, it were to be wished, the new Missionary may be a Gentleman, of at least equal Abilities to him . . ."

The Society responded to this news with the opinion "that particular Care be taken to provide an able Missionary for New Brunswick, with all convenient Speed." They therefore appointed the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr., the future first bishop of the Episcopal Church, who reached New Brunswick on May 25, 1754.

Meanwhile, in 1752, the trustees had voted to remove the College of New Jersey to Princeton, where land was given for the campus by Nathaniel Fitz Randolph. Funds were collected in Great Britain, and work was begun in Princeton in 1754 on the first college building, Nassau Hall, completed in 1756. In the autumn of that year, Burr and seventy students moved to Princeton.

The educational needs of New Brunswick were to be met, not by Presbyterians or Anglicans, but by the Dutch Reformed Church, which in 1766 obtained a charter for Queen's College, now Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey.

Seabury received a heartfelt welcome from the people, who seemed grateful to the Society and eager to do everything in their power to en-

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courage him, voting him £40 a year in addition to the Society's £50. The church was generally well filled, and the parish proposed to finish it during the following summer. As there was no other minister in New Brunswick at that time, Seabury was happy to see people of various faiths flocking to hear him, and hoped that "they would in the course of time, through the grace of God, conform." Many did, as both the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian churches were rent by bitter disputes between the "New Lights" and the "Old Lights."

Seabury was on his way to higher things, and stayed only until January 13, 1757, moving to Jamaica, Long Island, and from there to Saint Peter's, Westchester, New York. He officiated at New Brunswick every seventh Sunday until December 16, 1758, when his successor, Dr. Thomas McKean, arrived.

McKean was kindly welcomed by the parishioners who, on December 20, 1757, fulsomely thanked the Society for appointing him, and expressed their great pleasure at seeing the Church "raising its head in an infant country."

McKean lived in some style at "Ross Hall" on the River Road, which still stands, and his influential and wealthy "connections" brought prestige to the parish. He employed his "pull" among "friends at court" to secure a parish lottery in 1759, and a charter was granted on November 1, 1761, by the governor of New Jersey in the name of King George III, to "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church in the City of New Brunswick." Under this charter the parish still wields its corporate powers and elects its wardens and vestrymen.

In February, 1763, the parish again lost its pastor by the removal of McKean to Perth Amboy. During the vacancy the Hon. Edward Antill, "a man of most exemplary life, and singular piety," read prayers and sermons on alternate Sundays at New Brunswick and Piscataway. He was one of the warmest friends Christ Church has ever had, and in 1759 was one of the trustees of the lottery to complete the church.* He died in 1770, and was buried near the southeast corner of the building. His son, John, gave the marble font still in use.

By agreement between the parishes, the Society in 1762 united New Brunswick and Piscataway, and two years later appointed the Rev. Leonard Cutting, a tutor at King's College, New York. His ministry of about two years was one of growing prosperity, and the various churches in town lived together "in a friendly manner without disputes or animosities on account of religion." Christ Church was as generous to him as it could afford to be, giving him £40 currency a year and £20 for house rent until able to buy

**New Jersey Archives*, XX, p. 302.

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a glebe. Although he had only about twenty-five communicants in 1764, there were thirty-four at the end of his pastorate, while the church at Piscataway was well filled and the people there appeared "serious and affected." He heavily emphasized religious training of the young, and every Sunday drilled the children of both parishes in the catechism.

Cutting transferred to Hempstead, Long Island, in 1766, and was succeeded in September, 1767, by the Rev. Abraham Beach. He served until 1784, and then became an assistant minister of Trinity Church in New York, after having been an able and diplomatic leader of Christ Church in a desperate time. He fairly made the parish hum, attracted people of various faiths, taught the children and Negroes their catechism, and got the church repaired and the steeple completed. The Society, not usually profuse with compliments, in 1773 reported:

"The Rev. Dr. Beach's mission is in good state. He endeavoreth by kind and candid treatment, to overcome the prejudice of dissenters; and hath experienced the good effects of it in several instances."

Next year he noted the omens of a rising storm, telling the Society that the American quarrel with the mother country was "hurtful" to the clergy, even though he was trying "to promote moderation, peace and good order."

His mild attitude was all that saved Christ Church from the fate of other parishes, when the storm of revolution broke in full fury and rent the congregation into patriots and loyalists. The latter fled, and the former remained until the British army took possession of New Brunswick and did £40 worth of damage to the church. But Beach clung to his post, hoping "at all times to preserve a conscience void of offense toward God and man," and so gave Christ Church the honor of being the only Episcopal church in New Jersey to retain an active pastor throughout the war. For four months in the early half of 1777, the Rev. Samuel Cooke, a refugee from Monmouth County, occasionally visited the parish. The old register contains a fairly continuous record of baptisms, marriages, and burials. Beach held services even when conflict raged about the town, made his parish calls, and even ministered to nearby churches within a forty mile radius of New Brunswick, whose clergy were refugees. For years he got no salary at all, and was in danger of his life, as his home just outside the city was hit by bullets.

Through his influence, Christ Church took a notable part in events leading to the organization of the Church in the United States and in New Jersey. At his invitation, on May 11, 1784, a few of the scattered clergy in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania gathered in Christ Church in the first interstate meeting to "consider the state of the Church." They

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planned to promote a union of the churches in the several states, and called a second meeting at New York in October, 1784, which decided to call the first General Convention at Philadelphia in September, 1785. Their meeting was the real beginning of the long succession of General Conventions. It first used the name, "The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States," and established the right of the laity to be represented by deputies in the councils of the Church.

Through Beach's influence, Christ Church was host to the first convention of the Diocese of New Jersey, on July 6, 1785, with two delegates from this parish. Beach preached the sermon, presided over the session, and was elected as a deputy to the General Convention. During the formative years of the diocese, he and lay delegates from Christ Church attended every convention, and took a leading part in forming the Church's Constitution, Canons, and Prayer Book. By their courage and perseverance, Christ Church helped powerfully to guide the Church out of the colonial into the national period. It is today one of the strongest parishes in the diocese.

[*Records:* There are two volumes of the Parish Register before 1785, containing records of baptisms, marriages, and burials. The first covers the years 1758-59, 1767-78; the second, 1780-84.]

16

CHRIST CHURCH BELLEVILLE (1750)

CHRIST CHURCH originated as a mission of Trinity Church, Newark, for parishioners who lived in New Barbadoes Neck, north of Second River. The chief promoter was the Rev. Isaac Browne, missionary in Newark after 1745. So many parishioners lived north of the river that the charter of Trinity Church provided that one warden and half of the ten vestrymen should come from Second River, New Barbadoes Neck, and Acquacknong.

In 1750 Browne began to hold services at Second River, three miles north of Newark, and by constant visiting built up a good congregation. The place, as he described it in 1756, was a compact village of about three hundred people, mostly Dutch, who spoke English "tolerably well." He soon got them a schoolmaster, Samuel Brown from Yale College, who read prayers and sermons when the pastor could not get there. For about a century services were irregular because of bad weather and roads; when both were good, the people were inclined to go to church in Newark.

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For about twenty years they met in a storehouse on the bank of the river, at the south end of the village, where ships could moor. The "chapel" was a sturdy two-story building, probably about sixty by thirty feet, with a frame of massive oak timbers and shingled sides and roof. It was used to store grain and flour for a nearby grist mill, and stood until destroyed by fire about 1860. In 1774 the people decided to remodel the stone "academy" on Main Street, about fifty by thirty feet in size and able to hold three hundred people. Browne delightedly told the Society that when finished it would be "a good exchange for the old open store house." He ministered until after the outbreak of the Revolution, when he was compelled as a loyalist to flee to New York.

In 1778 the congregation repaired the chapel and united with Trinity Church to choose wardens and vestrymen. Uzal Ogden and Abraham Beach held occasional services from 1779 until 1785. The former became rector of the two churches, and attended the first convention of the diocese of New Jersey on July 6, 1785, with John Schuyler as a delegate.

Before the Revolution the chapel was patronized by several eminent families, including the Kingslands, Schuylers, Sandfords, Leaycrafts, Bennets, Nutmans, Dows, Ogdens, Leslies, and Rutherfords. One of the most generous supporters was Colonel John Schuyler, who left the local Reformed Dutch church because of a difference of opinion. He is said to have given Dutch and English Prayer Books to the entire congregation.

They were a mission of Newark, called "Trinity Chapel" until 1836, when they became the separate, incorporated parish of "Christ Church, Belleville." Twenty-five years before, they had agreed with the mother church to provide for their own services. The new parish bought a lot on Main Street and built a church, but before it was occupied, it was destroyed by fire, supposed to have been set by a disgruntled contractor. The congregation worshipped in the Wesley Methodist Church on Main Street, until a new Gothic stone church was opened in 1842.

[Records: Trustees Minutes, Financial Records, Parish Register, beginning in 1750.]

17

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH SPOTSWOOD (1756)

SPOTSWOOD WAS FOUNDED by the large Scottish settlement in East Jersey, encouraged by the Proprietors in the 1680's, and originally called

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South River. The name is supposed to have been given by James Johnstone, in honor of the ancient Spottiswoode family, with which he was connected. Most of the early settlers were Episcopalians, and many people in the South River region were descendants of emigrants from Staten Island, who remained loyal to the religion of the Prayer Book.

There is a tradition that the first services were read by John Talbot of Burlington, who in 1705 reported, "I have gone the rounds several times from Burlington to Amboy." For many years occasional meetings gathered in homes. Probably the large Scottish population attracted the attention of the Rev. William Skinner of Perth Amboy, a member of the Clan MacGregor. He began visiting the region in 1727, and continued for thirty years until his death. Many families in the eastern part of Middlesex County, around South River, Macheponex, and Cranbury, attended church at Saint Peter's, Toponemus. As Skinner found it inconvenient to reach them, after crossing the wide Raritan on a ferry, he agreed to leave them to the ministry of Thomas Thompson, the missionary in Monmouth County.

The Spotswood people grew tired of worshipping in homes and began to want a church, and by 1753 were engaged in erecting one, in which Skinner hoped to preach the first sermon sometime in the following summer. During the next few years, probably in 1756, it was completed, as the Rev. Robert McKean of New Brunswick in the spring of 1758 described to the Society "a handsome wooden Church in a small village called Spotswood." It was opened for services in the following year, and was renovated in 1816 under the direction of Oliver B. Johnston, a prominent parishioner. The congregation grew rapidly, and by the autumn of 1761 the building was so packed that there was nothing to do but build a gallery.

In the meantime, in 1756, thirty families had organized Saint Peter's Parish, without waiting for a resident missionary. They had no corporate powers until November 23, 1773, when Governor William Franklin in the name of King George III granted a charter to thirteen freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Spotswood: the Right Hon. David Carnagie (Lord Rosehill), John Lewis Johnstone (descended from James), Fred Bucklew, John Rue, Thomas Newton, John Barclay, Jr., Joseph Perrine, James Rue, David Stout, Samuel Neilson, Richard Lott, James Abraham, and John Perrine. Carnagie and Johnstone were wardens, and the strong Scottish tinge of the parish is obvious in the corporators' names.

The original parchment charter, restored in 1931, is kept at the Diocesan House, Trenton, and a facsimile made in 1886 hangs in the vestibule of the church. As in other colonial church charters, there is a whimsical requirement that the parish shall pay annually "one pepper corn, if the same be legally demanded," to the king through his receiver-general at Perth Am-

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boy. There is no record that the wardens and vestrymen ever had to make a frantic search for a pepper corn. In 1859 the parish was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey.

Saint Peter's possesses two precious gifts from the Society: a Book of Common Prayer, printed in England in 1764, and a Bible bearing the date 1767. These were presented about 1768, together with a parish library that has disappeared.

At first the people had to be satisfied with occasional visits from the missionaries in Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, and Monmouth County. That makeshift became so unsatisfactory that in 1765-66 Spotswood was yoked with Freehold in a new mission, comprising the western part of Monmouth County and the South River region in Middlesex. The first missionary, George Spencer, remained only about a year — one too many, as he was so disreputable that the Society dismissed him.

Then came William Ayres, who for twenty-one years (two-thirds of his service) lived near Englishtown, on a glebe purchased by his two parishes. He served from 1768 until 1796, when he abandoned his family to the charity of the diocese. He had been insane at intervals for many years, sometimes utterly incapable of performing any duty. To make matters worse, he wrangled with the congregation so bitterly that the diocesan convention was obliged to appoint a peace committee.

When the Revolution erupted, troubles began to swarm upon the parish, for it was in the midst of military maneuvers and partisan warfare. For years at a time there were no clerical services, as Ayres was helpless and most of the other missionaries had become loyalist refugees. Ayres recovered his health and reason for a time, and appeared at the diocesan conventions of 1786 and 1792. After he deserted the parish, there was no rector until 1799, when the Rev. Andrew Fowler presented his certificate of induction to the convention. Saint Peter's sent two lay delegates, Colonel Joseph Haight and John L. Johnston, to the convention of May, 1786, which perfected the organization of the diocese. It is now, 1953, in a growing community, and growing with it.

[*Records:* The records to the close of the Revolution consist of Vestry Minutes from 1761, and a Parish Register beginning in 1781.]

SAINT JAMES' CHURCH
DELAWARE

Formerly Knowlton
(1768)

THIS PARISH was formerly known as Saint James', Knowlton, and was founded when that township, now in Warren County, was a part of Sussex County. It was one of the latest colonial missions, and originated in 1768-69 through the ministry of the well-known Uzal Ogden, who was then a lay missionary and catechist on New Jersey's northwestern frontier.

The first Episcopal influence in that region came from Ogden's patron, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town. He used to visit the unchurched pioneers as often as he could. He and William Frazer of Amwell were active around Knowlton in 1769, the date of the first baptism recorded in the parish register. Next year Frazer baptized four persons, including John Albertson, whose descendants were active in the parish for several generations.

A parochial organization was effected in or about 1768, and two years later Chandler described "St. James" as though it were a recognized church. But the parish was not formally incorporated until 1832, and had no resident rector until the arrival of the Rev. Peter L. Jacques in the following year.

As was usual on the frontier, services were held at first in homes, particularly those of Peter Appelman and Robert Allison. The latter, a pioneer settler and a devoted Churchman, gave the lots for a church, a schoolhouse, and a cemetery, and contributed generously for the building.

The date of erection of the first church is uncertain, but it is known that by 1769 the Episcopalians were sharing a stone building with the Baptists. It was certainly completed in 1784, and stood at the point of rocks near the Delaware River, below Delaware Station. A second stone church was erected in 1841, consecrated in 1842, and burned in 1866. The third and present building, of frame construction with a belfry and a bell, was completed in 1868. It stands at the intersection of Delaware and Columbia Roads, in the village of Delaware, formerly called Delaware Station, in the southwest part of old Knowlton Township.

Since the diocesan conventions of 1788 and 1789, to which it sent delegates, this church has always been a parish. Together with Christ Church, Newton, it has survived the tests of time, which have eliminated several

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other missions founded by Uzal Ogden in old Sussex County. It is now a small parish, under the care of the rector of Zion Church, Belvidere.

[*Records*: Vestry Minutes, one volume, beginning in 1789. Parish Register, one volume, beginning in 1769.]

19

CHRIST CHURCH NEWTON (1769)

SUSSEX COUNTY before 1763 was the wilderness frontier of New Jersey. After the British and colonial forces won the French and Indian War, settlers swarmed in, and the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, rector of Saint John's in Elizabeth Town, thought it was high time to plant the Church there. He had heard rumors of the religious destitution, and in November, 1769, traveled fifty miles to see for himself. What he found disturbed him so deeply that on January 5, 1770, he wrote a long letter to the Society, bluntly describing conditions.

During a week of daily preaching in various places, he learned that he was the first minister of the Church who had visited those parts. There was no minister of any faith in the whole county, as the fifteen hundred families were so divided among several denominations that none could support one. Only fifty belonged to the Church, not counting a few in Frazer's Amwell-Kingwood mission, and they met frequently in homes to read the liturgy.

With characteristic energy, Chandler went into action and told the leaderless people what to do. Promising to get them a missionary, he recommended a general meeting to organize a parish. They must raise a subscription to pay a minister, use the court house at Newton for a church, and put their chief effort into getting a rectory and a glebe while land was cheap.

A meeting on December 28, 1769, organized the parish, chose William Nixon as clerk, named Nathaniel Pettit and William Crooks as wardens, and elected the following vestrymen:

Archibald Stewart, Edward Dunlop, Doctor Edward Pigot, Thomas Anderson, Esq., David Frazer, Amos Pettit, John Pettit, Charles Pettit, Allen Nixon, John Green, William Hall, John Moore, John Loder, Jr., Richard Crooks, William Green, Nathan Armstrong, Robert Fisher, and Thomas Boord.

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The meeting also appointed wardens for the recently organized church of Saint James', Knowlton (Delaware), and for a congregation at Roxbury in Morris County, and recommended the election of vestries. The obvious intention was to establish a sort of "collegiate" parish for the whole of Sussex County, then including Warren.

The good Church people carried out Dr. Chandler's suggestions to the letter. They appointed the wardens to draw up a subscription to maintain the ministry and give an account of it to the Rev. William Frazer, who agreed to convey it to Chandler. The next step was to secure a glebe. On April 11, 1770, Chandler appeared at a council of the Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, and presented a petition from some Churchmen in Newton, asking aid in securing support for a minister. The Proprietors granted two hundred acres of unappropriated land in Sussex County, to be conveyed to the minister, wardens, and vestrymen of the church at Newton upon their being incorporated, and to be held by them and their successors forever, in trust for the use of the Church.

The parish therefore asked to have a charter as soon as possible. Over four years slipped away before the big parchment received the seal of William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, on August 15, 1774, at Burlington, in the name of George III. The age-yellowed sheet, with its graceful and faded old script, is now a prized possession of the parish. The incorporators were Uzal Ogden, Jr., Nathaniel Pettit, Archibald Stewart, Edward Pigot, William Hall, Nathan Armstrong, Amos Pettit, Thomas Anderson, John Pettit, Charles Pettit, John B. Scott, and James Shaw. They and their successors were empowered to hold property and transact all parish business, under the name of "The Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen, of Christ's Church at New Town."

After the parish had received its legal powers, a farm of two hundred acres on the Freedom road, about three and one-half miles southeast of Newton, was surveyed by Jonathan Hampton for Cortland Skinner and John Johnston, who deeded it to the church on December 16, 1774. The parish retained possession of this property until early in 1868, and then sold it by authority of an act of the New Jersey legislature, approved by the governor on April 4, 1867.

While awaiting the charter, Christ Church had acquired other property. In 1770 Jonathan Hampton, a vestryman of Saint John's in Elizabeth Town, gave twenty-seven acres of land in three tracts. Upon one of them, containing ten acres, the people in 1770-71 built a stone rectory. It is still standing on Dunn Place, named for the second rector, the Rev. Clarkson Dunn, 1820-57. Hampton is supposed to have been the chief donor to the building fund, and he also gave the cemetery. Jonathan Halsted, also of

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Elizabeth Town, gave land west of the main walk. It is not hard to see, behind these generous gifts, the influence of Dr. Chandler. Most of the rectory lot was sold, surveyed, and laid out for building lots in 1868, and a new rectory (now the parish house) was built in 1870. The present one was purchased in 1902.

The first occupant of the original house was the well-known and long-serving Uzal Ogden, Jr. He was a young friend of Dr. Chandler, who had him serve as a layreader, then got him an appointment from the Society as catechist in Sussex County. He began reading services in 1770, and was so faithful and popular that on Christmas Day the wardens and vestry started a subscription of £30 for his salary, in addition to his stipend from the Society, and requested the Knowlton and Roxbury congregations to contribute their fair shares. He fully earned his pay, as his first annual report to the Society, July 8, 1771, related that he traversed the whole of old Sussex County, sixty miles long and half as broad, besides visiting Roxbury in Morris.

His was a really hard ministry. Travel was burdensome in that mountainous region, and he was the only Christian minister, excepting — as he said — “a single, illiterate Separate preacher.” There were sixty-three Episcopal families and one hundred and fourteen persons learning the catechism, but some could seldom attend, as they lived six or eight miles from any place of worship. About a third of the Churchmen lived in Newton and had service every third Sunday. Another third were at Knowlton, twenty-two miles away, and saw their minister only once a month, but sometimes came in such flocks that he had to hold service in a field. The remaining third lived in Hackettstown and Roxbury, sixteen and eighteen miles from Newton, and had monthly services, at Roxbury in a barn and at Hackettstown in the Presbyterian meeting house. Ogden also read prayers and sermons on week days by invitation in the homes and meeting houses of dissenters, who flocked to the Church services every Sunday and behaved “very decently.” Many of them had never seen Anglican worship until he came, and considered the Church as “Papist,” but soon began to be friendly and even contributed to his salary.

The people were eager to have him priested, and in 1773 he sailed for England to be ordained by the Bishop of London. Christ Church still has a memorial of the occasion, a folio Prayer Book with a printed inscription:

“Presented by William Kelly, Esquire, to the Parish of New Town,
Sussex County, New Jersey, on the Ordination of Uzal Ogden,
Junior, the first Minister of the Church of England for the Parish.
Anno 1773.”

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Although his friend and patron, Dr. Chandler, was an ardent loyalist, Ogden was a patriot and remained during the trying and confused period of the Revolution. He continued to preach, but omitted the liturgy. Early in 1777, he went to New York City, leaving his family behind, but after a few months returned to Sussex County. In 1782 he was serving also in Pennsylvania, besides the New Jersey towns of Morristown, Newark, and Second River. Since the beginning of his mission, he had performed sixty-four marriages, buried twenty-four persons, and baptized seven hundred and thirty-one white and thirty-four Negro infants, one hundred and seven white and twenty-three Negro adults.

He resigned on August 10, 1784, to become rector of Trinity Church, Newark; but at the request of the vestry he remained the nominal rector apparently until 1792. For several years he was president of the parish corporation, although absent most of the time, and even kept possession of the rectory and its lands until 1790.

During Ogden's ministry and for many years afterward, the parish had no church and worshipped in the Sussex County Court House, on land given by Jonathan Hampton. The people sorely missed a church in the long and disheartening period after Ogden's departure, when services were held only occasionally and the parish nearly perished. It did not revive until the Rev. Clarkson Dunn in 1820 began his ministry of thirty-seven years. Three years later, with his inspiration, the people bought the present lot and built their first church, which was succeeded by the present one in 1868-69.

20

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH CLARKSBORO Formerly Berkley (1770)

THE ORIGINAL NAME, "Saint Peter's, Berkley," came from the neighborhood where the first church stood. Early settlers called it Mantua Creek, but later residents referred to it as Sandtown, Berkley, and Mount Royal. There were many Church of England families, who belonged to the Gloucester and Waterford (Colestown) mission, first served by the Rev. Nathaniel Evans.

About 1770 they began to want a church, and on November 29, for £6, bought from Uriah Paul half an acre of land for a church and a cemetery, on the Salem-Gloucester road in Greenwich Township. From this lo-

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cation the parish was often called "Greenwich." The purchasers, whom the old "Greenwich Church Book" called managers and trustees, were Robert Friend Price, Esq., Isaac Inskeep of Deptford Township, Thomas and Timothy Clark, Jonathan and Jesse Chew, Joshua Paul and Thomas Thompson of Greenwich Township, George Van Leer, Esq., Jacob Jones and Samuel Tonkin of Woolwich Township, and Edward Evans of Philadelphia.

The last named was a noted Methodist Churchman and preacher, the father of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, the first missionary at Gloucester, Waterford, and Greenwich. After the church was erected, he became accustomed to preaching there, and was virtually the founder of Methodism in old Gloucester County. By far the greater part of the contributors were Episcopalians, and the deed shows that the parish was intended to be Episcopal. As the Methodists had not at that time separated from the Church, they assumed the right to use the building and the cemetery at Mount Royal. The result was bound to be confusion and ill-feeling.

One of those who saw trouble coming was the Rev. Nicholas Collin, the Swedish missionary at Racoon (Swedesboro) and Penns Neck. He noted in his journal that the church was built by an assorted congregation—Methodists, half-Quakers, Episcopalians, and a few people of Swedish Lutheran descent. The pastor, probably Edward Evans, he described as "a good old simple minded man who had not been ordained, nor of any particular religion." The Methodist element increased, and in 1771 the Rev. David Griffith reported that the frequent visits of Evans and other Methodist preachers alienated people from the Church. His successor, the Rev. Robert Blackwell, in 1774 found that the "new church at Greenwich" was *tinctured with Methodism*. Previously he had declared that the parish preferred Episcopal ministers, and he hoped it would become an "Established Church."

The managers felt the same way, having become sick of friction between Methodists and other Churchmen, and tired of the community church experiment. At a meeting on June 30, 1774, they stated that it would be best for the church to be the property of one group—the strict Episcopalians, who had given most of the building funds. They agreed to make it an Episcopal church, to be included in a charter with Saint Mary's, Waterford (Colestown), and the church to be built at Gloucester. If anybody was aggrieved, he could reclaim his subscription from Thomas Clark.

To keep the Methodists and others out, the managers decreed that none but a Church of England minister could preach in the building without permission from Dr. Bodo Otto, Jr., and nobody could open it without getting the key from the sexton, Gabriel D. Veber. Nobody could hold a private meeting there, but the parish welcomed all who would "behave themselves with decency and good order and desire to hear our preaching."

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Whenever an Episcopal minister came, there could be no other service on that day without his consent. These rules were read in the church after service and written into the "Greenwich Church Book." They were signed by the Rev. Robert Blackwell, as manager and clerk of the meeting, and by Timothy Clark, Isaac Inskeep, Thomas Thompson, Samuel Tonkin, Jonathan Chew, Gabriel D. Veber, and Bodo Otto, Jr.

Apparently the Methodists were not upset, as by that time they were beginning to build their own meeting houses. Their superintendent, Mr. Rankin, and several prominent members in Greenwich met with the managers on September 13, 1774, and agreed to abide by the rules. Others evidently did not take them so seriously, and on March 9, 1775, the managers made them stiffer. They forbade anyone but an Episcopal minister to preach in the church, and reserved the cemetery for the use of subscribers only, forbidding any grave to be opened without applying to the sexton. Anyone who did not like these rules could reclaim his subscription from Timothy Clark, by declaring that he had given it for a Methodist meeting house rather than an Episcopal church.

The Episcopalians probably took a firmer tone from the fact that for some time they had been enjoying the services of a parson. Their first one, the young poet Nathaniel Evans, came to them about January 1, 1766, and died in 1767. The Rev. David Griffith ministered for a short time, but disliked the mission and went to greener fields in Virginia. After a long vacancy, the people were glad to see the Rev. Robert Blackwell, a diligent pastor, who came in April, 1773, and traveled about the mission for six years. Later he moved to Philadelphia and became assistant minister of Christ Church and Saint Peter's under Bishop White, and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.

He had been serving Greenwich but a short time, when the Revolution divided the parish into parties. Captain Jonathan Chew and Gabriel D. Veber, a merchant, became loyalists; but their parson served for years as a chaplain and surgeon in the Continental Army. Bodo Otto was a patriot surgeon, colonel of the Gloucester County militia, and judge of the county court.

Parish organization broke down, and the managers did not hold meetings for about fifteen years. For a time Blackwell tried to be neutral and remain at his post in a region disputed between the parties. He had "a very uneasy time of it" in the winter of 1778, and left in March. His salary from the Society fell into arrears, and in a whole year the parish paid him less than £ 20 currency. He had to get other work, as he was not, he said, "a man of fortune." The Society stopped paying him because of his loyalty to the American cause, and the parish remained vacant for many years.

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The forlorn little church was closed. It was a wooden-frame building, in the hamlet of Mount Royal on the Swedesboro turnpike, about a mile above Clarksboro and within the old graveyard. After the Revolution it became known as "St. Peter's, Sand-Town." The parish still preserves the cemetery, with a wall around it. There is no trace of the building, demolished after the present frame church was built at Clarksboro in 1845-46, as a result of locating the rectory there in 1838. The new church was dedicated on December 17, 1846, by Bishop George W. Doane, who had laid the cornerstone on April 17th. The parish was incorporated in 1825 and reincorporated in 1919, and since the removal has been known as "St. Peter's, Berkley, at Clarksboro."

Part II

Extinct Parishes

1.

CHRIST CHURCH ALLENTOWN (1730 - 1941)

THIS PARISH had a checkered and sometimes obscure early history. Probably there were Churchmen in the region soon after Nathan Allen of Shrewsbury settled there and built a grist mill in 1706. They were visited occasionally by S. P. G. missionaries until about 1730, when the parish was organized. The church lot and cemetery were given by Isaac Rogers, and were located on a road behind buildings now standing on Main Street. The graveyard, one of the oldest in Monmouth County, contains the dust of some of the first settlers, and the parish comprised many "first families," whose names appear on the stones: Lloyd, Ely, Rogers, Newell, Lawrence, Bills, Bruere, Blackwell, Robbins, and Price. A prominent member of the congregation was Colonel Elisha Lawrence, Jr., an officer in the Continental Army.

Shortly after 1730, the parish became part of the vast region served by William Lindsay, a traveling missionary, who in 1737 ministered to a "considerable" congregation. The "Little Church" he mentioned is supposed to have been erected about the time of the parish's origin, and stood in a corner of the "Old Cemetery," near the former Allentown tanyard.

Before the Revolution, several missionaries served for short periods. In 1745, Allentown was transferred to the Monmouth mission under the Rev. Thomas Thompson, who officiated while the church had no other minister. After he went to Africa, the Rev. Michael Houdin of Trenton took charge by request of the people. Thereafter Christ Church was considered as a responsibility of the Trenton and Monmouth missions.

The Revolution overwhelmed this little parish, which was fairly under the feet of the armies. Its fate is suggested in the diary of a British officer, found on the battlefield of Monmouth, which records the encampment of troops at Allentown on June 24 - 25, 1778. As churches were generally seized for military uses, Christ Church did not escape, and tradition says that it was used as a stable and damaged by shot. The records disappeared,

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and all that remained to keep faith alive were the folio Bible and the Prayer Book which the Society sent in 1764, when the church was repaired.

When peace came, the congregation was scattered and the building was ruinous and unsightly. A faithful remnant was barely able to keep it open, but was represented in the diocesan conventions at various times, 1786-1794 and 1796-1797, by Newbury Bunting, Allison and Joshua Ely, Colonel Elisha Lawrence, James and John R. Lawrence, James and William Lloyd, Dr. Elisha Newell, and Benjamin, Jacob, James and Samuel Rogers. The forlorn parish received occasional attention from priests whose hands were already full elsewhere, and in 1792 was reported as vacant. The rectors of St. Michael's in Trenton, William Frazer and Dr. Henry Waddell, used to ride out to Allentown about once a month.

In 1804-14, the convention assigned priests to go there, including John Croes of Christ Church in New Brunswick, Dr. Waddell, Dr. Charles H. Wharton of St. Mary's in Burlington, John Croes, Jr., of Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Freehold, Daniel Higbee of Mount Holly and Colestown, and Lewis Pintard Bayard, rector of Trinity Church, Newark. The old church gradually fell to pieces, and in 1810 Dr. Waddell reported that he "could not with propriety make a collection, the service being performed in a Presbyterian Church, and the audience consisting chiefly of members of that church." At that time, the convention appointed Higbee to visit annually, and in 1813 as diocesan missionary he officiated and preached on two Sundays. He found the building practically in ruins, the congregation a mere handful.

For years increasing poverty sat like a wolf at the door. In 1791, the deputies to convention reported families and funds, but the parish finally ceased to subscribe for copies of the journal, and made occasional tiny contributions to the missionary fund. Only feeble signs of life appeared for twenty years, and the building was demolished as unsafe. Laymen read services to a remnant of the congregation, and occasionally a priest celebrated the Holy Communion in houses or in the Presbyterian or Methodist Church.

Revival sprang from the abundant enthusiasm of Bishop George W. Doane. At the request of one family, he visited there in 1835, and later held an annual service in the Presbyterian church or the nearby schoolhouse. Gradually he gathered a small flock, who contributed funds and talked of reviving the parish. He was assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Harry Finch of Shrewsbury and Middletown, John P. Lathrop of Christ Church, Borden-town, Samuel Starr, and Cyrus Munson, who worked as a missionary in the winter of 1843-44. Two or three zealous young laymen were eager to restore the parish, and in 1843 headed a small group in buying a lot on Church

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Street. In the spring of 1844, the bishop ministered in the Academy to a large, attentive, and earnest congregation.

The ground was thoroughly prepared by the Rev. Richard H. B. Mitchell of Christ Church, Bordentown, who accompanied the bishop in April, 1845. On July 10, again accompanied by him, Doane laid the cornerstone of a new church and delivered an address. On October 9, he consecrated the building, with Mitchell reading the request, then preached and celebrated Holy Communion, assisted by the Rev. Samuel Starr.

The new church represented mainly the devotion of the Newell family, described by Bishop Doane as "old Church stock, well rooted, and well nourished." On his annual visit in April, 1846, with Mitchell, he found the parish flourishing as if there had never been any lapse. "The neat little Church was lighted up to good advantage, and filled with an attentive and devoted congregation. Not the least delightful part of the service was the music, chiefly by the young ladies."

With Mitchell in charge, the parish was reorganized, and in the diocesan convention of 1846 was represented by Bennington Gill, Jr., and A. H. Livingston. Mitchell, Starr, and Andrew Bell Paterson held services until the bishop designated a missionary for Allentown and nearby places: William Passmore, presented by Mitchell and ordained deacon on June 28, 1846, in Christ Church, Bordentown. He held services regularly and within a year started a catechism school with thirty-four pupils, baptized two adults, presented three for confirmation, and admitted four new communicants. Mitchell came from Bordentown to celebrate Holy Communion, and the Rev. James W. Bradin of Saint Mary's Hall in Burlington occasionally assisted. The people flocked to church, bought a bell, and planned to build a steeple. Bishop Doane wrote delightedly, "The revival of this long dormant, and, as men deemed, extinct, Church, continues to be blessed of God."

That impulse lasted for twenty-five years, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Newell until her death about 1857. Bishops Doane and Odenheimer visited as often as possible and encouraged the missionaries and rectors: John A. Parsons, R. H. B. Mitchell, Robert B. Croes, James J. Bowdin from St. Matthew's in Jersey City, H. Goodwin, Edward A. Foggo, J. L. Maxwell, and William E. Carroll. Occasional assistance was rendered by the Rev. Messrs. Bradin, Germain, Frost, Musgrave, and Starr, who accompanied Bishop Doane on his visits.

For such a small parish Christ Church displayed amazing vitality. Practically every year, 1849-69, it elected delegates to convention: Governor W. A. Newell, M. D., Charles Dunham, Theodore Stagg, Harris Cox, Albert H. Livingston, Solomon Conrad, Josiah T. Robbins, and the ever-

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faithful Bennington Gill. The congregation attended loyally, contributed several hundred dollars a year, and maintained a choir, an organ, a Sunday school, and a library of two hundred volumes.

William E. Carroll (1861-70) was a "live wire," and so strengthened the parish that it sold the old lot and building to the Roman Catholics, and in 1869 bought a site at Main and Broad Streets for a larger and more attractive church. The cornerstone, laid on May 29, bore this inscription: "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor., 3:11). The building, ready for worship in November, was designed by the Philadelphia architect, William Russell West, in the frame Gothic style, with a belfry, bell, stained-glass windows, and seats for about two hundred. Within less than three years all debts were paid, and Bishop Odenheimer consecrated the church on April 12, 1872.

The building inspired a new vitality that lasted about seventy years. The parish generally was linked with Hightstown, and with Crosswicks, where the rectory was located after 1883-84, having been built with funds partly raised at Allentown. Pastors came and went in rapid succession, as the region did not promise much to an ambitious man. Between 1870 and 1894 there were at least seven: John G. Bawn, Ezra Isaac, George W. DuBois, M. A. Hyde, William Ernest Daw, Roderick Provost Cobb, and Benjamin R. Phelps. From 1894 until 1913, the Associate Mission House in Trenton took the dwindling church under its wing. Then for two or three years it was under the archdeacon of Burlington. Later it was again combined with Crosswicks, with Charles A. Behringer and John W. Foster, D.D., as priests-in-charge, 1917-1926. In the latter year, the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz, rector of Saint Michael's in Trenton, took charge for a year or two. In 1928-40, Allentown was yoked with Hightstown, under the ministry of the Rev. Messrs. William H. Stone, Philip S. Smith, Edward Underwood, and T. B. Bray.

Until it became a mission in 1894-95, Christ Church was regularly represented in the convention, generally by the perennial warden, Bennington Gill. With Albert L. Gill and Josiah Robbins, the other perennial warden, he was a pillar of the parish for about a quarter of a century after 1870.

Before the early 1890's, the parish was modestly prosperous, with from twelve to twenty-five families, between twenty and forty communicants, from fifty to seventy-five persons, and a Sunday school of from six to ten teachers and thirty to seventy-five pupils. Between 1870 and 1895, there were thirty-seven baptisms and twenty confirmations, but rarely a marriage. Occasionally the pastor gathered a Bible class, and some reports mention a Sunday school library and monthly drill in the catchism. There were regular Sunday services whenever possible, and nearly every communicant

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received regularly. Around the turn of the century several loyal families moved away, and the parish began to decline, but services continued until 1936-38, when the church was "temporarily closed." Endowment dwindled from \$1500 in 1901 to \$500 in 1918, and the property was worth only \$4000 in 1917, when the parson received *one hundred dollars!*

After two centuries of frail vitality, Christ Church succumbed to the economic depression of the 1930's. At the convention of 1940, Archdeacon Robert B. Gribbon sponsored a resolution to declare the parish extinct and to direct the Trustees of Church Property to sell everything, upon approval by the Bishop and the Standing Committee. Next year the convention declared the parish extinct and directed the proper officers to convey the real estate. The Roman Catholics bought the church for \$1400 and used it as a recreation center. The fund was voted to the treasurer of the diocese to be used for missionary work under the auspices of the Trustees of the Cathedral Foundation. Within a short time the building was completely destroyed by fire, and now the only reminders of two centuries of faith and good works are the vacant lot and the cemetery.

[*Records:* In Diocesan House, Trenton. Vestry Minutes, 1 vol., 1852-81, including financial records, 1857-81. Parish Register, 3 vols., 1846-1937, including a "Memorial," 53 pp. Financial records: Donations, 1 vol., 1838-46. Subscription list for building the church, 1845. Subscription list, 1853. Yearly subscription list, 1 vol., 1863-64. Receipted bills, 1846-47. Itemized account of the cost of the church, names of contributors, 1 sheet, 1868-69. Communion alms, 1 vol. A bundle of miscellaneous items, receipted bills, newspaper clippings, and notes, 1867-72. Copy of a sermon written by the Rev. Samuel Cooke, Christ Church, Shrewsbury. Deed, 1845.]

2

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH BOONTON (c. 1745 - 1816)

THIS PARISH was an oddity because the S. P. G. had nothing to do with it. Its origin was due to the prosperous iron industry that sprang up at Rockaway Falls about 1710. The "works" had become a big business by 1759, when the "Boonton tract" was bought by David Ogden, one of New Jersey's most successful lawyers. The settlement, called "Boone Town" and later "Old Boonton," was named in honor of Governor Thomas Boone.

Ogden greatly expanded the industry and in 1765-66 deeded the tract

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to his sons, Samuel and Isaac, on condition that the former should settle there as manager. Samuel was around nineteen or twenty, a student at King's College in New York City. He was not in good health, and the doctor advised residence in the country instead of the crowded and dirty seaport. He had settled at "Boone Town" by 1767, and on February 5, 1775, married Euphemia Morris, a daughter of the Hon. Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence for New York.

The young master became known as "Colonel" Ogden, and with that title became the owner of "Boone Town Manor," an estate of some four thousand acres. The splendid mansion at "Boonton Flats," built by his father, was surrounded by large and beautiful gardens, with marble statues from Italy gleaming among the flowers and foliage. During the Revolution, Ogden was a patriot, and his spacious home became a safe and convenient hideaway for councils of war attended by Washington. The iron works, then America's largest, ran at capacity to supply munitions to the Continental Army, and with the local quartermaster post were closely guarded against Tory treachery and British raids.

Such a flourishing industry nourished a large and busy community, second only to Morristown in the county. The Ogdens imported many skilled English iron-workers, mostly Episcopalians, who were strangers in a region where most of the churches were strictly Presbyterian. Sometime before the Revolution, Colonel Ogden built a beautiful little church, said to have been called "Saint Bartholomew's." With the schoolhouse it stood on rising ground across from the manor house, on the east side of the road.

As the church was practically a private chapel for the Ogdens and their dependents, it received its pastor directly from the Bishop of London. The only one mentioned in the meagre records was a young priest who answered to the familiar and affectionate title, "Jolly Parson." Tradition says that he "would far rather whip the river for trout, tramp the forest for game, or engage in helping some poor mortal who was in distress than prepare and preach a Sunday sermon." The people liked a parson who dismissed them with a blessing when the Presbyterian domine at nearby Parsippany had got only one tenth of the way through his sermon. To fatten his salary, "Jolly Parson" ran the school, and let it out at noon, while the village school "droned along" until four o'clock.

How long his jolly and casual ministry continued is obscure, due to the want of definite records which such a parson was not likely to keep. It is supposed that he flourished until around 1780, but there is no evidence that he felt any obligation to write to the Bishop of London, his apparently very nominal superior.*

*No letters from Boonton appear in the transcripts of the Lambeth and Fulham MSS at the Library of Congress.

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The parish did not unite with the Diocese of New Jersey after its organization in 1785, and the convention journals do not mention Boonton until June, 1808. The Rev. Joseph Willard, rector of Trinity Church in Newark, then reported that in the past year he "went to Boonton, and officiated one Sunday, in the Church, erected principally by Col. Samuel Ogden." The large and attentive congregation included several people from Pompton, and he baptized two children. The conventions of 1809, 1810, and 1811 appointed Willard to visit Boonton at least one Sunday in the year, and there the record ends.

Saint Bartholomew's was then nearing its demise. The building was torn down in 1816, and the timber was used to build the first church in Montville. Some years before 1867, that edifice was taken down, and some of the timbers went into the frame of the United States Hotel in Boonton. The present Saint John's parish has no connection with the one that liked "Jolly Parson," as it was not organized until 1856. Jersey City's Boonton Reservoir now ripples over the site of Colonel Ogden's hospitable mansion, the playground of the parson's pupils, the iron works, the old cemetery, and the church lot of Saint Bartholomew's.

3

SAINT MARY'S CHURCH COLESTOWN (1703-1899)

THE ORIGIN of this long-beloved church may be traced to George Keith's conversion of many Quakers to the Church of England. While traveling as a missionary, he wrote in his journal, September 15, 1703: "I preached at the house of William Heulings, in West Jersey." The dwelling stood near the later site of Saint Mary's, and services were held there and in other homes until 1751. In a will probated in 1729, £10 was bequeathed "toward the building of a church to be convenient hereaway." The donor was John Rudderow, whose descendants loyally supported the parish for several generations.

Work on the wooden-frame church was in progress many years before its opening. On May 13, 1764, fifty-four persons subscribed funds to finish it, under the auspices of the wardens and vestrymen: Kendal Coles, Abraham Inskeep, John Stone, Joseph Hollingshead, and John Inskeep, as trustees. In 1751, the Rev. Robert Jenney, rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia, reported to the S. P. G.:

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"That he had had an invitation to come and open a small church built at the charge of about thirty or forty farmers of moderate circumstances, at ten miles distance from the Delaware in West Jersey, thirty-six feet in length and thirty in breadth, which was thronged as full as it could hold when he officiated in it."

Religious zeal and public spirit appeared in contributions of material and labor. The name "Coles Church" came from the local Coles family, who worshipped there for generations. The acre on which the church stood was deeded for only 5 shillings by Kendal Coles, because of his love and affection for the Church, to the wardens, Benjamin Van Leer and William Rudderow, on August 5, 1776.

Occasional services were held at first by the clergy of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and in 1728-30 by the Rev. Jonas Lidman, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church, in Philadelphia. No resident pastor came until 1765, when the S. P. G. appointed Nathaniel Evans as missionary in Gloucester County. He served from about January 1, 1766, until his early and much lamented death in 1767, and preached also to a few Episcopal families at Long-a-coming, Timber Creek, Mantua Creek, and Pensauken Creek.

Until the Society appointed a successor, the Rev. Richard Peters of Philadelphia and other influential Churchmen maintained interest. In 1772, the Rev. Robert Blackwell became missionary to Saint Mary's, as well as to Gloucester, and Saint Peter's, Clarksboro. He reported about forty families at each place, "many of them very ignorant, particularly in respect to the sacraments, as living in the midst of Quakers and destitute of the means of instruction."

Churchly ways were gaining, when the Revolution disrupted parish life. The people sympathized with the patriot cause, like Blackwell, who became a chaplain and surgeon in the Continental Army. Saint Mary's had few services during his long absence, but survived to take part in organizing the Diocese of New Jersey. Nathan Haynes and Isaiah Toy appeared as lay delegates in the third convention, at Burlington, September 27-28, 1786.

For the next thirty years the parish had abundant vitality, even with only an itinerant ministry. It depended upon a few devoted families, who furnished the delegates at several conventions between 1786 and 1814: Nathan Haynes, Isaiah Toy, Samuel Rudderow, Samuel Passey, Abraham Harris, Emmanuel Beagary, and Joseph and Benjamin Hollingshead. The parish occasionally subscribed for copies of the journals, and contributed to the missionary fund.

There was no rector until 1798, when the Rev. Andrew Fowler sat

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in the convention, and within a year he became rector of Saint Peter's, Spotswood. In 1800-01, services were held by the Rev. Henry Waddell, rector of Saint Michael's, Trenton; in 1804-09, on appointment from the convention, by the Rev. Charles H. Wharton, rector of Saint Mary's, Burlington; and in 1805 by Fowler. Daniel Higbee, a deacon, began serving in 1809, and was ordained priest in 1811 by Bishop White of Pennsylvania. He stayed until 1818, and in 1814 reported: "There is a very evident change in this Congregation for the better, and there is a prospect of much good being done." In 1810-17, there were forty or fifty families and about three communicants, and in 1815 he reported "an increasing attention, in this congregation, to the service of the church, and the important concerns of religion."

In 1804-05, there was trouble regarding Samuel Passey, whom the people wanted as a minister. The convention warned them of "the impropriety of receiving a person as their minister, who is not a regularly ordained clergyman." The vestrymen and some members countered by requesting a recommendation to orders, and the convention referred to the standing committee an application for his admission as the parish's lay reader. The committee resolved to give him a license whenever the vestry should furnish a certificate of his fitness, but there is no record that it ever appeared.

Saint Mary's got more attention after the Rev. John Croes of New Brunswick became bishop in 1815. He then officiated there, and visited nearly every year until his death in 1832. At various times in his episcopate the parish was represented in convention by Abraham Harris, Emmanuel Beagary, John Baxter, Abraham Browning, Isaac Welsh, and Samuel Ruderow.

The diocese in those days never had an over-supply of priests, and for considerable periods the parishioners never saw one; but when the bishop came in 1821, he found a large congregation of good listeners.

"This Church," he reported, "though vacant, with some exceptions, for many years, has, in common, with the other vacant congregations, been occasionally served by Missionaries and the clergymen of the neighboring churches. In consequence of which, it has not only been preserved to our communion; but has suffered little or no diminution. The day is not far distant, I hope, when, with the divine blessing, it will enjoy the stated administration of the word and sacraments."

That day never came in his time. About 1819 Daniel Higbee settled at Moorestown, and for two or three years there were occasional ministrations by the Rev. Messrs. George H. Woodruff, George Y. Morehouse of

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Saint Andrew's at Mount Holly, and Jacob M. Douglass of Trinity Church, Swedesborough. In 1822-23, John Mortimer Ward, a deacon and missionary to vacant churches, gave half of his services to Saint Mary's. He soon moved to Spotswood and Freehold, leaving the cure to Morehouse, Douglass, Richard F. Cadle, and Robert B. Croes, missionary to vacant churches. In 1823-26, the Rev. Richard D. Hall from Delaware was in charge, and the congregation grew in numbers and devotion. The Rev. William Bryant assumed charge from October 1, 1826 until 1829, when the Rev. Matthew Matthews succeeded for a short time, and Ward and Morehouse visited occasionally.

Even with such intermittent services, Saint Mary's held its own. The families were so scattered that Sunday school was impossible, but the children learned the catechism, and in 1825 Bishop Croes heard them examined and administered confirmation there for the first time. Although at best there was a service only once in three weeks, a solid core of the faithful held fast. They contributed to the episcopal and missionary funds, and in 1824-25 changed the pulpit and reading desk and built a chancel and a vestry room.

The people repaid the missionary efforts by more zeal, regular attendance, and "some seriousness," but the odds were against growth, and the parish never became a burden to its transient pastors. In 1821, the faithful warden, Emanuel Beagary, reported only about thirty families and contributors, four communicants, and five baptisms in a year. The good work of Ward and Hall about doubled the congregation, but communicants, baptisms, and marriages remained few, and Bishop Croes' ten confirmations in 1825 were unusual.

When Bishop George W. Doane came in 1832, the parish was vacant and stagnant, with services suspended or only at long and irregular intervals. Doane had a sentimental fondness for old shrines, and insisted upon reviving the church. He considered the region a promising field, secured aid from the missionary fund, and combined it with the new Saint Paul's, Camden, under Samuel Starr, a young deacon who was priested on December 24, 1834. In spite of losses and indifference due to neglect, the parish revived, with services every Sunday morning, increasing attendance, a library, a Sunday school, good offerings, and growing interest. Bishop Doane was pleased by evidences of prosperity when he visited in 1835 and confirmed six persons.

The bishop placed Colestown under the Rev. Francis P. Lee, with Saint Paul's in Camden and Trinity Church, Moorestown. The latter was founded largely by children of Saint Mary's, although somewhat reluctantly because of their attachment to the old shrine. As all but three families attended at Moorestown, the Sunday morning services and summer school at Colestown

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were abandoned, and the old church was closed except for funerals and episcopal visits. But Lee planned one service a week, because he would "neglect no opportunity of officiating hereafter in a Church where devout worshippers have been wont to assemble for nearly a hundred years." The bishop also opposed entire disuse of the church, saying in 1838, "We should be slow to withdraw the light from any candlestick in which the Lord has placed it."

Sentiment refused to let the old church die. Bishop Doane visited from year to year with the rector of Moorestown and some other priest, "for the sake of what has been." Until 1848 the parish elected delegates to convention, including Samuel Rudderow, Lawrence Browning, Edward Harris, Joseph Hollingshead, Jonathan J. Spencer, M.D., Richard M. Hugg, Josiah E. Coles, and George T. Risdon. Until 1852 a few old faithfuls received Communion from the rectors of Trinity, Moorestown: the Rev. Messrs. Henry Burroughs, Andrew Bell Paterson, Thomas L. Franklin, William B. Otis, and Samuel Randall. Services were held as often as possible until about 1842, when decaying timbers made the building dangerous. Congregations were large, especially in good weather and at episcopal-visits and funerals, and occasionally there was a baptism or a confirmation. In the 1840's the people discussed repairing the building, and in 1850-52 thought of a new one and planned to buy more land for the cemetery and sell lots to maintain the fence.

But interest was flagging, and no further report came until 1863, when the Rev. H. H. Weld of Moorestown was in charge. In May, 1864, Bishop William Henry Odenheimer drove out with him on a fair day to reopen the old church.

"The descendants and friends of the families who once belonged to the Church filled the building, and a lively interest was manifested in the effort to revive the services. Though for years a decayed and deserted Church, yet is this old Parish the mother of Parishes, for out of her heart have been hewn some of the spiritual stones which have been built into the neighboring Churches at Camden, Haddonfield and Moorestown . . . I trust that all who love the olden times and the memories of their Christian fathers, will help to protect and revive, if may be, this attractive, but now lonely and deserted Church. It is but just to add that there has been a wise and generous love displayed in the preservation of this venerable Church and grave yard by those who have the immediate charge of the property. Nothing like desecration or alienation has ever been tolerated in St. Mary's, Colestown."

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The venerable church received a new lease of life from Weld's service as missionary until 1867-68. He was succeeded by the Rev. T. M. Reilly of Haddonfield, 1868-83, and the Rev. Richard George Moses, rector of Grace Church, Merchantville, 1883-99. At various times until 1887 the parish was represented in convention by Jacob Stokes Coles, William Morris Cooper, Joseph C. Hollingshead, and J. Foster Coles. Weld gathered a Sunday school, held monthly services in the summer and fall, and had the church thoroughly repaired and painted. Reilly maintained monthly services during most of the year, Sunday school in summer, and usually had large and interested congregations, although few actually were members and baptisms were rare.

Under George Moses, Saint Mary's lived out an Indian summer. Year after year, except in the dead of winter, he came monthly on Sunday afternoon, and in fine weather had large congregations, singing to the thin strains of a melodeon. In the 1890's interest even increased, and it became the fashion for young Church people around Camden to pedal their "bikes" to afternoon service at "old Saint Mary's." Very large crowds turned out for the anniversary service in June.

The idyll closed on November 7, 1899, when the old church was completely destroyed by fire, believed to have been incendiary. In his historical sketch written at the bishop's request, Mr. Moses says that the neighborhood lamented the calamity "as a public bereavement," for Saint Mary's was one of the county's oldest buildings, if not *the* oldest, while Episcopalians in Camden and nearby townships considered it as their "mother church." Addressing the convention of 1900, Bishop Scarborough said:

"This removes a venerable landmark, a sort of connecting link with the distant past . . . From a financial standpoint the loss is small, but the historic sentiment that clustered about it is a very real and irreparable loss . . . It will hardly be rebuilt, for it could not be reproduced, and a modern church would seem too much like a piece of new cloth on an old garment."

As he predicted, Saint Mary's has never been rebuilt. A brick walk, the sole vestige of the church, leads through the cemetery to a stone monument on the site of the altar.

[*Records*: Vestry Minutes, 1 vol., 1795-1830; Parish Register, 1 vol., 1787-96. (In Diocesan House, Trenton). Burial Records, 2 vols., 1766-1830, one in custody of Mr. Asa Matlock, Colestown, and one in the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,]

SAINT STEPHEN'S CHURCH
GREENWICH-IN-COHANSEY
(1729-1833)

JOHN FENWICK, proprietor of Salem, is said to have given an acre of ground at Greenwich for "the uses and profits of the (Episcopal) Church commonly called the Church of England." That land was acquired by the proprietors of a large portion of Greenwich township, the brothers Nicholas and Leonard Gibbon, sons of Arthur and Jane Gibbon of Gravesend, County of Kent, England. They were interesting and enterprising characters, who migrated to West Jersey, erected one of the first grist mills near Cohansey, and became influential and wealthy landowners. In 1730, they divided their estate, Nicholas taking the southern part, two thousand acres, including the mill. He built a big brick house in Greenwich and lived there until he moved to Salem in 1740. Leonard erected a stone house about two miles north of Greenwich. Both lived like the English squires and, like them, patronized the Church.

On the acre, partly used for a graveyard, they erected a "neat and comfortable brick Church" for their families and neighbors. It stood in "Old Cohansey," not far from Greenwich landing and on the main street of the settlement. It was finished sometime in 1729, and was dedicated according to Church usage by the Rev. Phineas Bond of Newcastle, Delaware, and the Rev. John Pierson, the S. P. G. missionary at Salem. The Gibbons arranged with Pierson for occasional services, and after the establishment of a mission at Gloucester and Waterford, the Rev. Robert Blackwell used to officiate.

As long as the Gibbon brothers lived, the parish flourished, but after they and their friends and neighbors died or moved away, it dwindled. Settlers flowed into Cohansey, but they were not Churchmen, and the community became Quaker, Baptist, and Presbyterian, while the Church languished. Leonard Gibbon and his wife were buried in the chancel, and with them passed the spirit that kept the parish alive. The building was damaged by fire and fell into ruin, and was gradually torn down by persons who coveted the materials. For some years it was used as a stable, and sometime in the 1830's was entirely demolished. The remains of Mr. and Mrs. Gibbon were reverently removed by some of their descendants and reinterred in the Presbyterian cemetery.

Even the land eventually was alienated from Church uses, for about

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1765 doubt arose concerning the validity of the title. To secure it for the Church, Grant Gibbon had it resurveyed by a deputy of the surveyor general of New Jersey, and had the record made in the office on May 2, 1765. But he soon died, and as the survey was not perfect, his heirs had the appropriation to the Church legally made and recorded, with specifically defined and marked bounds. The clear title appears in deeds of 1778 and 1797, both especially mentioning the Church land and excepting it from the grant of the property all around it. But it is not certain whether the building also was secured to the parish, and Robert Gibbon Johnson of Salem claimed the ground and the ruins, as the heir of Grant Gibbon. In 1809-11, he leased the land "formerly occupied by the Episcopal Church" to an individual who was actually in possession.

These facts appeared in 1835 in the report of an investigating committee to the convention of the Diocese of New Jersey. The convention decided to recover the property, and added Bishop Doane and General Garret D. Wall to the committee, which apparently never took action. The site had passed into alien hands and the church was only a memory when Bishop Odenheimer visited the site about 1863 with Mr. Robert G. Nichols of the new church in Bridgeton. He found a corn field rustling upon the ground, and saw pieces of brick and mortar mingled with the soil. Somebody told him that part of the walls above ground had recently been thrown down to make way for the plow. Reporting his sad visit to the convention in 1864, the bishop said:

"They who are zealous for the honor of their Lord, will feel that a deeper wound is made in their hearts by this desecration of sacred things, than the coulter made in the consecrated soil when it struck the furrow over the site of this venerable house of God."

There is now no trace of the church. As late as 1880-1900, a few gravestones still appeared, but even those have vanished, and the ground has been claimed and fenced by the neighboring landowners.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF COLONIAL CLERGYMEN

NOTE 1: Biographical sources concerning, and published works by, the following clergymen will be found in the Bibliography.

NOTE 2. The historical sketches of the colonial parishes served by the following clergymen should be consulted in Appendix A.

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Biographical Sketches of Colonial Clergymen

1

JONATHAN ARNOLD (1701-1751)

THIS ILL-STARRED PRIEST was one of the "New England divines" who were said to be disliked by Jerseymen. He was born at Haddam, Connecticut, on January 11, 1700/01, the eldest son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Arnold. His father sent him to Yale College and in his will (December, 1728) left him two acres of land, reckoning that and his educational expenses as "a large double portion" of the estate. After his graduation in 1723, Arnold studied theology, and in 1724 was licensed as a Congregational minister by the Hartford North Association. Early next year he was ordained as pastor of the church in West Haven. On April 4, 1728, he married his first wife, Abigail, only child of the late John and Abigail Beard of Milford, who had a large fortune.

His parish had stipulated that if Arnold became an Episcopalian, he must repay his settlement money. The flock probably suspected that he was falling under the potent spell of Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, who converted him and on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1734, gave him his first Communion. Dismissed by his parish, Arnold sailed for England in 1735 with a warm recommendation from his patron to Bishop Benson of Gloucester, who ordained him and sent him to Oxford University for an honorary degree of master of arts, March 8, 1735/36. He was licensed for New England on March 19, 1736.

After the usual tedious voyage, Arnold stepped ashore in Boston on July 1, 1736, as the Society's traveling missionary in Connecticut, with residence at West Haven, but also serving Derby and Waterbury. His unlucky stars soon began to curse him, as it was rumored that he had "a very unsteady disposition." In 1738 he became embroiled with a mob of New Haven townspeople and students, by trying to take possession of a lot facing the Green, which he claimed had been deeded to him in 1736 by William Grigson of London for a church and a glebe.

Life in Connecticut became intolerable and in April, 1740, the Society transferred Arnold to Saint Andrew's parish, Staten Island, with orders to serve monthly at Newark. He came with the reputation of "an excellent

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Preacher Sober Divine & master of ye Controversye." His attempt to use his gift of arguing led him into a volcanic quarrel with George Whitefield, whom he met at New York in November, 1739, and intensely disliked. He published a warning against the meteoric evangelist in the New York and Boston newspapers, and Whitefield retorted by writing to the Society that Arnold was "unworthy of the name of a minister of Jesus Christ," and that he had openly reproved him for misconduct. "Wherever he has been, a very ill report is spread abroad concerning him." Arnold's wrath was kindled by Whitefield's assertion that Archbishop Tillotson knew no more of Christian doctrine than Mahomet and did not know or teach the true doctrine of justification. The revivalist's admirers complained to the Society and attacked and threatened Arnold, who received Vaughan's assurance that as long as he did his duty the Society would stand by him.

Arnold's ministry at first was so successful that Saint Andrew's had to enlarge the church, and in 1743 Vaughan and Skinner praised his work. Griefs and hardships soon thickened around him. His wife died, leaving him a brood of sick children, one of whom died. The neglected glebe worried him, and some of the people wanted to slash his salary because he ministered in Newark. He sank to financial rock-bottom and had to plead for help, with the support of Vaughan and Skinner, who begged the Society to overlook the irregularity of his call and induction.

Misfortune was too much for Arnold's unsteady character, and melancholy drinking made him an alcoholic. The wardens and vestrymen of Saint Andrew's complained to the Society and begged to be rid of him. The same officers at Newark claimed that on one occasion, instead of coming on Friday to preach preparation sermons for Communion and to catechize the children, he went to New York and "behaved very unsuitable to his Station." On Saturday evening he arrived, "to all Appearance, very much Disguised with Liquor," and spent most of the night in his cups. Next morning, disregarding the entreaties of a warden and some friends, he went to church, read prayers, and preached a short sermon, saying that he was indisposed but would "enlarge" in the afternoon. His friends prevented another sorry spectacle, and the people refused to hear him and begged the Society not to let him disgrace the Church again. The commissary sent Arnold copies of the complaints and requested an explanation.

The infuriated Society sent the parson a scathing rebuke and dismissed him in June, 1745. He was pathetically contrite, acknowledged his faults, begged not to be cast off, promised amendment, and requested Vesey to intercede for him. He alleged that his condition in Newark had been caused partly by his horse's throwing and falling on him, injuring him so badly that for a time he could not stand, walk, or help himself. After reaching

Newark with great difficulty, he sent for a doctor and sat up all night in too great pain to sleep. His month's absence from Staten Island, longer than he expected, had been due to visiting New England on business and to see his aged mother and his friends. His cutting wood on the glebe had been caused by sheer need.

The Society turned a deaf ear to his plea to be put on probation, and washed its hands of him for good. Vaughan, utterly disgusted, would not palliate his conduct, and declared that he had deserted his parishes "on the Acc^t of his rambling Disposition, occasioned, as I humbly conceive, by maniacal Disorders, If not something worse." The complaint, he vowed, had "a Great deal of Reason, & Truth."

Arnold resigned in December, 1745, after a fracas with the wardens and vestrymen. He lingered for a while on Staten Island, and in the following April brought suit in the New Haven County court to recover a debt. Eventually he resorted to Virginia and served as minister of Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County, until his death in 1751. He married again, and in his will left all his estate to his wife, casting off his poor children in New England. Thomas B. Chandler, in disgust, related that sorry end to Dr. Samuel Johnson, who must have reflected bitterly upon the early promise of his convert and protégé.

2

WILLIAM AYERS (Died c. 1816)

THE FAMILY, early life and education of Ayers are obscure. He first appears as a lay reader and a candidate for orders, in the minutes of the New Jersey Convention of October, 1766, and of the United Convention of New York and New Jersey, May 20, 1767. The latter meeting tartly admonished him for reading prayers and his own sermons in New Jersey without consulting the clergy. He was advised to continue his studies until the next New Jersey convention, which would recommend him for orders if he behaved properly. Ayers convinced the clergy of his worthiness and in 1767 was ordained in England, together with William Frazer. (See FRAZER, *below*.) He was licensed by the Bishop of London on December 21, 1767, and assigned to the new mission of Spotswood and Freehold, where he spent his entire ministry in New Jersey.

Ayers began his career under a threatening cloud, a family taint of insanity, that soon appeared in him and later in two of his daughters. The

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Revolutionary troubles thrust him into the realm of madness, where he remained until the close of the war. Late in 1775 he locked himself in one of his churches and was about to suffer from want, when some of his flock induced him to go home. Beach tried to get him into the Philadelphia hospital, and the Society out of pity gave him an allowance during his illness.

The wretched man recovered by 1782, at least enough to officiate regularly, but did not attend the first New Jersey convention on July 6, 1785. He appeared at the second meeting in May, 1786, and was elected vice-president and a deputy to the General Convention, which he did not attend. At the third meeting in September, 1786, Ayers served on the committee to examine and compare the minutes of the previous convention.

His appearance of normality was deceptive, and Chandler thought that the Society would be "well rid" of him, because he "never was a person of much consequence, though his principles and disposition were generally right." Neither he nor Beach could gather any direct information about him. Beach declared that Ayers could get nothing from his parishioners, who were "heartily tired of him," so that he would perish if the Society did not help him. Chandler contemptuously described him as "wretched, friendless, dispirited, incapable of manly exertion, and almost as helpless as an idiot," and generally considered as bordering on insanity. He did not know what to suggest; but in April, 1785, the Society allowed the poor fellow £25 a year as long as he remained ill, and later added a £10 gratuity.

Beach was more patient than Chandler, interceded for Ayers, and kept the Society informed of his condition. Although the poor parson and his family were "almost perishing with Hunger, Cold & Nakedness," he would not touch the bounty for nearly two years, showed signs of insanity when Beach even mentioned it, and was in terror of offending the state by corresponding with England — as if he thought that the war was still going on! Driven by dire want, he finally went to New York to appeal to Beach in May, 1791, and with difficulty was persuaded to draw £10 on the Society. A few kind souls made gifts, and he returned to his poor family with necessities, "a glad Heart," and a renewed trust in sustaining providence.

Ayers lingered in New Jersey for a few more years, but apparently attended no convention after 1792. He quarreled with his people, and the convention of 1796 appointed a committee to make peace and give him help from the fund for indigent clergy, but he only begged for more relief. In the fall of 1798 he left home, casting his family upon the charity of the convention, whose members tried to care for Mrs. Ayers and her helpless children. Ayers lived for many years in Philadelphia and was included among the Pennsylvania clergy in the General Convention journals of 1808, 1811, and 1814, but apparently died before 1817.

ABRAHAM BEACH
(1740-1828)

THE BRAVE PRIEST, who led the Church's post-war revival in New Jersey, was born on August 29, 1740, in the parish of New Cheshire (now the town of Cheshire), Wallingford, Connecticut. His father, Captain El-nathan Beach, was a liberal benefactor of the Congregational church, and was reputed as the first Connecticut Yankee to found a fund for poor relief. His mother was Hannah, the eldest daughter of Captain Samuel Cooke, Junior, a wealthy shipping merchant of New Haven and Cheshire. The father died in 1742, and Mrs. Beach married Dr. Jonathan Bull of Hartford, where Abraham received his early education.

At thirteen, Beach entered Yale College, and in 1757 was graduated as valedictorian of his class. For a time he returned to Hartford to live with his foster-father, and apparently was unsettled regarding his future occupation. After serving Connecticut troops as a sutler in the French and Indian War, he became a storekeeper and tax collector in Hartford. It was a tradition in the family that he wrote the prospectus of the *Connecticut Courant*, established in October, 1764.

In the meantime, Beach had abandoned his ancestral faith under the influence of Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, and of his near kinsman, the Rev. John Beach of Newtown. Those uncompromising Churchmen taught him his theology, but he was always liberally inclined towards men of other faiths. Late in 1767, well recommended by the Connecticut clergy, he sailed to England, where Bishop Terrick of London ordained him as deacon on May 17, 1768, and on June 14 raised him to the priesthood and licensed him. He landed at Boston on September 17, with an appointment at New Brunswick and Piscataway.

Beach's ministry was one of unbroken success, especially among the Negroes, and he became widely noted for an abiding confidence in his own faith, combined with a friendly and catholic attitude towards dissenters. That spirit sustained a severe test in the Revolution, when he tried to practice the political neutrality which he considered essential to his ministry. He bravely remained at his estate on the Raritan, about three miles from New Brunswick, acquired by his marriage in 1770 to Ann (died 1808), sole heiress of Evert Van Winkle, an original settler of the town. He became accustomed to raids by both parties, and to the whistling bullets fired in skirmishes between their outposts.

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Although deeply loyal to America, Beach believed that independence should come naturally rather than by civil war, and did not think that the Declaration of Independence absolved him from his oath of allegiance and ordination vows. As he refused to omit the obnoxious royal prayers without the Society's consent, he kept Christ Church closed most of the time from July, 1776, until December, 1781. He gave spiritual consolation to all and was respected by all, and treasured anecdotes about the kindness of American officers. Nobody was surprised when a Whig vestry elected him in June, 1784, as associate minister at Trinity Church in New York, to be the peacemaker between the two political factions in that strategic parish.

For some time during the war, Beach was the Church's only officiating minister in New Jersey, and kept the faith alive by private ministrations to his own flock and to several pastorless churches within a radius of forty miles. He depended mostly upon the produce of his farm, as he received nothing from the Society, which later gave him a small gratuity as a token of esteem, and in July, 1783, appointed him as temporary missionary at Perth Amboy. The secretary requested him to continue his reports, and the Society leaned heavily upon him for information about their American property and beneficiaries.

Beach's greatest service was his part in the Church's revival and reorganization. A meeting at New Brunswick in May, 1784, initiated by his efforts, originated the plan to organize the Church in the United States. He represented New York in the preliminary interstate meeting of October, 1784, sat for New Jersey in the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786, and for New York in 1789 and later conventions, and was president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies in 1801, 1804, and 1808. He exerted great influence by his firm attachment to episcopal ordination, and by his disapproval of any unnecessary liturgical changes.

During a connection of twenty-nine years with the Diocese of New York, Beach was a very industrious pastor to rich and poor alike, a practical but often eloquent preacher, a noted scholar in English literature and doctrinal theology, a friend to many founders of the national and state governments, a father and adviser to most of the clergy, and a friend to people of all faiths. He published several discourses, including one in 1790 on the death of his old friend, Thomas B. Chandler. Honors crowded upon him thick and fast. He became assistant rector of Trinity Church in 1811, repeatedly presided over the diocesan convention in the bishop's absence, always was a member of the standing committee, and was considered as a candidate for bishop of New Jersey, 1787, and of New York, 1801 and 1811. He was a trustee (1787-1825) of Queen's (now Rutgers) College, New Brunswick; a regent (1786) of the University of the State of New

York; and a trustee (1787) and clerk (1795-1811) of the board of Columbia College, which gave him an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1789. He freed his slaves, and was interested in many charities — a patron of the Hospital, the City Dispensary, the Free School, the Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of Poor Prisoners, and other benevolent associations.

Beach resigned from Trinity Church in 1813, partly because of a personal dispute in which he was not interested, and the vestry voted him a life annuity of \$1500 and gave his name to a street through the church farm. He retired to his Raritan estate, where he entertained many clergymen and friends. He was cared for by his daughter, Mrs. Isaac Lawrence of New York, and especially by his eldest daughter, the widow of the Rev. Elijah D. Rattoone, D.D., a professor in Columbia College and later president of the College of Charleston, South Carolina.

The patriarch died in September, 1828, at the age of eighty-eight, supposedly the oldest Episcopal priest in America. In Christ Church, New Brunswick, he is commemorated by a tablet, with an inscription by James A. Hillhouse, who married one of his granddaughters. His grandson, the Hon. William Beach Lawrence, said of him:

"In his intercourse with society, no man could be more frank or more free from guile. To every one, young or old, he had something appropriate to say, and he freely entered into conversation, without requiring any introduction, with all whom he met; while his dignified person, expressive countenance, and lively feelings, commanded the respect and affection of all who knew him."

4

ROBERT BLACKWELL (1748-1831)

THIS PATRIOTIC PRIEST was born on May 6, 1748, the son of Colonel Jacob Francis Blackwell of Long Island, and great-grandson of Robert Blackwell, a Long Island squire whose name is borne by Blackwell's Island (which he owned) in the East River, New York. He was graduated A.B. in 1768 at Princeton, where he received the master's degree in 1771, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1788. King's College granted him an A.B. degree in 1770. He was recommended for ordination by Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, who particularly mentioned his very pleasant disposition. Bishop Richard Terrick of London ordained him priest

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on June 11, 1772, in Fulham Palace Chapel, and licensed him on the same day.

The Society appointed Blackwell as missionary in Gloucester County, but dismissed him in 1777, because he had joined the forlorn Continental Army at Valley Forge as a chaplain and surgeon to the First Pennsylvania Brigade. General "Mad" Anthony Wayne certified that Blackwell had subscribed the oath of allegiance as directed by Congress.

After retiring from the army, Blackwell settled in Philadelphia and on March 26, 1781, became assistant to Dr. William White of Christ Church. On September 19, the parish officially called him as assistant there and at Saint Peter's with the noble salary of £350 a year. As one of the foremost organizers of the American Church, Blackwell was a deputy to all the General Conventions from 1785 to 1808, inclusive. He was a member of various benevolent societies, and for fifty-six years aided Bishop White in the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen. He was a scholarly preacher, and the people doubtless hated to see him go when he resigned his cure in 1810 because of "occasional indisposition." His health was more robust than he believed, for he survived until February 12, 1831, officiating occasionally. He lived on Pine Street, in an antique brick house of classical style, with a pleasant yard in the rear looking towards the Delaware River.

Blackwell was married twice. His first wife was Rebecca, daughter of Joseph and Ann Harrison of Gloucester, New Jersey. The second was the daughter of William Bingham, a clergyman who died in 1831. One of his daughters was Mrs. George Willing of Philadelphia.

The good doctor's character may be estimated from the stately letter written to him at the time of his resignation by Bishop White, who did not peddle compliments thoughtlessly:

"In performing the duty thus laid on me by the vestry, I participate in the respectful and affectionate sentiments which they have expressed, and I further take the opportunity of mentioning, that during whatever may remain to me of life, I shall reflect with satisfaction on the harmony which has subsisted between us, and the friendly intercourse in which we have trod, through so long a space of time, and that of our united parochial ministry."

In the same vein Blackwell replied that he was "very sensibly affected at the dissolution of a connection, so happily begun, and continued so long, with such uninterrupted harmony and good will."

JOHN BROOKE
(Died, 1707)

BROOKE WAS BORN at Bury in Lancashire, England, and was the son of Peter Brooke, a glazier. He attended school there, and on June 27, 1671, at the age of eighteen, was admitted as a sizar at Saint John's College, Cambridge University. He took his bachelor's degree in 1674-5, and in 1679 was raised to master of arts, and received also the privileges of a degree at Oxford.

In 1703 Brooke was comfortably settled as curate of Woodbrick in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but he saw the Society's appeal for missionaries distributed by the Archbishop of York, and strongly desired to serve in the colonies. Next spring he visited the archbishop, declaring that he would offer his services, subject to the consent of his relatives, who wanted to know where he would go and what support he would get. The archbishop, who had lately ordained him as priest, recommended him as a man of sense and good temper, truly religious, and respected by the neighboring clergy.

Brooke soon became curate of Ardsley near Wakefield, and wrote from there to the archbishop in November, 1704, reaffirming his resolve to go to the "West Indies," desiring to be recommended to the Society, and offering to send testimonials as soon as required. He hoped to have a healthful place, a library, and a decent salary to maintain his prestige. Such persistence carried all before it, and the Society appointed him as missionary to East Jersey in March, 1704-5.

Armed with the archbishop's recommendations, Brooke sailed for America and, ironically, was "kindly" received by Governor Cornbury in New York. After a brief service at Saint George's in Hempstead, Long Island, he settled at Elizabeth Town by appointment from Cornbury, and served also at Perth Amboy and Woodbridge until 1707. Few missionaries had a harder parish, for it was fifty miles in extent, with services at seven places, besides catechizing and lecturing fourteen times a month. He was on horseback almost every day, but saw the fruits of his hardships in a growing congregation and many conversions. Shortly after his arrival he laid the foundation of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, and he began churches at Perth Amboy and Freehold, got a temporary meeting place in Piscataway, and gave £10 to each church from his salary.

The eye of Cornbury soon turned green with spite, because Brooke sympathized with Thoroughgood Moore, who refused the Communion to Lieu-

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tenant-Governor Richard Ingoldsby at Burlington on Easter Day, 1706, because of his evil life. Cornbury tried to get even with Brooke by accusing him of extremely neglecting his churches for about a year, and of frequently visiting the imprisoned Moore in New York. He declared that Brooke had visited the clergy to get a petition signed against him, and that he had left for England without informing his parish, so that Churchmen were discouraged and Dissenters triumphant. He alleged that the parson had not paid his own pledge for the church at Elizabeth Town, that he had gone without giving any account of the subscription, and that he and his wife's family had made trouble for Eneas Mackenzie, the missionary on Staten Island.

The governor was soon rid of his pretended enemy, for Brooke was lost at sea on the way to England in the autumn of 1707. John Talbot paid tribute to Moore and Brooke, writing, ". . . let the Adversaries say what they will they can prove no evil thing against these men." A century and a half later, the Rev. Samuel A. Clark, in his history of Saint John's, acknowledged Brooke's worth:

"From all that can be gathered, it is plain that Mr. Brooke was an earnest, zealous, self-sacrificing Missionary, and that he possessed, in an eminent degree, the faculty of arousing the people of God to a sense of their duty. Under God, to him does St. John's Church owe its early prosperous existence; and the foundations which he laid were so well executed and so strong that they have never been removed or shaken."

6

ISAAC BROWNE (1709-1787)

THERE WAS A CERTAIN FITNESS in Browne's long service at Newark, as he was descended from John Brown, one of the town's first settlers in 1666. Born on March 20, 1708/09, at West Haven, Connecticut, he was the third son of Daniel Browne, and a brother of the Rev. Daniel Browne (Yale, 1714), one of the memorable trio who occasioned the "Dark Day" at the college in 1722 by becoming Anglicans. Isaac also was a convert from Congregationalism, and after graduating from Yale (M.A.) in 1729, studied theology under his deceased brother's classmate and bosom friend, the Rev. Samuel Johnson of Stratford. In June, 1731, his revered teacher recommended him to the Society as "a virtuous and discreet young man of

good abilities," and through his influence Browne became a layreader and schoolmaster at Setauket, Brookhaven township, Long Island.

With high recommendations from the New England clergy, in the summer of 1733 Browne sailed to England for ordination, his expenses being underwritten by the parish of Brookhaven, and by the Churchmen of Stamford, Connecticut. Each group hoped to have him as its pastor, but he chose Long Island, and on December 14, 1733, returned to Brookhaven, where he was reputed to be "a man of talents and education." While in London, he witnessed Dean Berkeley's deed to Yale College of his Whitehall farm in Rhode Island.

After about fourteen years at Caroline Church in Setauket, Browne was transferred to Trinity Church, Newark. Although many parishioners openly resented it, he enlarged his income by an extensive medical practice, and was elected as a member of the New Jersey Medical Society at its second meeting in November, 1766.

His ministry began under a favorable star, for he had obtained his appointment at the people's special request, and was warmly recommended by Bishop Edmund Gibson of London, who was well acquainted with him and believed him to be "a very good man." The wardens and vestry soon described him as "faithfull & Industrious in performing ye Dutys of his function since his coming amongst us." But they ominously noted that he and his family had been greatly afflicted with sickness nearly half the time. His ministry became increasingly unhappy through sickness, loneliness, and occasional clashes with his parishioners about his salary and medical practice.

As at Brookhaven, persistent illness in his family seriously interfered with pastoral duties. In the spring of 1751 his health was so precarious that he despaired of life, and could not dream of going to England as he wished, because he had to have a good nurse constantly about him. His letters in the 1760's are almost one long chronicle of sickness, and for nearly three months in 1765 he was so "very much afflicted with a nervous complaint" that he could not read prayers or preach and only visited and baptized privately. By advice of his doctor, he secured some relief by riding and recovered enough to resume public services, but he was sometimes compelled to shorten the morning service, because he could not stand or speak long "without being quite exhausted and overcome with weakness and faintness." He even went on a long journey to shake off close thinking and study, while others supplied the parish. To help meet the expense he accepted the unsolicited chaplaincy of H. M. S. *Coventry*, stationed seven or eight miles from his home. Permanent relief never came, and in 1768 he complained that his malady was "manifestly growing worse every day."

Other sorrows and hardships constantly dogged him. In 1750 he was

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distressed by a tangle in his financial account with the Society, and was prevented by sickness from taking advantage of leave to visit England. One of his flock, who was under many obligations to him, was "unaccountably" offended at him, and went to England swearing to do all he could to undermine him. Dr. Chandler had to intercede, begging the Society to hear Browne's side of the question.

The irritation became too much for Browne, who longed to shake the dust of Newark from his feet and to take refuge at Perth Amboy and Woodbridge. His clerical brethren favored the idea and Chandler willingly praised him as a faithful, respectable, regular, diligent, and worthy minister. Browne poured out his sense of wrong to the Society, saying that many of his people in the 1760's were "very turbulent and contentious," and that the parish would not pay him. His account had not been settled since 1753, when he got justice only by the intervention of Colonel Peter Schuyler. That bluff old soldier on his deathbed kindly advised him to leave, saying "it was a great pity a worthy good Man should be obliged to live among them." In 1766, Second River had not paid up for five years, and Browne was growing desperate, even suggesting a return to Long Island, where the Jamaica parish was vacant.

His people continued to differ with him and among themselves, and he was disappointed to find the same factious spirit at Jamaica. Pitifully he asked the Society to give him "leave to look out for a peaceful retreat," and not to condemn him unheard when people attacked him. The *Coventry* sailed without him in the winter of 1767-8, because he could not stand the voyage, his salary remained far in arrears, and he became disheartened by the enmity and insults of "men depraved in their Morals, but yet such as have, unfortunately, too much the *Lead* in the Parish."

Although the clergy and the Society backed him, the people at Perth Amboy rejected him, and the vestry even told him to his face that they would not put up with his ill health and his medical practice. He therefore decided to stay in Newark, and some of his enemies said that they were sorry for their behavior, wished him to forget and return to the church. He accepted their overtures, tried to be friendly, and hoped that the reconciliation would last, but still feared to touch their pocket nerve. There was more trouble when he refused to recommend an unsuitable parishioner for holy orders, and the fellow proceeded to get even by stirring up some of the people against him and defaming him among the clergy.

Although the harassed parson justifiably called his mission a "wearisome pilgrimage," like Bunyan's hero he had some consolations by the way. In 1771 he settled his long-standing account with Second River, and next year thanked the Society for commending him and even rejoiced in im-

proved health, having less dizziness and "vertiginous Complaints" than for many years. He took pride in the success of his two sons, in law and medicine, which comforted him when he felt small love for the world and mourned the death of his only daughter (the wife of David Ogden) at twenty-six, leaving two children to remind him of his "unspeakable Loss." As the oldest missionary in New Jersey, he could look back with some satisfaction on his more than forty years of service. "I should rejoice greatly," he wrote, "if I could add that my weak, but well meant Endeavors had been attended with Success proportioned to the Time I have labored in the Vineyard."

His slight happiness was short-lived, for he was a good loyalist and early in 1777 was thrown into Morris County jail. He was released only to be sent to refugee-crowded New York, and there lived miserably, with an invalid wife and with little money except the Society's charity. In 1783, he moved to Nova Scotia, but the voyage was stormy, most of his goods were lost, and his wife became delirious from hardship. Browne himself was feeble, but survived a few more years, dwelling at Annapolis in 1783-85 without regular employment, and living on the Society's pension of £50. In poverty and affliction he died at Windsor in 1787, and ever since he has been one of the American Church's long forgotten servants.

7

COLIN CAMPBELL
(1707-1766)

BORN ON NOVEMBER 15, 1707, Campbell was the tenth among the fourteen children of Colin Campbell of Earnhill, Scotland. His grandfather, William Campbell, was of noble descent and served as high sheriff of Nairn. Colin attended school at Inverness, where he lived with his aunt, Lady Drummuire. He studied also at the University of Aberdeen, and is listed in the *Roll of Alumni* (1725-29) as a graduate, A.M. He took orders and wanted to serve in America, and secured the Society's appointment to Burlington, where he received a hearty welcome from the congregation at his arrival on May 10, 1738. There he stayed until his death in 1766, serving also at Saint James the Greater in Bristol (1741-66), and at Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly (1742-66).

At first his ministry was somewhat unhappy in a stronghold of Quakerism. He declared that the Friends had made Pennsylvania "a nursery of Jesuits," but later became reconciled to them, and in 1763 wrote that he

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continued to enjoy the esteem of his Quaker neighbors. His happiness apparently owed much to his marriage in 1742 to Mary Martha Bard, daughter of Colonel Peter Bard, a member of the provincial council and a judge of the supreme court of New Jersey. She had been baptized by the Rev. John Talbot, and their marriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. William Currie of Radnor, Pennsylvania.

Campbell had a brood of nine children — five sons and four daughters. His fourth child, Rebecca, was baptized in March, 1750, and married the Rev. William Frazer of Amwell on July 13, 1768. John, born February 24, 1754, married Mary, the daughter of George Eyre of Burlington. Colin, born on December 15, 1751, married Abigail Mumford Seabury, daughter of the Rev. (Bishop) Samuel Seabury, Jr., on December 26, 1781. He was licensed in New Jersey as an attorney on May 12, 1773. Because he was a good loyalist, after the Revolution young Colin migrated to Saint Andrews, New Brunswick, where he became collector of customs and died in 1834.

To support his growing family, Campbell taught a school, and in 1744 advertised in the newspaper that he would teach the "classick Authors" to young men, and would board two or three at his house. That avocation did not injure his popularity or hinder the growth of his congregations, and he gained the esteem of the whole community. People in various places begged for his services, but it was difficult to give all they wanted, because he was the only missionary from Burlington to Cape May. He had a generous patron in Governor William Franklin, whose wife presented him with a surplice.

Campbell died after a short illness, on August 9, 1766, and was buried in Saint Mary's Church. The expenses of his family had kept him poor, and he left them in such low circumstances that the clerical convention of October, 1766, sought relief from the Society. Mrs. Campbell was living as late as 1796.

Many proofs of popular esteem for Campbell appear in parish and personal records. An evidence of his liberal mind is his allowing George Whitefield to preach in his pulpit, when he was rejected elsewhere. The breadth of his contacts, including literary folk, appears in the poem on his death, written by Elizabeth Graeme of Pennsylvania, a member of the writing coterie that included Nathaniel Evans. (*See No. 13, below.*) People flocked to his funeral, and in his memorial sermon the Rev. Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia mentioned his high qualities as a minister:

"He endeavoured to be (what you will all allow he was) a Man of strict and severe Honesty; faithful in the Discharge of every Trust, and particularly of his most sacred Trust, a Minister of the

Gospel of Jesus. He was a Lover of Peace, and rather willing to bear any Tolerable Wrong than ruffle the Serenity of his own Temper."

His memory was kept alive by a tablet in the church, and one of his descendants presented to the parish a portrait that shows him in gown, bands, and wig.

8

THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER (1726-1790)

THE DOUGHTY DOCTOR CHANDLER was descended from an early Puritan settler, Colonel John Chandler of Andover, Massachusetts. He was born on April 26, 1726, in the part of Woodstock, Connecticut, that is now the town of Thompson. His parents were William and Jemima (Bradbury) Chandler of Salisbury, Massachusetts. Thomas, the eldest of ten children, grew up on his father's farm, and showed such scholarly promise that he was prepared for college by the Congregational pastor, the Rev. Abiel Stiles (Yale, 1733). At Yale, where he graduated in 1745, the young student came under strong Anglican influence, and in the autumn of 1746 confided to Dr. Samuel Johnson his intention of entering the ministry.

The promising pupil taught school at Woodstock for two years to earn the expenses of theological education, and studied two years with Dr. Johnson. His reputation secured him an invitation (which he declined) to be catechist or layreader at North Castle and Bedford, New York. He accepted a similar one from the wardens and vestry of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, who wanted him to succeed Edward Vaughan, and hoped the Society would employ him until he should be permitted to go to England for orders. By advice of Dr. Johnson and others, he was appointed catechist in May, 1748, at £10 a year.

Already fired by high ambition, Chandler sailed for "home" in June, 1751, was ordained as deacon and priest in July by Bishop Thomas Sherlock of London, licensed on August 20, and inducted as rector of Saint John's on November 3 of that year. By his request he was soon appointed missionary at Elizabeth Town, and later (1752-63) he also took charge of Woodbridge. His long ministry was unmarred by trouble in his parish, excepting a brief irritation in the winter of 1763-64, because he refused to let Whitefield preach in the church.

Chandler was soon recognized by friends and adversaries as the Church's

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strongest literary defender in the Northern colonies. Bishop Seabury once remarked that "no man in this country could mend his pen," and the University of Oxford recognized his mettle by granting him a master's degree in 1753 and a doctorate of divinity in 1766, largely through the influence of the Bishop of London. King's College, New York, gave him a D.D. degree in 1767. The last two honors were accolades for his prowess in the lengthy episcopacy controversy that began with his *Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America*. The famous pamphlet is believed to have been written at the suggestion of his revered teacher, Dr. Johnson, and of the clerical convention of New York and New Jersey.

Chandler was deeply distressed by the pre-Revolutionary troubles, advised the repeal of the Stamp Act, and strove with tongue and pen to avert an open conflict. He was a loyalist, and when the torrent of public opinion became too impetuous, he sailed for England in May, 1775. The patriots were not likely to forgive his pamphlet, *What Think Ye of Congress Now?* Another reason for going abroad was his health, undermined by a fierce attack of smallpox about 1760. One of the scars on his nose had never healed, and about 1780 began to become cancerous and defied all medical skill.

His stay in England was intended to be brief, but lengthened into ten years. He did not suffer from want, for the government considered his loyalty and services to be worth an annual allowance of £200. His time was fully occupied by study and writing, by social intercourse with leading Churchmen and nobles, by intercessions for his destitute fellow clergy and other Loyalists, and by efforts to keep in touch with his family in Elizabeth Town, and to secure an American bishop. The Society, contrary to its usual practice, allowed his family a stipend through the influence of friends, particularly his admirer, Archbishop Moore of Canterbury.

Exile in England grew tiresome, even with many flattering attentions, including an offer of appointment as Bishop of Nova Scotia, which he declined on account of poor health. Upon receiving his refusal, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote him a kind letter, expressing respect for his character and sympathy for him in his affliction, and requesting him to name a suitable candidate. Chandler suggested Dr. Charles Inglis, formerly rector of Trinity Church in New York, who accordingly received the honor.

Chandler's ties with Elizabeth Town were too strong to be severed, for in 1767 he had rejected a call to a Maryland parish with about £300 a year. When the wardens and vestry of Saint John's requested him to return after the war, he was eager to come. He declared that ill health would not allow him to perform the pastoral duties, but they insisted and engaged Uzal Ogden on half time. He returned in June, 1785, to find that his

family had been kindly treated and that many old friends loved him as much as ever. He survived with increasing suffering until June 17, 1790, officiating only at one or two funerals, and occasionally walking out with his disfigured face and head veiled in a handkerchief. Amid general mourning, he was interred in Saint John's Church.

Although suffering severely, Chandler participated effectively in organizing the Church in New Jersey and the nation, and favored New Jersey's influential memorial to the General Convention in May, 1786, protesting against unwarranted changes in the Church's constitution and liturgy.

Chandler was married in 1752 to Jane, the daughter of Captain John and Mary (Boudinot) Emmott of Elizabeth Town, and had five daughters and a son. The latter, William, graduated from King's College in 1774, became a captain of the British Volunteers in the Revolution, and to his father's bitter grief, died in England on October 22, 1784, at the age of twenty-eight. One of the daughters married General E. B. Dayton, another wedded William Dayton, Esq., and the youngest became the wife of Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York. Mrs. Chandler survived until September 20, 1801, aged sixty-eight.

Sixty-seven years after his death, Mrs. William Dayton remembered her father as a large and portly man of fine appearance, with a highly intelligent countenance considerably pitted by smallpox, and with uncommonly blue eyes and a strong, commanding voice. Although fond of home, retirement, and study, he was the life of a conversation, a most agreeable companion for persons of all ages, a great lover of music, a polished gentleman with an unusually vigorous and highly cultivated mind. He wrote easily, and published at least seven works, largely on the episcopacy controversy and the Revolution. His private papers, which would have been a treasure to historians, were mostly destroyed "from prudential considerations."

9

SAMUEL COOKE (1723-1795)

BORN IN 1723, he was the son of Thomas Cooke of Yarmouth, England, a collector of revenue. After early education at Yarmouth and Charterhouse schools, he was admitted at the age of nineteen, November 9, 1743, as a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge University. He matriculated in

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1744 and received his B.A. degree in 1747-8. He was ordained as deacon by the Bishop of Ely on June 5, 1748, as priest by the Bishop of Norwich on September 23, 1750, and settled for a while as curate at Beccles in Suffolk. As a student he became a friend of Leonard Cutting, whom he later met under unusual circumstances in New Jersey. (*See Cutting, below.*)

Like many other country parsons, Cooke was touched by the appeal for service in the "plantations," and on June 3, 1751, was licensed by the Bishop of London to serve as missionary in Monmouth County. Arriving in September, 1751, he easily shouldered the heavy burden, but was relieved in 1765-6 by the creation of a mission for Freehold and Spotswood. Thereafter he ministered only to Shrewsbury and Middletown, where the people were delighted to have his full time.

Cooke soon became one of the most popular missionaries in New Jersey, and consolidated his position by marrying Graham, youngest daughter of the prominent Michael Kearney of Perth Amboy. He was overcome with grief when she died at Shrewsbury, September 23, 1771, leaving him with a large brood of children. The marriage allied Cooke with powerful families, as her mother was Sarah, daughter of Governor Lewis Morris, and his vestry was full of her relatives: Chief Justice Robert H. Morris, her uncle; and her cousins Lewis Morris Ashfield, William Morris, Henry Leonard, and Thomas Kearney. He was able to keep control for a time, in his clash with Josiah Holmes, a leader of the popular party in Monmouth County.

But his loyalist friends were on the losing side, and increasing trouble probably was one reason for his eagerness to secure permission for a voyage to England in 1775 on important business. He sailed for Bristol on May 24, with those other good loyalists, the Rev. Messrs. Myles Cooper and Thomas B. Chandler. He left his children in Shrewsbury, and upon his return found himself isolated from them by the war and his own intense loyalism. His property was confiscated, and was publicly sold on March 29, 1779, at Tinton Falls in Shrewsbury. He remained in New York City and vicinity, serving as a deputy chaplain to the Brigade of Guards, and occasionally assisting Abraham Beach of New Brunswick. He never returned to his loyal parish, and in 1784 was supported by the Society as a pensioner.

After the war, Cooke was reunited with his family, and in August, 1785, landed among the loyalist exiles at Halifax. After serving as a missionary at Saint John, he settled at Fredericton, New Brunswick, in August of 1786, and there remained for the rest of his life. One of his wardens was his fellow exile and former colleague in New Jersey, the Rev. Jonathan Odell of Burlington. In 1790 he became commissary to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Charles Inglis. Although retired by ill health for two years, he was an energetic missionary, serving also at Campobello, St. Andrews,

and Digdeguash, and really earning his title, "the father of the English Church in New Brunswick."

His death, on May 23, 1795, was a heavy blow to the Society and to the Church. Called from home by parochial duty in Fredericton, across the broad St. John River, he attempted to return in the evening with his only son, Michael, and drowned with him when a sudden squall of wind capsized their frail canoe. It was believed that Michael, "an amiable young man," perished in an effort to save his father. Bishop Inglis "with inexpressible concern" wrote the sad news to the Society, whose *Proceedings* for 1796 published a handsome tribute to the lost missionary:

"Never was a minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed or more universally lamented in his death. All the respectable people, not only of his parish, but of the neighboring country, went into deep mourning on this melancholy occasion."

Cooke left a numerous posterity through his daughters, two of whom outlived him by over half a century. Lydia died in Fredericton in 1846, at the age of seventy-six. Isabella, the widow of Colonel Harris William Hailes and the last survivor of Cooke's children, died there in 1848, aged about eighty-one.

10

GEORGE CRAIG (Died c. 1783)

CRAIG SERVED BRIEFLY as an itinerant missionary in New Jersey. He was a Scot, probably the "Georgius Craig" of Elgin who took his degree on May 28, 1750, at the University of Aberdeen, and is described in the *Roll of Alumni* as a "presbyter of the Anglican Church." He was licensed by the Bishop of London on September 1, 1750, having been appointed as itinerant in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. After a tedious voyage, he landed at Philadelphia on May 17, 1751, and soon went to his mission.

Craig began his ministry in New Jersey, visiting and preaching at Trenton on June 2 and apparently remaining there a while. He found Michael Houdin already settled by invitation of the wardens, and decided to devote himself to waste places in Pennsylvania, where he dated his reports from that time. Soon tiring of the constant travel, on November 16, 1752, he petitioned for a permanent mission. The Society appointed him in 1753 to Sussex County, Delaware, and sent Richard Locke to succeed him in Pennsylvania. But when Locke arrived, he found the congregations so fond of Craig that he agreed to go to Delaware in his place.

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Craig reconciled himself to Pennsylvania and stayed throughout the colonial and Revolutionary periods. Between 1751 and 1759, he served an almost incredible number of congregations in the interior counties, including Bangor Church, Cernarvon, Saint John's at Carlisle, Christ Church in Huntington, Saint James' in Lancaster, and Saint John's, Salisbury. He spent most of his time on horseback, and found it so exhausting that in 1759 he was glad to confine himself to the parishes in eastern Chester (now Delaware) County: Saint Paul's, Chester; Saint Martin's, Chichester; and Saint John's, Concord.

In his new mission Craig remained for more than twenty years. He participated in the annual clergy conventions, and according to appointment preached a sermon at the meeting of 1761 in Christ Church, Philadelphia. He served at Chester as late as 1781, and presided at the Easter meeting of Saint Martin's in 1783 and appointed his warden. His name does not appear in the records after that time, and within a few years he died and was buried under the church, his tombstone being laid in the floor.

11

LEONARD CUTTING (1724-1794)

THE LIFE OF THIS ADVENTUROUS MISSIONARY, named for his father, reads like a picaresque novel. The beginning was ordinary enough, for he was born in 1724 at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, England, of an ancient and respectable family. Some of his ancestors had served as chief magistrate of the town and high sheriff of Norwich. An only child, he was left an orphan at nine in the care of an aunt, who in 1734 became his legal guardian. She sent him to Eton School (1737-40) and to Cambridge University, where on January 16, 1741, he was admitted as a sizar at Pembroke College. He matriculated in 1741 and received his B.A. degree in 1747-8.

Like many young Englishmen of the time, Cutting went on a "grand tour" of Continental Europe with a wealthy college mate and friend, but he had to return to England because his funds ran out. He began to feel the lure of America, and while brooding about it in a London coffee house, heard the captain of a Virginia ship come in and roar "Who's for America?" Seeing his chance, Cutting spoke up "I am!" The bluff captain was impatient to sail, and the young adventurer hastily gathered his belongings. He had no money, and so became a "redemptioneer," binding himself to the skipper for a certain period of service in Virginia. The arrangement was not then considered degrading or disreputable.

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During the long voyage the captain took a liking to his intelligent and honest passenger, and decided to sell his claim to the youth's advantage. When they landed, Cutting therefore got a good position as superintendent and business manager for a woman's plantation. She was pleased with his services, but he found the climate injurious and seized the chance to take a similar place, with a woman who owned a large farm in New Jersey and who bought the rest of his time.

Cutting's usual luck soon began to push him towards the pulpit, by a curious trick of fate. While chopping down a tree near the road, he was observed by parson Samuel Cooke of Shrewsbury, who was riding by on horseback and saw that the tree in falling would crush the young man. "My friend," he called out, "I fear you do not know much about cutting down trees!" Turning to reply that it was the first time he had ever tried, Cutting recognized his former college mate at Cambridge!

The renewed friendship brought Cooke's recommendation of Cutting as a tutor in King's College, and the raising of a purse to buy the rest of his time. Dr. Samuel Johnson, the president, quickly recognized the quality of his young assistant, and did not hesitate to delegate his duties to him when he left the city twice on account of smallpox. Recognition of his services came also in the award of a degree of Master of Arts.

Cutting had long felt the call to the ministry, and having studied theology, resigned his professorship of Greek and Latin in October, 1763, and sailed to England for holy orders. He carried warm recommendations from the clergy of New Jersey, who declared that he had "acquitted himself with great Honor" as a teacher; also from Dr. Johnson, the Rev. Dr. Henry Barclay of Trinity Church, and the New York clergy, who emphasized his sincere piety, virtue, learning, and eloquence. The leading Churchmen of New Brunswick requested his services, as he had become well known and acceptable during his former two years' residence there.

After ordination, Cutting was licensed by the Bishop of London on December 21, 1763, and appointed by the Society to serve New Brunswick and Piscataway. He had a family, and as living in the barracks at New Brunswick was inconvenient, he became in 1766 rector of Saint George's in Hempstead, Long Island, where he conducted a classical academy. In 1784 he began his adventurous travels again, by accepting a call to Snow Hill in Maryland, where he stayed only about a year before transferring to Christ Church at Newburn, North Carolina. There he served about eight years and became principal of the academy. About 1792, he returned to New York, and he served as secretary of the House of Bishops during the General Convention of that year. Shortly after returning to the city, he died of apoplexy on January 25, 1794.

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Cutting left several sons. William Cutting, Esq. was the father of Francis B. Cutting, an eminent lawyer in New York City. Leonard's wife, a near relative of John Pintard, Esq., of New York, survived until 1803.

The parson was of rather small and slender build, and was known for his lovable temper, agreeable manners, and great social charm. His obituary in the *New York Daily Gazette*, January 28, 1794, stated that he was "for learning, probity, unaffected piety, and a generous spirit of independence, respected, esteemed and beloved, equally by his pupils, his parishioners, and his friends."

12

EVAN EVANS (1671-1721)

THIS ALMOST FORGOTTEN APOSTLE of the Church in West Jersey was born in 1671, a son of Evan David Evans of Carnoe, Montgomery County, Wales. Like many Welshmen he was poor, and therefore entered Saint Alban Hall, Oxford University, as a pauper scholar on March 12, 1691/92, at the rather advanced age of twenty-one. In his first year he received an Ogle scholarship, which helped him to remain and to secure his B. A. degree from Brasenose College in 1695. After his distinguished service in America, his alma mater granted him the M. A., B. D., and D. D. degrees in 1714. He served as curate of Wrexham, North Wales, and perhaps was rector of Gwynnysgor, Flintshire, in 1697.

Many Welsh Episcopalians migrated to Pennsylvania under the spell of William Penn's promotional pamphlets, and Evans longed to keep them loyal to the Church. He accordingly sought and secured from the Bishop of London an appointment as the second rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He received the King's Bounty on July 5, 1700, and signed the Declaration of Uniformity on the following day.

Evans ministered in Philadelphia until 1718, excepting voyages to England in 1707-09 and 1714, and at various times served also in Chester, Chichester, Concord, Montgomery, Perkiomen, Radnor, and Oxford, being the Society's missionary for the last two parishes. His persuasive preaching in Welsh kept many of his countrymen from becoming dissenters, and converted others from Quakerism. He frequently visited West Jersey, and his influence there started the congregations at Maidenhead and Evesham. In Philadelphia he won five hundred new members in less than two years after his arrival, so that in 1711 the church had to be enlarged.

Probably to secure a more liberal and permanent support for his old

age, Evans resigned his cures in Pennsylvania in 1718 and accepted the rectorship of Saint George's parish (Spesutia Church) near the present Perryman, Maryland. His abounding energy procured the erection of a new church, and enabled him to officiate in the next parish every other Sunday. He died in 1721, and in accordance with his wish was buried at the north end of the altar in Saint George's. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. George Ross of Immanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware, who by will received two guineas for the pious favor.

Evans left a widow, Alice, and a daughter, the wife of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd in England. Although not usually identified with the Church in New Jersey, Evans should rank with Keith, Innes, and Talbot as one of its founding fathers.

13

NATHANIEL EVANS (1742-1767)

THE NAME OF NATHANIEL EVANS will always be invested with the pathos of those who die in the first promise of youth, and is less often associated with preaching than with the origin of American poetry. He was born in Philadelphia, June 8, 1742, and was intended to follow the calling of his father, Edward, a local merchant. For six years he attended the new academy (later the College of Philadelphia), winning the warm affection of its principal, the Rev. William Smith, and displaying more interest in literature than in the counting-house. After dutifully serving an apprenticeship, he resumed his college career, and in 1765 received the degree of M. A. by special award, because of his gifts and promise.

Dr. Smith's influence decided the young poet to enter the ministry, and with glowing recommendations from prominent Philadelphians and the Society, he presented himself for ordination to Bishop Richard Terrick of London. His lordship was surprised and highly pleased by a theological essay the young candidate wrote in a few minutes. Evans was licensed on September 22, 1765, and spent several pleasant months in London, circulating among the men of letters and making a lasting friendship with the eminent bookseller, William Strahan. No doubt with great reluctance, he returned to America with appointments as chaplain to Viscount Kilmorey of Ireland and as missionary in Gloucester County.

He came by special request of the people, and did his best to serve them, ministering throughout the vast region from Gloucester to Cape May

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and Egg Harbor. Such a mission would have nearly floored a much stronger man, and to his frail constitution it was fatal. In less than two years he died of tuberculosis on October 29, 1767, at his home in Haddonfield. The bitter sorrow and disappointment of both Churchmen and Dissenters appeared, it was reported, "by many tears." Odell feared that his flock would not soon recover the prosperity he had brought them. He was interred in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters preached the funeral sermon from the text: "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!" The obituary notices in the Philadelphia newspapers were inspired by something more than perfunctory admiration.

Their tone was due partly to his association with a coterie of young authors, including Francis Hopkinson and Thomas Godfrey, who sought to cultivate literature in the colonies, and to make the Quaker City America's literary capital. At sixteen, in his *Pastoral Eclogue*, Evans voiced their vaulting ambition:

"And this new world ne'er feel the muse's fire;
No beauties charm us, or no deeds inspire?"

Evans' production is remarkable, and includes some ardently patriotic verses on British victories in the French and Indian War. He also composed exercises for commencements at the colleges in Philadelphia and Princeton, prepared an edition of the poems of his deceased friend, Godfrey, and even began an ambitious paraphrase of the Psalms. He corresponded in verse with Elizabeth Graeme (later Mrs. Ferguson), a Philadelphia literary lady, whom he met on the voyage home from England and to whom he dedicated many poems. His verse shows the influence of Milton and the popular eighteenth century English poets, and is rather more conventional than original, but has considerable beauty, grace, and spontaneity.

Shortly before his death, Evans gave his papers to Dr. Smith and Elizabeth Graeme. The former honored the memory of his favorite pupil by securing hundreds of subscribers throughout the colonies and abroad, for a collection of his work, published in 1772 as *Poems on Several Occasions, with Some other Compositions*. It includes Smith's biographical note and Evans' preface on his ideal of poetry. The volume, now a collector's piece, contains also his sermon, "The Love of the World Incompatible with the Love of God," published separately in 1766.

Dr. Smith believed that Evans displayed rare gifts as a preacher, and he gave too much time to his sermons to write much verse while he was a missionary. Sometime, probably in the quiet rectory at Haddonfield, he found time to compose his lines on the life of a country parson — a parody on some couplets in Alexander Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*:

"How happy is the country Parson's lot?
 Forgetting *Bishops*, as by them forgot;
 Tranquil of spirit, with an easy mind,
 To all his Vestry's votes he sits resigned;
 Of manners gentle, and of temper even,
 He jogs his flocks, with easy pace, to heaven.
 In Greek and Latin, pious books he keeps;
 And, while his Clerk sings psalms, he — soundly sleeps."

The tragedy of Nathaniel Evans was that his consuming energy and zeal would not let him concede a little to the lazy standard followed by too many well-fed parsons.

14

JOHN FORBES
 (Died, 1736)

LITTLE CAN BE FOUND concerning the early life and education of this devoted and short-lived missionary. It is believed that he was related to the John Forbes (brother of the laird of Berula) who came to East Jersey and settled near the Gordons and Fullertons on Cedar Creek at Scotch Plains. He might have been the "Joannes Forbes" of Banff, who studied at the University of Aberdeen in the early 1730's. The Society accepted him as a missionary, and on September 1, 1733, he was awarded the Royal Bounty to serve in East Jersey.

Forbes settled in Monmouth County as the Society's first missionary and the first Anglican minister to live there since the death of Alexander Innes in 1713. He lived at Toponemus, among his fellow Scots around and at Christ Church, Middletown. He was a diligent, earnest, and devoted pastor, "a man of an excellent spirit," and won many to the Church, especially among his countrymen. His labors were cut short by death after a little over three years, and it is a safe guess that he worked himself into an early grave. It was a crushing disappointment to the people, who had waited twenty years for a regular pastor. He died sometime in the autumn of 1736, for on November 9 the Hon. John Hamilton, president of the Council of New Jersey, granted letters of administration for his estate, to Andrew Johnston of Perth Amboy. Johnston was the son of Dr. John Johnston, who had been a friend of Forbes' predecessor, Alexander Innes.

WILLIAM FRAZER
(1743-1795)

THE BIRTHPLACE and education of the "gentle" Scottish parson are uncertain. Tradition holds that he was one of the distinguished Frazer clan, and probably he was one of several men bearing his name, who attended the University of Aberdeen between 1739 and 1765. He entered the history of the Church in New Jersey on October 1, 1766, by requesting the clerical convention at Shrewsbury to recommend him for orders. He was examined by Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut and Myles Cooper, president of King's College, and the convention directed him to study until its next meeting. Cooper, Leaming, Inglis, and Provoost examined him at the New York and New Jersey convention of May 20, 1767, which advised him to study until the Society would accept him. The clergy recommended him as a man of "good life & Conversation," to be a layreader at Saint Peter's, Spotswood.

After the Society consented and the standing committee of the clerical convention of New Jersey recommended him, he sailed for "home" with William Ayers, and with him was ordained and received his license from the Bishop of London on December 21, 1767. The Society assigned him to Amwell, Kingwood, and Musconetcong, and his ministry was successful until the Revolution forced him to close his churches. He stubbornly refused to omit prayers for the royal family, and when he entered church one Sunday morning, saw a rope hanging suggestively over the pulpit. In February, 1777, a party of fifty American soldiers surrounded his home and fired upon a Hessian sentry. Later the American army confiscated most of his property, leaving him too poor to escape "daily insults and threatenings," but he bravely stuck to his post and ministered privately.

Frazer's health was precarious, and for nearly three years before the war he had been "afflicted with a constant nervous headache." The strain of persecution intensified his misery and drove him to intemperance. Rumors of his condition reached the Society, and in 1784 Beach was asked to investigate. He had a heart-to-heart talk with the unhappy priest, who made a humble and apparently sincere pledge of amendment — and broke it. Beach recognized Frazer's "many good qualities" and strove to reform him, and could not bear to break the news that the Society had dismissed him. Apparently trying to flee from himself, Frazer went to Halifax, hoping to become an army chaplain. Receiving no encouragement, he returned

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to his family and lived at Amwell without officiating, while Beach still hoped for his reformation.

Frazer finally did "straighten out," and became one of the tiny band of priests who kept the fire burning on the altar until the winds of recovery and revival fanned it into a blaze. By 1786 he had recovered enough to be allowed to officiate at Trenton and Amwell. The wardens and vestrymen of the latter place on September 17, 1785, attested his good behavior as a minister since his opening of Saint Andrew's Church on the preceding Christmas Day. On July 23, 1787, the vestry of Trenton engaged him for every other Sunday, and on December 8, 1788, called him as rector. He served both parishes until his death, and for some years conducted in Trenton a boys' school attended by sons of many prominent Burlington, Philadelphia, and Trenton families.

After his reformation Frazer took a surprisingly active part in the revival and reorganization of the Church. He attended eight of the twelve state conventions in his lifetime, preached the opening sermon in 1787, presided in 1788, and repeatedly served on the standing committee. He was a deputy to the General Conventions of 1786, 1789, and 1792, participated in the formation of the new constitution and liturgy, and was elected as a deputy in 1795. He died on July 6 of that year, at the early age of fifty-two, and was interred in Saint Michael's churchyard. The inscription on his tombstone reveals the respect people cherished for him in spite of his frailties:

"If gentleness and inoffensive manner, benevolence and meekness, can secure the goodwill of man as certainly as sincere piety will recommend to the favor of God, then has Frazer joined the inhabitants of heaven and not left an enemy on earth."

He left a widow, Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. Colin and Mary (Bard) Campbell of Burlington, whom he married on July 13, 1768; also several children, including Colin and Elizabeth. His eldest son, William Bard Frazer, had died as an infant in 1773, the loss being one of many trials of this brave and too little known priest.

16

DAVID GRIFFITH (1742-1789)

GRIFFITH, who almost became a bishop, was one of the most distinguished of New Jersey's colonial clergy. He was born in New York

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City in 1742. After completing preparatory education in America, he wanted to study medicine. Having completed his course in England, on March 4, 1762, he passed the Company of Surgeons' examination for appointment as a surgeon in the British Army. After service in Portugal and with the militia in the Indian war of 1764-5, he returned to civil life and practiced in upper New York.

A few years later, Griffith felt that he had a call to the ministry, sailed to England again, received ordination as deacon and priest, and was licensed by the Bishop of London on August 19, 1770. The Society appointed him as missionary to Gloucester County, including congregations at Waterford ("Coles Church"), Berkley (Clarksboro), and Gloucester City. Discovering that the cure would not sustain a wife and children, he resigned in less than a year and ministered for a time in and around New York City.

His career seemed to have run into the doldrums, but he soon had a stroke of good fortune — a call to become rector of Shelburne Parish, Loudon County, Virginia. It was the real beginning of a career that was as much political as ecclesiastical. Becoming intensely interested in resistance to British imperialism, Griffith joined several other priests in signing the Virginia non-importation agreement of 1771. By request of the Virginia Convention at Williamsburg in December, 1775, he preached a sermon, *Passive Obedience Considered*, which was published by request of the members and by their order was distributed at public expense.

Nobody could have been surprised when, within a few weeks, Griffith enlisted as a chaplain and surgeon in a Virginia militia regiment that soon became the Third Virginia Regiment of the Continental Army. He was on active duty until March, 1779, then returned to pastoral work and became rector (1780-89) of Fairfax Parish, including Falls Church and Christ Church, Alexandria.

After the war, Griffith's abilities secured him a leading position in the Church's revival and in the organization of the Diocese of Virginia. He represented Virginia in three General Conventions, serving as secretary in 1785, president in 1786, and deputy in 1789. In 1786 the Virginia Convention elected him as bishop, but the hopeless collapse of the currency made it impossible to pay the expenses of going to England for consecration. He resigned as bishop-elect in May, 1789, and died in Philadelphia on August 3, soon after the opening of the first session of the historic General Convention of that year. His passing was a heavy loss to the depressed and struggling Church, which could have richly profited by his political insight and statesmanlike tact.

THOMAS HALIDAY

(Died c. 1722)

THE MINISTRY of Haliday occupies a space in the Society's records out of all proportion to the good he did for the Church. One wishes that the confused and unhappy tale were as obscure as his early life and education. He is believed to have been the Thomas "Halliday" who graduated M.A. at the University of Edinburgh in 1702. The identification is dubious, because the alumni records contain no biographical data. Haliday eagerly recorded the fact that he had a powerful patron in the ecclesiastical historian and politician, Bishop Gilbert Burnet of Salisbury. The Society accepted Haliday upon Burnet's recommendation — and sincerely regretted it. He received bounty for East Jersey on October 10, 1710, arrived there in 1711, and remained until 1718. At various times he served in Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, Piscataway, Woodbridge, Monmouth County, and Hopewell.

Apparently he had not been on fire to leave England, and almost from the start his career in New Jersey was a series of brawls and scandals, occasionally descending into custard-pie comedy. In 1713 he accused some of his fellow clergy of trying to stop his salary and leave him "in these hardly inhabited Woods a Prey to Poverty and Disgrace." He was especially bitter against Edward Vaughan, whom he called a "lazy Lob of a man," and whom he accused of plotting to get him hastily removed to the Carolinas. He had a bitter fracas with the Rev. Jacob Henderson, a missionary in Delaware, charging him with attempting to ruin the characters of several Churchmen, in a memorial on the state of the Church in New Jersey. Haliday wrote him "a very Sharp Letter" and allowed it to circulate, even though the clergy of New York had declined to sign it. Haliday claimed that he had only tried to defend the Church "from the Inroads of Quakers, and other Dissenters." Henderson, thoroughly infuriated, raked Haliday over hot coals at a meeting of the Pennsylvania clergy.

But those clashes were mild stuff in contrast to his war with prominent laymen at Perth Amboy, especially George Willocks, a local lay pope whose arrogance would have provoked a milder man than Haliday. The parson accused him of conspiring with Lewis Morris and others to fill the offices with Dissenters and ruin the Church. He vowed that Willocks had held back money collected to finish the church in Perth Amboy, denounced him for it during service, and justly complained that he had derided and perse-

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cuted him in mean and petty ways, and walked out of church during the sermon. Haliday attempted to even the score by accusing Willocks of being a Jacobite, and by choosing Peter Sonmans (Willocks' worst enemy) as a warden, although he freely admitted that "that Gentleman keeps a Whore which ruins his Soul, Estate, Reputation, cause, friends." He then enraged Sonmans by writing him a tart reproof, and complained that John Barclay had snatched the church Bible, and that Thomas Gordon had called him "knave" several times as he was leaving church on Sunday. His appeal to Governor Hunter for redress got him nothing, he said, but "very hard Language."

The fact was that Haliday, with his usual impetuosity, had taken the losing side — Lord Cornbury's — in a bitter laymen's quarrel about sharing the New Jersey proprietary lands. So cantankerous did he become that he lost all the sympathy of his fellow clergy, even of Talbot, who at first was inclined to support him. He hopelessly alienated Vaughan, whom he accused of trying to supplant him at Elizabeth Town, and who in turn charged Haliday with neglecting his parish for a year to minister at Trinity Church, New York, in the absence of the rector.

Haliday's life in Perth Amboy became intolerable, and complaints from the people streamed upon Commissary Vesey and the Society. The climax arrived when Talbot and Vaughan went with him to Willocks' house to patch up the endless feud, and Haliday in a rage hit his host on the nose with a glass decanter! On other much talked-of occasions he threw a cup of hot coffee at a "gentlewoman" and a tankard of cold cider at another, and had brawled with his landlord at Elizabeth Town on Christmas night.

Commissary Vesey visited Perth Amboy, heard both sides, and suspended the fighting parson. The Society stopped his salary, and in 1718 he moved to Apoquinimick in Delaware. Some people there petitioned for him and evidently were pleased with him, Vaughan hoped that he would reform, and Haliday wanted another chance in a new place. Chaplain Sharpe in New York thought that Vesey and the Society had treated him more kindly than he deserved. Talbot called him a glutton, drunkard, and railer, "a hindrance to the Gospel, a Scandal to the Church and a disgrace to the Society." Probably his downfall was not entirely his fault, being caused partly by the meanness of certain enemies, which encouraged a persecution mania and a resort to drinking and obstreperous conduct.

The clergy of Pennsylvania, writing to the Society, reported Haliday's death as sometime prior to the date of their letter — May 22, 1722.

WILLIAM HARRISON (C. 1678-1739)

HARRISON'S BRIEF SOJOURN in New Jersey was an unhappy interlude between two long periods of comparative ease and quiet. He was born about 1678, and when he entered the Society's service in 1721, he had been living in retirement for sixteen years at Charlton near Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. At the age of about thirty-seven, he decided to enter the ministry, and in January, 1715-16, was recommended to the Bishop of Gloucester by the clergy of that diocese. He then spent three years in study at Woodford, Essex, under direction of the Bishop of London, and for a year under the immediate supervision of the Rev. Drs. Altham and Mangey and the Rev. Mr. Berriman. In March, 1721, he was ordained for service abroad, and on August 31 was recommended to the Society by Dr. Roger Altham, rector of Saint Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London; by John Morice, A.M., lecturer of Saint Bartholomew's, Exchange; and by William Hay, A.M., lecturer of Saint Dionis, Backchurch. He had served his apprenticeship in the pulpit to general satisfaction.

Harrison apparently was a man of refinement and retiring disposition, and perhaps with some misgivings received appointment to New Jersey for two years, as missionary at Hopewell and Maidenhead. On account of a severe winter he was unable to get there until the spring of 1722. His letters show how fully his forebodings were justified, frankly admitting that his constitution could not stand the hardships of the frontier, and that he was too "fatt" to endure so much riding to Kingwood, Amwell, and other distant places. He gladly accepted an invitation to conduct services at Christ Church in Philadelphia while John Vicary was ill, in the latter part of Lent and at Easter, 1722. He did well enough in congenial surroundings, for Governor William Keith of Pennsylvania and Henry Brooke testified that he "behaved himself with a pious modest and affable Carriage . . . And also with the constant Appearance of a true Zeal for promoting the Glory of God and the Interest of Religion amongst us."

Hopewell was a far cry from cultured Philadelphia, and Harrison eagerly anticipated returning to England at midsummer, 1723. But to his joy he received a call from one of the vestries on Staten Island to take the place of the deceased missionary, Eneas Mackenzie. Relishing the prospect of a smaller and less fatiguing mission, he gladly accepted by advice of Governor Keith, and was duly inducted and installed by Governor William Burnet of New York and New Jersey.

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And then a storm broke over his head! The Society was furious at not having been consulted, and for ten years refused to pay his salary. John Talbot, Colonel Daniel Coxe, and William Trent of Trenton were annoyed, because they wanted him to stay at Hopewell a third year, and Coxe even stopped all subscriptions and presents from the people. Worse still, Edward Vaughan wanted the mission for his friend, Robert Weyman of Oxford in Pennsylvania, and even solicited a call to him from one of the vestries. He and Weyman were mad clean through, and tried to get even by complaining to Coxe and Trent and asking the Society to stop Harrison's stipend. Some of the parishioners were so upset that they vainly sent a small boat after the ship *Beaver* in a brisk gale and a rough sea, to put on board their protest to the Society against the "intrusion." Weyman vehemently asserted that he had a call from both vestries as patrons of the living, and that Harrison was backed by enemies of the Church. Some of the people addressed the governor, in his favor, but Burnet exploded with wrath and had Harrison inducted by the sheriff (!) without consent of the wardens and vestry.

After securing a friendly vestry, Harrison appealed to the Society for his salary, pleading the people's poverty, and the need of fencing and improving the glebe, which he (a bachelor) would gladly do, out of his earnest desire to serve there. Although "very warmly oppos'd" at first, he had waited for time to cure resentment, for he had learned patience from being "expos'd to honest poverty & many disappointments in life." Patience was rewarded, and he remained until his death on October 4, 1739. It is said that he finally won the people's affection, and converted most of the French Protestant congregation to the Church.

19

JOHN HOLBROOKE (Died, 1747)

THE FIRST MISSIONARY at Salem was a grandson of the Rev. John Holbrooke of Oriel College, Oxford University. The elder John received his B.A. degree in 1660-1 and the M.A. in 1665, became rector of Titsey in Surrey, 1662, and of Edgmond, Shropshire, in 1667. When he applied to the Society for a mission, the younger John was serving in Staffordshire. He was ordained priest about the summer of 1722 by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who considered him "better qualified for learning yn most yt appear'd with him," and of unblemished character, according to testimonials.

His lordship placed Holbrooke in a small cure, where he did nothing amiss and seemed willing to go anywhere — a disposition destined to receive a severe test at Salem. After serving for a while as curate of Chilcot in Derbyshire, he was recommended to the Bishop of London on September 23, 1723, by several leading Churchmen, including John Botham, rector of Clifton Campville; Jacob Mould, rector of Appleby; and Samuel Holbrooke (probably a relative), vicar of Ashby de la Zouch. On November 23, Dr. Edward Waddington informed the Society that Holbrooke had satisfactorily preached and read prayers in his church.

Holbrooke received the King's Bounty for New Jersey on December 13, 1723, and was appointed to the new mission of Salem. He ministered there only about four years, for he always heartily disliked the town, disparaging it as "a Place notorious for an unhealthy Air & Situation," and as "the greatest discouragement" among the missions. His family was often ill, and he battled almost constantly with the "Autumn sickness" (malaria) and soon wanted to move to Burlington.

He went to Virginia in October, 1729, to obtain a recommendation to a parish from Governor William Gooch. He presented a certificate of good life and conversation from the commissary and the neighboring clergy, and the governor therefore told him to inform the Society and secure the Bishop of London's license, promised to write to the bishop, and gave him some cash for his journey. Gooch kept his word that he would be "very glad to receive him," and presented him to Hungars Parish, Northampton County, on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay. Holbrooke solicited and received the gratuity customarily given by the Society to men leaving its service. In Hungars Parish he remained until his death in 1747, but in 1736 returned to Salem for a visit. He is one of the least known, and apparently was one of the better, New Jersey missionaries.

20

NATHANIEL HORWOOD (C. 1680 - 1730)

THAT A MAN may be born to many advantages and make a poor use of them, is illustrated by the career of Horwood of Burlington. He was the son of a gentleman, Edward Horwood of Westminster, who sent him to Trinity College, Oxford University. He matriculated on October 13, 1699, at the age of nineteen, received the degree of B.A. in 1703, and the master's degree in 1706. In 1712, he became rector of Bundleigh in Devon-

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shire, but about 1726 decided to enter the Society's service and received the King's Bounty on August 30. Arriving in New Jersey, Horwood went first to Salem on the Society's supposition that Holbrooke was eager to leave. But as the latter changed his mind, Horwood settled instead at Burlington, with leave to stay abroad three years.

Although he came well recommended by testimonials from several parochial clergymen in England, Horwood proved to be an unfortunate choice as a missionary. Almost from his arrival he complained of ill health, which hindered his ministry, and in the winter of 1727-8 he had a "Feavour" that tortured his hands. Probably he suffered also from loneliness, having made the mistake of leaving his wife and daughter in England.

Unhappiness brought on or increased the frequent curse of lonely parsons in that age — a resort to the bottle. In 1729, the wardens and vestrymen complained to Commissary Vesey of his habitual drinking and other bad conduct. It was wrecking the parish and making him "Obnoxious to the Censure of ye meerest Profligate, a man that has but the least Spark of regard for his Character, Would take care to avoid & Shun his Company, when he makes boate men, Sotts & the very Dreggs of humane Society his Chief & Valiant Pot Companions." To their efforts to reclaim him he returned only promises, and they thought it would be better to close the church than to open it to a man who would "get drunk on the Eve, and on the Sabbath following." The Church had become the laughing-stock of sectarians, and as his time was nearly up, they begged the Society to remove him.

Vesey, greatly distressed, sent a copy of the complaint to Horwood, and assured the authors that if their parson could not clear himself, he would come down again and try to persuade him to leave. He asked Robert Weyman of Oxford in Pennsylvania to serve Burlington when he could, until the Society and the Bishop of London should make a decision. To Horwood he expressed surprise that he had broken his promise of amendment, and suggested a removal to prevent trouble and ignominy for himself. He got no satisfaction, and Horwood even declared that Commissary Cummings of Philadelphia held nothing against him, and blamed his plight on the "petulant pedantry" of schoolmaster Rowland Ellis and the enmity of one Joseph White, who hated him for interfering in a law suit between him and his children, and so had incited other parishioners against him.

The upshot of the sordid affair was that in March, 1729-30, Horwood decided to ask the Society to recall him and to return to England. His wife was old and ill, and if she should die while he was abroad, he and his family would be ruined because of his confused affairs. Mercifully he soon died, on July 28, 1730. His will, dated October 12, 1726, was proved in the

Prerogative Court of Canterbury on March 24, 1730 (1731, N. S.) by his wife Anna, guardian of his daughter, Elizabeth. The latter was executrix and inherited all his estate, excepting some small legacies, including one of £10 to his wife for mourning, which, one suspects, must have been embittered by regrets.

21

MICHAEL HOUDIN (1705-1766)

THE CAREER of this convert to the Church is one of intriguing interest — largely because of what the scanty records do not tell. He was born in France in 1705, and on Easter Day, 1730, was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest by the Archbishop of Trèves. After officiating for some years as a Franciscan friar by the name of Père Potencien, he became superior of a convent of Recollects at Montreal, Canada.

In 1744, Houdin decided to forsake the Roman Church and join the Church of England. His motives were a mixture of disgust with monastic life, longing to taste British freedom, and a desire to marry. The ex-monk appeared in New York and publicly renounced the Roman Church on Easter Day, 1747. By the governor's order, he went to Jamaica, Long Island, where he married a Canadian widow who was of good family and well known in Albany. The newly-weds became communicants, and for a time he supported them by teaching French, and by the kindness of some gentlemen in New York, probably because he supplied valuable information to the authorities.

About 1748 Houdin decided to enter the Anglican priesthood, and in December, 1749, was recommended to the Society by Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, for the Bishop of London's license to preach. Houdin soon moved to Trenton and began to minister there and at Allentown and Bordentown. On November 1, 1750, he offered his services to the Society. They gave him a gratuity of £30, and after learning from Barclay that he preached well in English, appointed him as missionary to Trenton and nearby places. He made his first report on October 16, 1751, as "Itinerant Missionary in New Jersey."

The distinguished convert became a great asset to the Church, and the Society was so pleased with his success that it raised his salary. He ranged over a wide area along the Delaware, including Amwell, Kingwood, Bethle-

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hem, and Greenwich, performing many baptisms and converting Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers.

His congenial labor was interrupted by the French and Indian War in 1756, because the military authorities were eager to use his wide knowledge of Canada. On April 29, 1757, he was appointed chaplain to the 48th Regiment, and for several years he served under Lord Loudon and his successor, Major-General Abercromby. He accompanied the successful expedition against Louisburg in the summer of 1758, under Admiral Boscawen and Generals Amherst and Wolfe, and two days after the surrender assured the Society that he would return to his mission at the first chance. He was back in Trenton by November 28, when he complained that the Presbyterians had stolen his glebe.

His stay must have been brief, for on February 6, 1759, several New York and New Jersey missionaries reported that he was a chaplain to one of his majesty's regiments. The Society apparently heard nothing more from Houdin until he wrote from Quebec on October 23, 1759, five weeks after its famous capture. He took an essential part in that feat, as an intelligence officer on the staff of General Wolfe, and might have given information about the winding path from the Anse du Foulon (Wolfe's Cove) to the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe died in the moment of his victory. It is supposed that Houdin was present at the battle, and that he was the clergyman (whose name is not given in a key to the picture) standing on the extreme right in an attitude of prayer, in Benjamin West's painting, "The Death of Wolfe."

Although anxious to return to his mission, Houdin was still detained in Canada by General Amherst in June, 1761, and the French were said to be trying to entice him back. In September he received permission to take the French mission at New Rochelle, New York. But his health had been weakened by the strains of military service, and early in 1765 he became dangerously ill. He wrote his last letter to the Society on September 23, and died about a year later (September, 1766), leaving a widow and several children, who received a gratuity from the Society. He was buried at New Rochelle beside his predecessors, Bondet and Stouppé.

Houdin has been described as "a worthy missionary, of considerable learning and irreproachable morals." Histories of the conquest of Canada do not usually mention his services, and they have been brought to light only in recent years, by the late John Wolfe Lydekker, archivist of the Society. (*See below, Bibliography.*)

ALEXANDER INNES
(Died, 1713)

THE FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH in Monmouth County was a native of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, like many other settlers of the region. He was probably an alumnus of the University of Aberdeen, as three men of his name are listed as students there between 1666 and 1683. Everything known of him indicates a man of high ability and education, and the records refer to him respectfully as "clerk" (i.e., clergyman) and doctor.

Innes joined the Scottish emigration to New Jersey, and probably arrived in 1685 with Gilbert Innes of Perth Amboy and Archibald Innes. On April 20, 1686, he was commissioned as chaplain to the troops at New York, and swore allegiance to King James II — which soon caused him serious trouble. He had served only about three years when the "Glorious Revolution" against his royal master broke out in New York, and he was accused of being a "papist" and an enemy of the new sovereigns, William III and Mary II. Other evidence indicates that he was at least a passive Jacobite (partisan of James), and he found it convenient to leave the city by August 20, 1689. He appears there on April 12, 1692, when he performed a marriage as "Presbiter of the Church of England at New York in America," and again at a clergy convention in November, 1702.

Left without a charge and fearing to risk suspicion in England, Innes took refuge among his Scottish countrymen in New Jersey. He settled at Middletown, and on October 28, 1700, bought forty acres of Dr. John Johnston, south and west of Hop River, which he later enlarged by purchasing 110 acres from Lewis Morris. On his farm the aging priest lived for about thirteen years, serving as a missionary without charge, writing legal documents for his neighbors, preaching to them, baptizing their children, and performing marriages and funerals. He enjoyed a wide reputation for gentility and kindness, and was the center of a select Anglican society, consisting of the Leeds family, the Johnstons (to whom he was perhaps related), the Quaker convert, Thomas Boels, and his family, Lewis Morris with his family and dependents, Nicholas Brown from Rhode Island, Captain John Anderson, and the friends and connections of George Keith.

When Keith came to Monmouth County on his missionary tour, he stayed at Innes' house and paid a magnificent tribute to the apostle in his journal:

"Mr. Innes being in priests orders often preached among them,

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and by preaching and conferences frequently with the Quakers and other sorts of people, as also by his pious conversation [conduct], has done much good among them and has been very instrumental to . . . bring them over to the church."

Talbot also had a high opinion of him as "a man of great piety and Probity," and hoped the Society would engage him because, he said, "'tis pity those hands should be put to dig that are fit to cultivate the vineyard." In 1717 the justices of the peace, the high sheriff, and the grand jurors of the county lamented the great loss the Church and people had suffered without him.

It would be difficult to estimate Innes' services to the Church in New Jersey, for his influence was everywhere. When recommending him to the Society's kindness, Edward Vaughan declared that his diligence and industry had gathered "large Congregations" at Freehold, Shrewsbury, and Middletown. Talbot informed Keith that the clerical convention in 1704 would have been "at a loss for a Foreman had not he supply'd the Place by his Gravity & Wisdom." He constantly aided Keith's mission by reading prayers and baptizing children and adult converts, and was present at the organization of Christ Church in Shrewsbury on Christmas Day, 1702. He secured the sites of the churches in Middletown and Shrewsbury. Even at the point of death, he still considered the future of "ye Catholic Church," and in his will left £10 to the parish in Freehold, £5 each to Shrewsbury and Middletown, 50s. to build a church in Piscataway, and 40s. to furnish Saint John's, Elizabeth Town. (Edward Vaughan, the missionary at the latter place, was a witness to the will.) He gave all his books, to be kept "in a great chest forever," for the use of the Anglican clergy in Middletown, Shrewsbury, and Freehold. His old political loyalty appears in his bequest to Margaret Willocks of a handkerchief given to him by Lady Hay, which once had belonged to King Charles I.

In 1709 Innes' health began to fail and he sold his farm. But he ministered until a short time before his death, about August 1, 1713, apparently among his relatives in Perth Amboy. His will was probated as if he had died in Middlesex County, and probably he was buried in Saint Peter's churchyard. His only monument is the unanimous opinion of his contemporaries that he was, in the words of John Brooke, "a very goode man." It is easy to accept the view of James Steen, the Monmouth County historian, that Innes is "clearly entitled to be considered the pioneer" of the Church in that region.

GEORGE KEITH

(1638-1716)

JOHN TALBOT, who should have known, once said that the man who did more to promote the Church in America than any other before him, was George Keith. He was born at Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, in 1638, and twenty years later received his M.A. degree from the University of Aberdeen, after showing marked ability, particularly in mathematics and Oriental studies. Originally a member of the Presbyterian Church, Keith was converted to Quakerism by the preaching of William Dewsbury, and by reading Henry More's *Mystery of Godliness*, to which he was introduced by his pupil in mathematics, Gilbert Burnet, later the historian and Bishop of Salisbury.

Keith soon became one of the chief expounders of Quakerism, and accompanied George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay and others on a missionary tour to Holland and Germany in 1677. Between 1663 and 1685 he was repeatedly jailed for his convictions. He married in 1672, and in 1681-2 was the master of a school in England.

Keith's wife, Elizabeth Johnston of Aberdeen, was one of a family that pioneered in the Scottish settlement of East Jersey, and in 1685 Keith joined the migration with her and their two daughters. He became surveyor-general of the province and ran the lines between East and West Jersey, and between East Jersey and New York, and founded the Scottish town of Freehold. His activities constantly expanded, and included protracted preaching tours, during which (in 1688) he vainly challenged the Puritan divines of New England to a public debate.

Keith's historic break with Quakerism began after he moved to Philadelphia in 1689 to teach in the Quaker academy, now the Penn Charter School. He severely criticized his astonished brethren for loose doctrine, and urged Bible study, stricter discipline, and teaching, in accord with his early Presbyterian education. The Friends instantly recognized his essential hostility to their spirit, and in 1692 formally disowned him. That decision was confirmed by the English yearly meeting in 1695, after he appeared in London to defend himself. The results were an embittered schism, and the withdrawal of many of his followers to form about fifteen "Christian Quaker" or "Keithite" meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Still in Quaker garb, he held separate meetings at Turner's Hall in London, and began to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper. His pil-

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grimage in search of spiritual peace ended in 1700, when he was received into the Church of England. The diaconate was conferred upon him in May, 1700, and the priesthood in March, 1702.

Keith's conversion was a national sensation, and came just at the moment when leading Churchmen were considering an unprecedented missionary effort overseas. He was the ideal man to lead the drive in America, and the Society accordingly sent him over in 1702 to explore the ground. He arrived at Boston in June, took as his associate the ship's chaplain, John Talbot, and began two years of intensive and perilous missionary travel. With much hardship, he covered the provinces from New Hampshire to North Carolina, won a host of converts, reclaimed many lapsed members, inspired the building of churches, and found time to write his well-known journal of the tour, published in 1706.

After his return to England, Keith for a short time was lecturer at All Hallows Church in Lombard Street, London, and in 1705 became vicar of Saint Andrew's at Edburton, Sussex, where he remained until his death in 1716. The man who spent his last years in the quiet of a small country parish had indeed earned the rest. He is just beginning to be recognized as one of the great men of his age — philosopher, mathematician, surveyor, writer, colonist, preacher, and missionary. Even the Quaker historian, Robert Proud of Pennsylvania, who deplored his sharp temper and domineering mind, admitted the brilliance of Keith's intellect and the deep impression he made upon his time. His writings form a considerable library, and the spiritual heirs of his amazing work for the Church have numbered multitudes who never heard his name.

24

WILLIAM LINDSAY

TO INNES AND KEITH, Lindsay is a painful contrast. He was born in Ireland of Scottish descent and began life with fair promise. After studying languages in private schools, he took a course in "natural philosophy" at the University of Glasgow and was graduated M.A. on April 30, 1723. He studied also under John Loudon, M.A., professor of Logic and Rhetoric, and later for two years under the Rev. Dr. John Simson, who gave him testimonials of merit.

After further studies, Lindsay decided to visit America with many of his neighbors and relatives, and took recommendations from the Church clergy and the Dissenters. Upon his arrival, August 3, 1733, the Dissenting clergy encouraged him to apply for ordination, but he considered their

terms "Narrowed by Great Impositions and Solemn Declarations against the Church of England," and would not "comply with so much bigotry." Commissary Cummings of Philadelphia and other Anglican clergymen approved of him, and on November 7, 1734, recommended him to the Society, and to the Bishop of London for orders, and suggested his appointment as missionary at Apoquiminick, Delaware.

Lindsay sailed for England with John Pughe on March 14, 1734/35, was ordained, and received the King's Bounty for Pennsylvania. After a long, hard voyage he returned to Philadelphia on May 28, 1735. He settled at Bristol, Pennsylvania, as the center of an itinerant mission that included Kingwood (Alexandria), Amwell, Hopewell, and Trenton in West Jersey, also London Grove, Concord and Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and Stanton, White Clay Creek and Mill Creek in Delaware. Later it became evident that his interest in some of these places was merely nominal.

The Society at first lent a sympathetic ear to Lindsay's repeated complaints of heavy traveling expenses, worn-out clothing, almost constant illness, dangerous ferries, pressing debts, and the necessity of helping his aged and poor parents in Ireland. He successfully requested a gratuity, having excited compassion by his melancholy pleas, and hints that he would soon be near death. He stressed his devotion to the church in Bristol, which he claimed to have found in "a very mean Condition," declaring that he had repaired the glebe house at his own expense, and that he lived peaceably with the people, even though they subscribed nothing to support him.

But in 1744 the Society was rudely shocked by learning "very base mean and Scandalous things" against him, reported to a clerical meeting in Philadelphia. Colin Campbell, who vowed that he had no personal grudge against Lindsay, informed the Society of the charges, sustained by sworn affidavits from several persons. He had demanded a high fee for baptizing a poor woman convert from Quakerism in Burlington. He had sold the Society's Bibles and other books sent him to distribute to the poor, and had got a church Bible and Prayer Book for Trenton under false pretenses. He had even defrauded the prisoners in jail there, of a collection made for them in the courthouse at Christmas. He had offended many Churchmen by lodging in a Quaker's house for three or four years and had lied to the Society in 1738 by complaining of hardships and fatigue, to get a gratuity, when he was in good health. He had extorted money for publishing banns of marriage, neglected places in his mission for five years at a time, and taken the parish library at Bristol. He was an habitual drunkard, and had been so soused at a marriage in 1743 that he fell from his horse. He had even attempted to debauch women on the public road. Campbell declared that sectarians had increased in the mission because of Lindsay's bad be-

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havior. He was doing "more harm than the pious labours of Six or more worthy missionaris can do good," and had "much sowered" the temper of the people at Trenton.

Lindsay hotly denied the charges, and declared that the affidavits had been given to him unsigned just before the annual meeting of the clergy, and had then been withdrawn, while his accusers had written to the Society to get rid of him. He blamed the charges upon John Coxe, a Trenton lawyer, and John A. De Normandie, a Bristol shopkeeper who had taken a violent dislike to him. Coxe, he vowed, was a bitter enemy of the clergy, read blasphemous books, ridiculed divine revelation and Christianity, and headed a club of such men in Trenton. De Normandie, a Swiss, hated him because of a glebe house which he had kept for seventeen years without making any account of the rent until Lindsay demanded it.

Those men, he alleged, had sent an unsigned complaint to the clerical meeting in June, 1744, and abused him to the Bishop of London, while the club in Trenton had slandered him to the Society. Lindsay asked the commissary to inquire, and appealed to the Society, declaring that if his enemies prevailed, no missionary would be unmolested. "Unreasonable Ridicule, Clamour & Reproach is but what I have been taught to expect by him who hath taught me how to bear it!"

As the charges were supported by Campbell, the Society was not convinced by Lindsay's assertions, and on July 19, 1745, dismissed him, declared him unfit to be employed in their service, and ordered him to surrender the parish library to his successor, Richard Locke. Lindsay's refusal to yield the books for many years lends color to the charges that he was an unworthy missionary. He apparently lived in Pennsylvania after his dismissal, but there is no evidence of his eventual fate.

25

RICHARD LOCKE (Died c. 1755)

LOCKE'S ASSOCIATION with New Jersey was brief, because his entire colonial ministry was unsettled. Of his early life and education nothing has been found. He had distinguished connections in England, for his wife was born in London of good family, her mother having been a Clavering and first cousin to a bishop of Peterborough.

Locke entered the colonial missions on July 6, 1743, when he received the King's Bounty for Bermuda. He was sent there by the Bishop of London, understanding that he would get £100 a year, but was disappointed to

receive only £50 and perquisites, and complained of having to pay 5d a pound for coarse sea biscuits, and for everything else in proportion. He stayed in Bermuda eight months, and then could scarcely pay for his passage to Charleston. The governor advised him to go there and gave him a letter of introduction to the governor of South Carolina.

The captain landed him in Philadelphia instead of Charleston, and as his wife was too weak to go to England, he decided to try his luck in Pennsylvania. The Society compassionately appointed him as itinerant missionary in Pennsylvania and West Jersey. He lived in Lancaster and began to build a church there, and served also the Welsh congregation of Bangor Church in Cærnarvon, and other places including Pequea.

Locke wanted a more settled ministry, and in 1748 returned to England by way of Maryland. Not having there the success he hoped for, on May 10, 1749, he got a license for Virginia. He was accepted as minister of Kingston Parish in Mathews County, October 24, 1749, but served only about seven months and apparently got somewhat more than six months' salary in tobacco.

More disappointment awaited him, for when he returned to Pennsylvania with a second appointment as itinerant missionary, he found the place already occupied by George Craig (*see above*), whose people did not want him to leave for Lewes in Sussex County, Delaware. Locke therefore agreed to go to Lewes in place of Craig. He preached there several times in 1754, and baptized some children, but died some time before July 28, 1755, when the Rev. Aaron Cleveland was licensed by the Bishop of London for that place.

26

ROBERT McKEAN (1732-1767)

THIS YOUNG MAN, cut off before fulfilling his early promise, was one of the many Dissenters who studied themselves into the Church. He came of Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian stock, and was a son of William McCain or McKean, born in Ireland in 1707, and Letitia Finney, his first wife, who died in 1742. The elder McKean died on November 18, 1769, after having been for many years a tavern-keeper in Chatham, London Grove, and Londonderry, Pennsylvania.

Young Robert, born on July 13, 1732, was educated to be a physician, but really wanted to minister to souls, and studied theology under the Rev. Dr. Francis Alison, a noted Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia. Although

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not a college or university graduate, he acquired an unusual knowledge of Greek and Latin, and carefully read the works of the Anglican divines. Recognizing his attainments and abilities, the College of Philadelphia awarded him an honorary degree of M.A. in 1760.

Early in 1757, McKean applied to the Bishop of London for holy orders, with strong recommendations from many highly reputable people in Pennsylvania and Maryland, particularly the Marylander, James Stirling, who praised him as "a young Man of . . . exemplary Merit." He was licensed by the Bishop of London on April 26, 1757, and was assigned by the Society to New Brunswick, where he arrived on December 16 of that year. His hardships in securing ordination probably contributed to the eventual collapse of his health, and certainly made him a warm advocate of an American bishop.

In taking orders McKean did not relinquish the practice of medicine, for which he was sometimes criticized. Some of his flock stated that although he was "a man of as much goodness as we could expect, yet we saw bad effects arising from his practice, and feared that the peace of our church might be effected (*sic!*) by it." He was highly esteemed by his fellow physicians, and was one of the seventeen who organized the New Jersey Medical Society in July, 1766, and served as its first president. After his transfer to Perth Amboy, he also taught a school. His clerical brethren had a high regard for him, and in 1760 and 1761 elected him to committees to present addresses to Governor Boone and Governor Hardy.

At first McKean was well and happy at New Brunswick. On February 19, 1761, at Christ Church in Shrewsbury, he rose high in the social scale by marrying Isabel Graham Antill, daughter of one of his parishioners, Edward Antill 2nd, and Anne Morris, daughter of Governor Lewis Morris. In reporting the event, McKean modestly wrote to the Society's secretary: "This trouble your goodness will excuse from the occasion." His wife was "a young lady of very gay and independent spirit," and some thought that she was not the right woman for the scholarly young parson.

Within a few months came the first warnings of the tuberculosis that eventually killed him. A "fit of sickness" interrupted his pastoral duties for a short time, and later a violent "Epidemical Cold" laid him low for four weeks. He seemed to recover, but the appearance was deceptive.

In February, 1763, McKean accepted the rectorship of Saint Peter's in Perth Amboy, and Trinity Church, Woodbridge. His sorrowing flock at Christ Church praised him as

"a Gentleman whose Simplicity of manners, whose gentle, mild,
& charitable Disposition, & whose innocent Life, have render'd

him dear to us, & amiable to men of all denominations; we cant but express our great concern at Such a loss, which we very much fear will hardly be repaired."

Perhaps the sea air made McKean's illness worse, for in the fall of 1767 Chandler found him "wasted away with a tedious Disorder," and "judged by his physicians to be at the Point of Death." He died at Raritan Landing near New Brunswick, in the home of his father-in-law, on October 17, 1767. His will had been dated September 13, as if he knew that he must go. He was buried in Saint Peter's churchyard, where a monument was erected by his brother Thomas, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, chief justice and governor of Pennsylvania. The fraternal tribute reads:

"An unshaken Friend, an agreeable Companion, a rational Divine, a skillful Physician, and in every relation in life a truly benevolent and honest man."

Thomas B. Chandler, a shrewd judge, rated him as "eminently useful and amiable," and added, "probably a better Man, was never in the Society's Service."

27

JOHN MILNE

LIKE HORWOOD AND LINDSAY, Milne was a man of good promise who took the wrong turn in the road. His ministry before coming to New Jersey was creditable, but its environment had effects that soon rendered him incapable of doing much good. He was of English birth and has been described as a man of more than ordinary ability, and originally of deep piety. His first choice for a profession was medicine, which he did not entirely abandon after entering the ministry.

Milne offered himself as a missionary, and the Bishop of London selected him out of more than twenty candidates. The Society was then considering the vacant parish of Saint Peter's, Albany, and upon petition of June 24, 1725, by the wardens, appointed him to the place, together with Saint George's at Schenectady, the chaplaincy of Fort Hunter, and the Mohawk Indian Mission. He received the King's Bounty for New York on September 26, and arrived about December 9, 1727. There he remained about ten years, with such success that the commanding officer at Fort Hunter commended his work at the garrison's chapel and among the Indians.

By 1736 Milne was growing very restless on the frontier. The extremes

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of weather troubled him, and parishioners were delinquent in paying their subscriptions, forcing him to live almost entirely upon his wife's fortune, which he found "very grating," as he thought that it should go to her children by a former marriage. He preferred Boston, because the people were "more conversable" and there he could overcome his "melancholy contracted by nine years stay amongst a rude unpolite sett of men" — a hint of the mental state that caused his ruin in New Jersey. He requested the Bishop of London to let him succeed Nathaniel Horwood in Burlington, but finally obtained an appointment to Monmouth County. The wardens and vestry at Freehold received the news with dismay, and protested to Commissary Vesey that they were "but too fully informed" of his character.

Milne remained in the mission from 1737 until 1745, and soon wore out his dubious welcome at Freehold. In 1741-2, the wardens and vestrymen complained to Vesey that he had fully justified their fears by persisting in irregular conduct, in spite of "publick remonstrances and private admonitions." He was a notorious drunkard, and neglected catechizing, comforting and advising the doubting and scrupulous, and visiting the sick and dying. He read the prayers and his sermon "in as much hurry & with as little Zeal and Devotion as Persons usually read a Newspaper" — when he was pleased to appear at all! They begged Vesey to visit the parish and see for himself.

The wardens and vestrymen of Shrewsbury and Middletown, on the other hand, denied that Milne was a sot. They asserted that the complainants lived far from him, and that they among whom he dwelt should know his character better, and knew nobody else they would want in his place!

Vesey sent Milne a copy of the complaint, without getting an answer, and was inclined to accept the opinion of Shrewsbury and to refer the matter to the Society. But Josiah Holmes, one of the Shrewsbury wardens, rebuked Milne in stinging terms, for "Drinking to Excess, and that verry often, without Regard to the time or place." The censorious Mr. Holmes, as captain of a vessel plying between Red Bank and New York, a few years later charged his former rector for freight on a cask of wine!—which one might call accessory to the crime.

Meanwhile the Society had lost patience with Milne, and in May, 1744, sharply reminded him that they had not heard from him since October 12, 1739. For that and the complaint from Freehold, they stopped his salary at midsummer of 1742, and on April 20, 1744, decided to discharge him. Milne retorted in a letter to Secretary Bearcroft, and a deposition on oath, signed by Robert Hunter Morris, chief justice of New Jersey. He declared that he had never received a copy of the standing orders, that several of his letters had miscarried, so that his bills had been protested, and that he could get "the universal testimony of the best men in the two Provinces," that

he had been faithful and diligent. He referred also to the defense of his character by the wardens and vestrymen of Shrewsbury and Middletown, which he asserted proved "the injustice and frivolousness of the complaint." He bitterly protested that the Society had not informed him of the accusations or given him a hearing before dismissing him, and asserted that his attempt to collect subscriptions was the real cause of enmity.

Milne's efforts to clear himself were futile, and on March 25, 1745, the Society repeated its notice of dismissal, announced the appointment of his successor (Thomas Thompson), and ordered him to surrender the glebe. Milne defied the order, continued for a time to serve at Shrewsbury and Middletown, and kept the Leeds Farm, claiming to have spent several hundred pounds in improvements, for which he demanded compensation. Thompson had to bring suit to recover the property.

Milne's later life is obscure, as there is no further mention of him in the parish records, and no will or reference to his estate in the New Jersey public archives. Possibly he returned to England, or moved to some other American community and resumed the practice of medicine. His failure in Monmouth County probably was due to his lack of Scottish or Quaker connections, and to his rough life on the frontier, where people condoned a degree of conviviality that was intolerable in a stricter community.

28

THOROUGHGOOD MOORE (C. 1672-1707)

THIS LAMENTED MISSIONARY, whose grave is the Atlantic, was the son of John Moore of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, where he was born about 1672. He attended school in Biggleswade, and on December 3, 1690, was admitted as a sizar at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He matriculated in 1692 and was graduated B.A. in 1694-5, M.A. in 1698, and in 1700 was "incorporated" (with the privileges of a degree) at Oxford University. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London on July 21, and priest on August 11, 1703, and signed the Declaration of Uniformity on February 25, 1703/04. The Society appointed him as missionary to the Iroquois Indians in upper New York, and to serve at Saint Peter's, Albany.

When Moore arrived in New York, he waited on Governor Cornbury and found him "very kind" — a choice morsel of irony in the light of later events. John Talbot, who thought highly of Moore's abilities, was dismayed to see "a man according to my own heart" packed off to the fron-

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tier, and gloomily wrote to Keith, "God knows whither (*sic!*) we shall see him again."

Moore was well received at Albany, and at first found the Mohawks apparently willing to hear him, and attempted to learn their language. Time slipped away with much discussion but no action, and he finally left, because the white people set the Indians a bad example and so needed him more, because the Dutch were hostile towards the English, and because rum, disease, and land-grabbers were ruining the poor red man. He finally returned in disgust to New York City, and at Talbot's request obtained Cornbury's permission to serve Hopewell, Saint Mary's at Burlington, and Bristol, during Talbot's absence in England, 1705-7.

To Burlington he went, but not to eat his bread in peace. He was scandalized by the flagrantly immoral conduct of Cornbury, and of Lieutenant-Governor Richard Ingoldsby, to whom he refused the Holy Communion. Cornbury flew into a towering passion and in July, 1707, summoned Moore to New York to answer charges against him. The parson flatly refused to go, as he was unwilling to leave his parishes and questioned the legality of the summons. Cornbury, raging, ordered the sheriff of Burlington to bring Moore under arrest to his house in Perth Amboy. There, in Ingoldsby's presence, the angry governor accused him of siding with the government's enemies, and of rebellion in not heeding Ingoldsby's suspension of him by public notice at the church door. When Moore declined to cease his ministry, Cornbury shouted that *he*, not the Bishop of London or the Society, was his superior! He then forced Moore to go with him in his barge to New York, and there imprisoned him, even refusing to let him go to church, and planning to ship him back to England.

Moore appealed to the Society to intercede with "Good Queen Anne" for his release, ascribed Cornbury's hostility to political ambition, protested against the illegality of his arrest, and stated that the governor had even forbidden him to celebrate the Communion once a fortnight. He ventured to hope that the Society would try to persuade her majesty to appoint better men to public office! In January, 1711, Moore's story was attested by sworn affidavits from several witnesses, all signed by that excellent Churchman, Caleb Heathcote, mayor of New York.

After Moore had been in prison about a month, he was visited by his friend, the Rev. John Brooke of Elizabeth Town, who also had incurred Cornbury's wrath, and was about to sail from Boston to England for redress. The two parsons walked out of the fort, when Brooke asked John Grimes, a sentinel, whether he had orders to stop them. The soldier, probably half asleep or bemused in liquor, said "No!" — for which he repented at leisure

in irons. The fleeing priests embarked in November, 1707, in a brigantine, and Talbot wrote to Keith:

"I pray God send 'em safe home and here agen in good time or else I believe all the rest of the Missionaries will soon follow unless some Overseer be sent to direct and protect them."

His prayer was not granted and he never saw them again, because their little ship foundered without a trace in some winter tempest.

29

ANDREW MORTON

OF MORTON'S EARLY LIFE and education nothing has been learned, excepting that he was recommended by the provost and other teachers at the College of Philadelphia. He first appears in New Jersey history on March 17, 1760, when he was licensed to the colonies by the Bishop of London. The Society assigned him to Amwell and Kingwood, Hunterdon County. After a voyage of eight weeks, he reached Philadelphia in June, and shortly set out for his mission. He made a good first impression, and in July the wardens and vestrymen commended him as "a very good & worthy Missionary," and stated that his churches were "in a very flourishing and increasing Condition."

By autumn, however, the bright picture was charged with black clouds. Morton, a single man, had made the mistake of lodging with one of his parishioners, John Garrison. Mr. Garrison had a daughter and conceived the notion of marrying her off to the parson. The latter displayed something less than interest and moved to the more congenial home of John Grandin, another parishioner and a local magistrate, who loyally stood by him through all the following trouble.

Garrison became enraged, and finding that his daughter was pregnant, declared that Morton was the child's father and charged him with fornication. He was a man of wide connections and influence, and easily cooked up a plot to slander and ruin the missionary, in which he was abetted by a fanatical party of Presbyterians, who had become jealous of the Church's growth. The resulting scandal reverberated throughout the province. Morton vigorously protested his innocence to the Society, but believed that his usefulness was ended and requested to be removed.

The parishioners generally rallied to him, and seventy declared that he had been "greatly injur'd & cruelly persecuted," and that his accusers and their witnesses were odious characters. He was entirely blameless, they

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said, having been ten miles away when the girl claimed he was with her. Morton changed his mind about leaving, as the plotters threatened to have him arrested, and he thought that flight would be taken as a confession of guilt. He also decided to continue public services to encourage his loyal but dejected flock. His oppressors got a warrant for his arrest, and two offered a reward for his capture, while his people could do little for him, because they were few and had no influence. "O Biggotry," wrote Morton to the Society, "& blind Zeal, what murdering persecution are ye capable of!"

For several years he and his parishioners learned the power of bigotry's implacable malice, which he thought would not stop short of killing him. The zealots circulated printed slanders against him all over New Jersey and the neighboring provinces, insulted him at his lodging and in the church yard, and for a time forced him to minister only in private. The persecutors struck the whole parish, locked the people out of their church, and seized possession of the rectory and the glebe. When the case came to trial in 1763, the Dissenting party headed by Garrison attempted to overawe the court, so that Morton and his flock despaired of obtaining justice, for the Dissenting magistrates could get a packed jury. The magistrates behaved so outrageously that Attorney-General Cortlandt Skinner scathingly rebuked them. Morton appealed to his clerical brethren in convention, but they could only give him advice.

He weathered the storm of abuse, and in 1763 resumed public services, had large congregations, and even made converts. He finally wore down his opponents, who grew tired of the endless expenses. Early in 1764, Garrison and his daughter practically confessed their plot by declining to prosecute. Garrison then attempted to convince people that Morton had bribed him — and miserably failed. The clergy commended Morton's conduct to the Society, but still suggested his transfer.

In the spring of 1765, the mission was prospering again and the church property had been restored. Morton was living in the rectory, had recovered damages for forcible entry upon the glebe, and planned to publish the outcome of the case to clear his name. Garrison and his family left New Jersey to avoid an action of damages for false arrest, and the persecuting magistrate (according to Morton) had become "a skulking Bankrupt, a most notoriously debauch'd & despicable Creature," while the leaders of Garrison's party had "fallen into very unhappy & disgraceful Circumstances."

Morton still wanted to move, and finally obtained leave to go to North Carolina, with a letter of introduction from Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia to Governor Tryon. He took leave of his vestry and people early in 1766, and served for a short time as pastor of Saint George's Parish,

Northampton County, evidently with success. On March 29, 1769, Governor Tryon wrote:

"Rev. Mr. Morton has left this Province upwards of two years, and settled in Virginia. I am told that he is well married. His conduct in Northampton County where I inducted him was exemplary, and his departure much lamented by his parishioners."

Morton next settled as rector of Drysdale Parish in Caroline and King and Queen Counties, Virginia. He was still serving on April 20, 1774, when his vestry presented him to the governor and council on a charge of gross immorality. He was ordered to appear on the first Tuesday in June, 1774, but Governor Dunmore prorogued the General Assembly (including the Council) for appointing a fast for the closing of the port of Boston. The vestry then took the law into their own hands and dismissed Morton, and in 1775 the *Virginia Almanac* did not list him as minister of that parish. It must be remembered that the political situation was particularly tense at this time, and Morton may have been on the "wrong side" from the vestry's standpoint.

30

JONATHAN ODELL (1737-1818)

THE BRILLIANT TORY SATIRIST of the Revolution was a native Jerseyman, born at Newark on September 25, 1737. He was descended from William Odell, who came from England to Concord, Massachusetts, in 1639 or earlier, and about five years later moved to Fairfield, Connecticut. His mother, Temperance, was a daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth Town, the Presbyterian first president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). After graduation as M.A. from that school in 1759, Odell studied medicine. He served as a British army surgeon in the West Indies, but resigned and sailed for "home" to study for the ministry.

While in England, Odell displayed the poetic talent that later made him famous and bitterly hated by many of his fellow Americans. Before taking orders, he taught for over two years as an assistant in the Kingston academy of James Elphinston, who gave him a handsome recommendation. Other warm endorsements came from the vicar and curate of Kensington, and from Benjamin Franklin, the colonial agent, who recommended him to the Society and the governor of New Jersey, for Burlington.

Odell was ordained as a deacon on December 21, 1766, in the Chapel

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Royal at Saint James' Palace, and received priest's orders and his license from Bishop Terrick of London, in January, 1767. On July 26 he was inducted by Governor William Franklin (the son of Benjamin) as rector of Saint Mary's, Burlington. He ministered also at Saint James' in Bristol, and at Saint Andrew's, Mount Holly. On July 25, 1771, he resumed the practice of medicine to support himself, having renounced his salary to help the parish in Burlington to pay for repairing and enlarging the church. On November 8, 1774, the New Jersey Medical Society elected him to membership.

The extra income was the more welcome after his marriage on May 6, 1772, to Anne, the daughter of Isaac De Cou of Burlington. The ceremony was performed by William Thomson, the missionary at Trenton. She became the companion of his old age in exile, and died in 1825 at Fredericton, New Brunswick, at the age of eighty-five. His daughter Mary, born March 19, 1773, died in 1848 at Maugerville, New Brunswick. Another daughter, Lucy Anne, became the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Rudyerd, Royal Engineers, and died in 1829 at Halifax, Nova Scotia. His son, William Franklin, (named for the governor) was born on October 19, 1774, succeeded his father for thirty-two years as secretary of New Brunswick, and died at Fredericton in 1844.

Odell won the affection of his parishioners, which comforted him when his uncompromising loyalism made him a proscribed man. He stirred the Whigs to wrath by his *Birthday Ode* to King George III, defiantly sung by British prisoners in Burlington jail on June 4, 1776. Cited to appear before the Provincial Congress, on July 20 he was placed on parole and confined to a radius of eight miles from Burlington court house on the east side of the Delaware. In December he fled to Governor Franklin's house, and from there to New York City, and he remained inside the British lines during the war.

Recommended to Sir Henry Clinton by William Franklin as an able writer, Odell devoted his sharp and acid pen to royalist propaganda. He collaborated with Joseph Stansbury in goading the American patriots to fury by stinging satirical verses that have been compared with the venomous lines of John Churchill. Few public leaders in New Jersey escaped their loaded lash. In the spring of 1782, when standards were presented to the King's American Dragoons, Odell made an address before a throng of eminent British army and navy officers, including Prince William Henry, later King William IV, who was a midshipman in Admiral Digby's fleet.

Odell had already been engaged in business far more sinister to the American cause. He helped in the preparations for Benedict Arnold's treason, for with his knowledge and probably with his aid, Stansbury met Major

André, Clinton's aide, in New York City. Odell was an intermediary between Clinton and André in New York, and Stansbury and Arnold in Philadelphia. He deciphered much of the correspondence from Arnold, including the code letter of July 15, 1780, offering to sell West Point, and his note of September 15, 1780, informing Clinton and André when Washington might be captured while crossing the Hudson. He was authorized by Clinton to inform Arnold that André would meet him with regard to surrendering West Point. Odell's trusted messenger was John Rattoon of South Amboy, a vestryman of Saint Peter's in Perth Amboy, who apparently was never suspected. In that dangerous correspondence Odell was "James Osborne," Rattoon was "Mercury," and André was "John Anderson."

In 1783 Odell became assistant secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, governor of New York, and with his wife and three children accompanied him to England. In 1784 he returned to America with his family and settled in Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, where he became secretary of the province, councillor, registrar, and clerk of the Council, and was styled "the Honorable and Reverend Jonathan Odell." He became a vestryman of the parish, but apparently did not continue his ministry, and died on November 25, 1818.

31

UZAL OGDEN, JUNIOR (1744-1822)

BORN IN 1744, he was the son of Uzal Ogden, a merchant in Newark and one of the founders of Trinity Church. His descent was from John Ogden of Hampshire, England, who migrated to America about 1640 and settled at Elizabeth Town in 1664. His mother was Elizabeth Charlotte Thébaut, daughter of Gabriel Lewis Thébaut of Antigua, British West Indies.

Young Ogden never had a formal academic education, but the shrewd Dr. Thomas B. Chandler perceived his fitness for the ministry, taught him theology, and in 1770 recommended him to the Society as a layreader and catechist in Sussex County. It is ironic that Chandler praised him as not "enthusiastic," for later he was suspected by the other Episcopal clergy as "Methodistical." In the summer of 1773, Ogden sailed for England with his patron's blessing, and in September was ordained deacon and priest and licensed to the colonies by Bishop Richard Terrick of London.

The young priest became the Church's apostle from Bergen County to the Delaware Water Gap, preaching and catechizing in a score of places

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and spending a large part of his life on horseback. A peculiar feature of his ministry was the writing of religious tracts, in which he probably had no equal in the American Church of his day. Between 1768 and the Revolution, he published *A Letter to the Unconverted*; *Brotherly Love*, to promote harmony between denominations; *Family Worship*; and *An Address to Youth, in two Parts, with Prayers*. He worked hard to prepare his little books for the press, got subscriptions to defray the expense, and distributed hundreds of copies in his mission and in New York. He also mailed samples to the Society, and from them received a gratuity of £10 and a special commendation.

Ogden was one of the small band of priests who stayed in New Jersey during the Revolution. He was deeply attached to the state and declined several flattering calls to Southern parishes. In 1784 he accepted an invitation to become an assistant in Trinity Church, New York City, because he thought that he could help to heal divisions there. As Newark and Elizabeth Town also wanted him, Trinity Parish gave him leave of absence for two-thirds of the time, with the privilege of residing in Newark for four years, and of ministering at Elizabeth Town and in Sussex and Hunterdon Counties until the churches could get regular ministers. On August 18, 1788, he resigned his New York post to become rector of Trinity Church, Newark.

In the meantime, rumors reached the Society that Ogden had abandoned the Prayer Book and even become so "Methodistical" as to use extemporary prayers! In 1784 the Society asked Abraham Beach to investigate, and received word that Ogden had "laid aside the Liturgy" for congregations unacquainted with it. Beach did not agree with him, and candidly told him that he would inform the Society, but Ogden did not worry, having renounced the Society's salary and obtained an ample income from his churches.

Ogden participated actively in the Church's reorganization, attended all the early state conventions except 1787, and represented New Jersey in all the General Conventions, 1785-1804. Doubts of his loyalty were deepened by his approval of the proposed Prayer Book of 1785, and by his opposition to the memorial to the General Convention of 1786, forthrightly condemning that book. Suspicion revived when he became the first bishop-elect of New Jersey on August 16, 1798, and was again elected by a special convention in October, 1799. He was never consecrated, for General Convention twice refused to confirm the election, ostensibly because not all the clergy voting had been canonically resident in New Jersey, but really because his loyalty was questioned.

He had trouble also in his parish at Newark, lost his voice, and in

1804 was requested to resign with a pension. When he refused, the parish appealed to the diocesan convention and the General Convention of 1804. The latter refused to act, and the New Jersey convention decided to suspend him if he would not resign. He then forsook the American Church and declared that he would be rector as a priest of the Church of England. The standing committee therefore suspended him on May 9, 1805, with the consent of Bishop Moore of New York. On October 16 Ogden joined the Presbyterian Church, but he never had another stated pastorate before his death on November 4, 1822. In his later years he became widely noted as the author of *Antidote to Deism*, an elaborate refutation of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*.

32

GEORGE PANTON

THIS EXCELLENT but little known missionary was born in the colonies, of Scottish parentage, attended the University of Aberdeen, and received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. In 1774 King's College in New York granted him an honorary master's degree. About 1770, while still abroad, he was ordained as deacon and priest by Dr. James Trail, Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland. Not long afterward he returned to America and became private tutor to the children of a gentleman near New York.

Panton's reputation for learning spread to New Jersey, and on August 16, 1773, Saint Michael's parish in Trenton invited him to succeed William Thomson, if the Society would accept him and give him his predecessor's salary. Several priests in New Jersey and New York warmly seconded the request, and from good acquaintance willingly endorsed him as worthy of the Society's favor.

Panton gratefully accepted the appointment with the salary he wanted, and until the outbreak of the Revolution served at Trenton, Maidenhead (Lawrenceville), Princeton, and other nearby places. He began to officiate about the beginning of October, 1773, and was kindly welcomed by the people, and by the clergy of New Jersey and the neighboring provinces. But when the war commenced, his popularity was far from unanimous, because he was a pronounced loyalist and even gave valuable information to the British troops. He was soon compelled to leave Trenton and to take refuge within the British lines in New York. In December, 1777, the Society appointed him to the vacant mission of Phillipsburg (Yonkers), New York, where he remained until 1783, except as his duties as chaplain of

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the Prince of Wales American Regiment (1778-1783) required his presence elsewhere.

Panton's record as a loyalist made it impossible for him to return to New Jersey, and in 1784 he joined the great Tory exodus to Nova Scotia to serve as a Society missionary. In 1785 he ministered at Yarmouth and adjacent places, but the next year he went to England, where he died.

33

JOHN PIERSON (Died, 1747)

VERY LITTLE has been written about the devoted life of this New England Puritan transplanted to southern New Jersey. He was one of those many laborious and useful priests of moderate talents whose work lives after them, although ignored by the world. He was the son of Abraham and Hannah Pierson, and grandson of Thomas Pierson of Newark, a younger brother of Rector Pierson of Yale College. It was therefore inevitable that he should go to Yale, where he graduated M. A. in 1729. One of his classmates was Isaac Browne, who became rector of Trinity Church, Newark. (*See above.*)

Pierson's background was New England Congregationalism, but probably through intimacy with Browne he felt the potent spell of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and with the usual result—he became an Episcopalian. Johnson gave him his first Communion on Christmas Day of 1732 in Christ Church, Stratford. In the following May, Pierson sailed with Browne to England for holy orders, and with him he witnessed the famous deed by which Dean Berkeley bestowed his Whitehall farm in Rhode Island upon Yale College. He received the King's Bounty for New Jersey on September 1, 1733.

The Society was deeply impressed by Pierson, who had excellent credentials from the Connecticut clergy, and was warmly recommended to the Bishop of London by Edward Vaughan of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, for his talents, learning, devotion to the Church, and Christian behavior. Vaughan recommended his appointment to Monmouth County, where there had been no Episcopal pastor for twenty years, but the Society sent him to Salem.

He arrived at the end of January, 1734, and remained until his death in 1747. His wife, Ann, died at Salem on June 6, 1749, only thirty-three years old. The damp climate probably undermined their health, but they did not spend so much time complaining about it, as others did. Pierson

clung to his post and kept the tiny parish together, and after he died its light soon guttered and sank. In 1751, the Society abandoned the mission, because it could find nobody with Pierson's stubborn courage, and because the easy-going laity only whined about their poverty.

34

EDWARD PORTLOCK (Died c. 1719)

LITTLE APPEARS in the records about the first settled pastor of the Church in New Jersey. He was ordained as a deacon on May 11, 1691, and apparently sailed for America soon afterward and ministered for a while in West Jersey. In 1695 the Proprietors of East Jersey sought a pastor for Perth Amboy, selected Portlock, and sent him to England for priest's orders. He was ordained by the Bishop of London on April 3, 1698, signed the Declaration of Uniformity on the same day, and was assigned as pastor at Perth Amboy. In reality he was minister to all Anglicans in the Jerseys, serving also at Woodbridge, and in the "public Town-house" at Burlington. He ministered for a year or more and gained the reputation of a man of great learning.

Portlock had a restless disposition, and after the death of Thomas Clayton, the first rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia, took his place until the arrival of Evan Evans toward the end of 1700. His next move, about 1701, was to Virginia as minister of Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen County, but he was not formally presented for induction as rector until 1705. Before 1706 he signed several important documents relating to the tangled and bitter relations between the doughty Commissary James Blair and the Church in Virginia.

After 1705 Portlock disappears from the Virginia church records, and probably he died before 1719, for the list of clergy in that year omits his name. Gone, but far from forgotten! Legends sprang up to lend an atmosphere of intrigue and mystery to the scanty records of his roving life. In Pennsylvania there were sinister rumors that he had been a trustee to receive and store pirate gold for the bad and bold Bradenham. In 1701, William Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, formally accused him to the Council of State of Virginia, which evidently shrugged its shoulders and did nothing.

Tales about Portlock's share of the "swag" persisted in the Quaker City, and in the present century a well-equipped gold-digging expedition descended

upon Stratton-Major Parish and thoroughly explored a certain field. The perspiring prospectors unearthed nothing more exciting than the moldering remains of a colonial brick foundation—to the huge amusement of the local wits.

Portlock won another kind of fame in Virginia as an anti-feminist of sorts. He had a favorite tabby cat called "Alice," and liked her better than his espoused wife, who became bitterly jealous and hung the poor feline. In a transport of anger, the parson mounted his pulpit and preached a sermon against women in general and his better half in particular, fairly laying her out "to the best advantage"—or as some would say, "in lavender."

35

JOHN PRESTON
(1718-1781)

THIS SOLDIER PRIEST was one of the few colonial missionaries who could claim aristocratic origin. He was born in 1718, the son of George Preston of Edinburgh, baronet. On August 26, 1735, he matriculated at exclusive Balliol College, Oxford University. After graduating B.A. in 1739, he took orders and on February 23, 1741, was commissioned as chaplain to the British 26th Regiment, in which he spent nearly his whole ministry.

In 1767, Preston's regiment was ordered to America, landed at Perth Amboy in July, and settled down to garrison duty. Robert McKean, the rector, was wasting away with tuberculosis, and the vestry looked over the tall soldier with his bluff air and bushy wig, and asked him to supply the place of the dying priest-physician. After McKean's death, they decided that he was the very man they wanted as their pastor. He seemed perfectly able to carry Perth Amboy, Woodbridge, and chaplain's duty together on his broad shoulders. The wardens esteemed him highly as a priest and a gentleman, and confidently asserted that there was "not a person of the Congregation But will be pleased with his Appointment." They enthusiastically described him as "but little turn'd of fifty years, a single man strong and hearty, of a good and even temper, prudent, a man of letters, sober and pious in his conversation, diligent in his calling with zeal for the Christian Religion."

Preston was perfectly willing to come, if General Gage would approve. The general did on December 20, 1768, stating that Preston could keep his chaplaincy to supplement the inadequate parish income, and promising not to interfere with him while he was in command and the regiment stayed

in America. The Society was annoyed because the people had turned down Isaac Browne, but finally consented to continue its salary, when the parish pledged support. The people liked Preston so much that the church was full, and they readily consented to let his soldiers worship there. He ministered also at Trinity Church in Woodbridge, and for a time even took care of New Brunswick until Abraham Beach arrived.

For a few years the parish prospered and Preston was happy. Then came the Revolution, when the town was occupied and abused alternately by British and American troops. In 1777, the surging tides of war compelled Preston unwillingly to close the church, and to resume his regular duty as chaplain to the 26th Regiment. He died in the line of duty, March 7, 1781, while the regiment was stationed at Shrewsbury. One feels that it would have been a pleasure to know him!

36

SAMUEL SEABURY, JUNIOR (1729-1796)

THE CHURCH'S FIRST BISHOP in the United States has always been so closely identified with New York and Connecticut, that it is usually forgotten that he began his long ministry in New Jersey. He was born on November 30, 1729, in North Groton, now the town of Ledyard in Connecticut. His father, a native of the place, was then its Congregational minister. The family had a long Puritan background, as grandfather John Seabury had come to Groton from Plymouth, Massachusetts, and became one of the first deacons of the local Congregational church. His wife, Elizabeth, was a direct descendant of John Alden of the "Mayflower."

Anglican influence entered the family with the future bishop's mother, Abigail Mumford, whose father, Thomas of New London, was a zealous Churchman. Her family came from Narragansett, Rhode Island, and was connected by marriage with Dr. James MacSparran, the Society's missionary there. Samuel Seabury, Senior (1706-1764), was a student at Yale in 1722, when Rector Cutler rocked the colony by becoming an Episcopalian. The impressionable collegian transferred to Harvard and graduated in 1724, but Cutler's example haunted his mind. After a few years in the Congregational ministry, he too declared for the Church, and went to England for orders. He returned in 1733 as missionary at New London and Groton, but after ten years there he went to Saint George's in Hempstead, Long Island, for the rest of his life.

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Having graduated from Yale in 1748, young Samuel served in 1751-2 as layreader and catechist at Huntington in his father's parish. In 1752 he traveled to Scotland to study medicine, little dreaming that one day he would return to receive consecration as the first bishop of the Anglican Church with a see outside the British Isles. He completed his medical course at the University of Edinburgh, but soon turned to theology. On December 21, 1753, he was ordained deacon by Bishop John Thomas of Lincoln, on the 23rd priest by Bishop Richard Osbaldeston of Carlisle, and was licensed by the Bishop of London.

The Society appointed him to New Brunswick, New Jersey, and on May 25, 1754, he began his service as rector of Christ Church. On October 12, 1756, he took unto himself a wife—Mary, daughter of Edward Hicks of New York City. New York and especially Long Island continued to hold his affections, and on January 12, 1757, he became rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, with the care also of Flushing and Newtown. In 1766 he moved to Saint Peter's, Westchester, and there remained until the Revolution, also practicing medicine and after 1774 conducting a grammar school.

When the war approached, Seabury revealed his deep loyalty to the crown, and his *Letters from a Westchester Farmer* so enraged and alarmed the Whigs that they drafted the brilliant young Alexander Hamilton to answer them. For his services to the Tory cause the University of Oxford on December 15, 1777, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was compelled to become a refugee, and during the war supported himself and his family by practicing medicine, ministering on Staten Island, and serving by appointment of Sir Henry Clinton as chaplain to the King's American Regiment, a refugee unit recruited on Long Island and commanded by Colonel Edmund Fanning. In the midst of war's confusions, his wife died on October 12, 1780—her wedding anniversary!—at the age of only forty-four.

Seabury's post-war problem was solved for him by the Connecticut clergy, who on March 25, 1783, elected him as their bishop. He soon sailed to England, but his hope of consecration there was dashed by the requirement of an oath of allegiance. He therefore turned to the proscribed Episcopal Church of Scotland, and on November 14, 1784, was consecrated at Aberdeen, the old home of many pioneers of the Church in New Jersey, by three Scottish bishops. He returned to Connecticut early in June, 1785, on August 2 met his clergy at Middletown, and on the next day performed the first ordinations of the Episcopal Church in America.

It is hard to understand a historian's description of Seabury's episcopate as a "quiet" one. He served at once as rector of Saint James' Church in New London, and as Bishop of Connecticut, and after 1790 as Bishop of

Rhode Island. In addition to performing thousands of confirmations and many ordinations, he attended three General Conventions (1789, 1792, and 1795), assisted in consecrating Bishop Claggett of Maryland in 1792, and found time to write many sermons. His published works include over twenty titles.

The Church in this nation owes a great debt to Seabury, not only for what he did, but also for what he prevented—the degradation of episcopacy, the complete laicizing of the Church's constitution, and the watering down of the Prayer Book with copious draughts of "liberalism." Perhaps his noblest gift to the American Church was the Scottish Communion Office, which he introduced into his diocese and eventually, part of its canon, into the Prayer Book of 1789.

There is a tradition that the bishop preferred sudden death, and suddenly it came, of apoplexy on February 25, 1796, at the home of Roswell Saltonstall, Esq., a warden of his parish. The warden's daughter married Seabury's son Charles, a priest, whose descendants still bear the family name. The bishop was interred in the public cemetery in New London, but upon the erection of the present Saint James' Church in 1849, his remains were deposited within it and marked by a fine monument.

37

JOHN SHARPE

ALTHOUGH HIS NAME is found only occasionally in its records, Sharpe was a pioneer of the Church in New Jersey. He might have been the man of his name who matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in 1694, and it is known that he received the degree of Master of Arts. In 1714 he published at Aberdeen his thesis for the degree of S. T. D. from the University of Aberdeen. On February 27, 1700/01, he was listed as a missionary to the Leeward Islands, West Indies. Upon signing the Declaration of Uniformity on April 26, 1701, he was supposed to minister in Maryland. After serving in the South for a while, he appeared in New York and New Jersey, and there became acquainted with Keith and Talbot.

Sharpe and Talbot became firm friends, and in 1704 the former assisted at Burlington, and later stayed there, also visiting Hopewell and Maidenhead, while Talbot ministered to East Jersey and Staten Island. Several times the companions traveled together, visiting Burlington, Perth Amboy, Hopewell, Elizabeth Town, and Staten Island, "with good success." Sharpe gathered a church at Cheesequake, preached there several times, and baptized about forty persons.

The friendly partnership continued for about half a year, until the death of Chaplain Edmond Mott of the fort and military forces in New York. Governor Cornbury was eager to fill the vacancy as soon as possible, and first offered it to Talbot with the tempting bait of £130 a year. When Talbot refused it, Sharpe accepted, to the dismay of Talbot, who wrote to Keith: "I was loth to part with my good Friend and Companion in Travel." He must have recalled that in Burlington he had found Sharpe a bulwark against the Quakers, who had refused to accept his challenge to a public debate.

Sharpe continued to live in New York for about thirteen years as chaplain, and occasionally assisted William Vesey, the rector of Trinity Church. On November 2, 1705, he joined Talbot and other priests in a meeting at Burlington, and signed a petition for a bishop in the colonies. He received the King's Bounty for New York in 1710, and returned to London in 1717. The date of his death is unknown.

38

WILLIAM SKINNER
(C. 1687-1758)

SKINNER HAD ONE of the strongest characters among the New Jersey clergy, and his personality drew an added attraction from the cloud of mystery that shrouded his early life. He was born in Scotland about 1687, and is believed to have belonged to the clan MacGregor, and to have assumed the name "Skinner" and left Scotland because of participation in the ill-starred Jacobite rebellion of 1715.

He was well educated and well mannered, and apparently found no difficulty in persuading the Bishop of London to secure him the Royal Bounty on June 10, 1718, as a schoolmaster in Pennsylvania. The exile found school teaching in Philadelphia not so easy as he had hastily assumed, and in the autumn of 1720 pleaded with the bishop for a restoration of the bounty, without which his support from parents was not enough. Although he had thirty-six boys learning Latin and four struggling with Greek, many were sons of Quakers who paid him little. He wanted to apply for orders, and was willing to secure recommendations, because he disliked seeing people drift away to the Dissenters; but he hesitated, fearing that his poverty would make the ministry contemptible.

Becoming more and more dissatisfied with teaching, in 1722 Skinner presented to the Bishop of London a sheaf of recommendations from eminent persons: John Vicary, lecturer at Christ Church, Philadelphia; George Ross,

missionary at New Castle, Delaware; John Humphreys, missionary at Chester; Robert Weyman, missionary at Oxford and Radnor; William Harrison, missionary at Hopewell; Andrew Hesselius and Jonas Lidman, ministers of the Swedish churches at Christina (Wilmington) and Wicacoa (Philadelphia); Edward Oliver; and Sir William Keith, baronet, governor of Pennsylvania.

Skinner impatiently requested an early examination by the Society, so that he could return to America before the winter of 1723. He was ordained deacon and priest in the autumn of 1722, and at his request was granted the mission of Perth Amboy and Piscataway, vacant since the departure of Thomas Haliday in 1718. There he remained until his death in 1758, and for most of the time (until 1752) ministered also at Woodbridge. He also served ten years in Monmouth County until Forbes arrived, and was the clerical founder of Christ Church, New Brunswick, and the mission in South River (now Spotswood).

The parson honored the clerical custom of the age by having a large family, and to enlarge his income resorted to various avocations, including the teaching of a school. In 1728, to help in paying a debt, he secured a recommendation as chaplain to the naval vessel on the New York station, assuring the Society that he could reach the city in a few hours, and that he would not allow the duties to interfere with his mission. In 1735-6, he obtained leave to visit England, to collect £500 that had been withheld for more than seven years by some men in London. He intended to spend a winter there and to return in the next spring, having asked Vaughan, Forbes, and Harrison to care for the mission in his absence.

In his later years Skinner became ailing and somewhat discouraged, apparently feeling that his mission had not been as successful as he had hoped. Possibly his ministry had been so long that the parish tended to settle on the lees and accept him as a fixture. But his labor was not as fruitless as he imagined, for to him was due the Church's existence in a large part of East Jersey, until Monmouth County received its first missionary in 1733. His vivid letters and the tart and quaint observations in his parochial reports do not indicate that he was indifferent to the challenge of his mission! He was indeed a salty character.

GEORGE SPENCER

SPENCER'S CONNECTION with the Church in New Jersey was fortunately very brief. Of his early life and education there appears to be no record,

excepting that he had lived in New York for some time. According to him, he was a brother-in-law to Commissary Jenney of Philadelphia, who thought that he was qualified for orders. One of his nieces had married the Rev. Leonard Cutting of Hempstead, Long Island, and formerly of New Brunswick. Through those two priests he had access to books while studying to qualify himself as a candidate for orders.

In December, 1766, in copper-plate writing, Spencer applied to Bishop Terrick of London for ordination in that very month, as the Society would soon meet and his ship would sail for Philadelphia next month. He wanted to fill a vacancy at Burlington, Dover, or Lewes, had applied to the Society's October meeting, and promised to be a good and faithful missionary. The bishop's chaplain, Dr. Hind, examined him and described his qualifications as "moderate"; and the bishop thought that he seemed "grave" and "well disposed" and might make a good missionary, considering the country and the people. He therefore took a risk, ordained him, and licensed him on January 19, 1767. Spencer had visited the Society on December 19, 1766, and had been appointed to the new mission of Spotswood and Freehold.

Such haste might well have excited suspicion, and rumors that he had a shady past so alarmed the people that they stopped subscribing to buy a glebe. They said that it would be better to leave the mission vacant than to fill it unworthily, and would not be calmed when Cooke of Shrewsbury told them that if he were really a scamp, the Society would get rid of him. Privately Cooke warned the Society that Spencer had a bad reputation, and that they had made a blunder. The clerical convention of New York and New Jersey fairly exploded with wrath, protested the appointment, and flatly declined to have anything to do with him. The Society hastily recalled the appointment, to the vast relief of the missionaries and the fearful congregations. Seeing the hopelessness of trying to minister in New York or New Jersey, Spencer went to North Carolina. Nothing more is known of him.

40

JOHN TALBOT
(1645-1727)

THE "APOSTLE OF NEW JERSEY" was born in Gonville Hall at Wymondham in Norfolk, England. He was the son of Thomas Talbot and Jane, daughter of Sir John Mede, knight, of Lofts in Essex, and was baptized at Lofts on November 6, 1645. After obtaining his early education in Mr. Howorth's school at Elmdon in Essex, Talbot was admitted at the age of fifteen as a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge, February 17, 1659/60. He

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matriculated in 1660, received the B. A. degree in 1663-4, the M. A. in 1671, and was a fellow of Peterhouse in 1664-8. He ministered in 1673-89 as rector of Iklingham St. James, Suffolk, and in 1695-1701 as rector of Fretherne, Gloucestershire. Sometime between the two rectorships he visited Virginia, and it is known that he had a parish there in 1692.

His experience in the Old Dominion gave Talbot a permanent interest in overseas missions, and on April 24, 1702, he sailed for America again, as chaplain on H. M. S. *Centurion*, with Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, Colonel Lewis Morris of New Jersey, and George Keith. Those enthusiasts for American missions, especially Keith, so inspired him that he resigned his chaplaincy when the ship reached Boston, and became Keith's assistant by appointment from the Society. He shared the hardships of the latter's epic journey from New Hampshire to Philadelphia—preaching, baptizing, and converting many Dissenters.

When Keith returned in August, 1704, Talbot decided to stay in America. Excepting a brief visit to Albany, he devoted his attention to New Jersey and Staten Island, traveling extensively. The character of his devotion is indicated by the fact that when Edmond Mott, chaplain of the fort in New York, died in 1704, Talbot reported to the Society:

"I was offered this place also where I should have had Board, Lodging & 130 £ ann paid weekly, But nothing could tempt me from ye Service of ye Society, who were pleased to adopt me into their Service before I had ye Honor to know them, Mr Sharp was glad to embrace this offer, So I travelled alone doing what good I could . . ."

The Churchmen of Burlington insisted upon having him as their pastor, and the Society and the Bishop of London consented. For a time after Sharpe departed, Talbot was the pastor of all New Jersey excepting Monmouth County, and for many years he ministered alone in West Jersey and even crossed the Delaware to Bristol.

Talbot's pet project was the establishment of an American episcopate, for which he wrote and agitated for over twenty years, at the risk of political and personal unpopularity. He even went to England to present to Queen Anne a memorial on the subject from some of the American clergy.

Discouraged by poor support and ill health, in 1714 he again asked for leave to visit "home." The Society in 1715 informed him that rumor imputed to him a want of loyalty to the Hanoverian succession. The origin of the unpleasant surprise was a report from Governor Hunter of New York and New Jersey to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, that Talbot and his Burlington flock were Jacobites. Talbot indignantly repudiated the charge, saying that he had been "a Williamite from the

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beg(inn)ing." His wardens and vestrymen branded it as a gross calumny. Jeremiah Basse was "extreamly amazed," and attributed the story to the Churchmen's opposition to Hunter's Quaker political friends.

Talbot was in England again in 1722, and for a short time received the income from Archbishop Tenison's bequest of £1000, payable to a retired missionary until there should be an American bishop. On that visit he became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Richard Welton, a Jacobite non-juring bishop, who with Bishop Ralph Taylor consecrated him. Talbot soon departed for America, and shortly after was followed by Welton, who in 1724 was invited to take charge of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Welton's presence painfully embarrassed the clergy, and he was soon commanded by the king's writ of privy seal to return to Great Britain at once. In January, 1726, he sailed for Lisbon and there died.

The news of Talbot's consecration inevitably leaked out, and it was even whispered that he occasionally donned episcopal dress and administered confirmation. He left an episcopal seal, but its genuineness has been doubted. The Society heard that he refused to take the oath of allegiance to George I or to pray for him, and informed him that his salary would be suspended until he could clear himself. Not satisfied with his reply, the board finally dismissed him. He was never restored, even though his wardens and vestrymen expressed to Governor Burnet their unhappiness at his removal.

In 1725, Talbot told the Bishop of London that he could disprove the charge of exercising episcopal jurisdiction "by a 1000 witnesses." He died in Burlington on November 29, 1727, an aged and broken man. In spite of the serious charges against him, he evidently retained the confidence and good will of most of his former parishioners. The Church in New Jersey has rarely had such a devoted, fearless, and laborious pastor.

41

THOMAS THOMPSON OF MONMOUTH COUNTY (1708-1773)

ALTHOUGH SOMETIMES confused with his namesake of Salem County (*see below*), he is scarcely to be compared with him, for by contrast his service was one of the most brilliant in the history of the Society. He was a son of William Thompson, and was born in 1708 at Gilling, Richmonds, Yorkshire. He attended Mr. Close's private school at Richmond, and from there went to Christ's College, Cambridge University, where he was admitted as a pensioner, February 29, 1727/28. He matriculated in 1728, became a scholar in the same year, B. A. in 1731-2 and M. A. in 1735, and

from 1738 lived at Christ's as a fellow. He was Bunting and Walkhampton preacher in 1741, Knapwell preacher in 1742, senior dean in 1744, and in that year also served as curate of Fen Drayton, Cambridgeshire.

A brilliant and lucrative career in the University and the Church seemed to stretch before him, but the young don had heard the call, "Go ye into all the world." In 1745 he resigned his comfortable fellowship and accepted appointment as the Society's missionary to Monmouth County, upon recommendation by his former tutor, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Cartwright, archdeacon of Colchester and a member of the Society.

Thompson received his license from the Bishop of London on March 25, 1745, sailed for America on May 8, and arrived on August 29. In September he took charge of his huge parish, the size of several English counties, including Shrewsbury, Middletown, Freehold, Allentown, and a vast stretch of the Pine Barrens. He soon became one of the most laborious and successful of New Jersey's missionaries, especially among the unchurched, the illiterate, and the Negroes. The latter group appealed to him so deeply that about the end of 1750 he requested the Society's permission to establish a mission on the coast of Guinea, West Africa. The Society nodded approval, and in September of 1751 Thompson surrendered the mission to Samuel Cooke. He left on November 13, and after paying his respects to Governor Belcher at Elizabeth Town, he preached the morning and afternoon sermons at Trinity Church, New York, on the 24th. Next day he boarded the brigantine *Prince George*, bound for Africa.

Few priests even now volunteer for work on the feverish Guinea coast, which before modern medicine was terribly fatal to Europeans. Thompson, the Society's first missionary to West Africa, survived the ordeal for five years (1751-6), and returned to England to serve as vicar of Reculver in Kent (1757-61), and vicar of Elham (1761-63). He died on June 5, 1773. Among his writings is an entertaining story of his life as a missionary in New Jersey and Guinea, *Two Missionary Voyages*, published at London in 1758. Another publication, *The African Trade for Negro Slaves*, was inspired by his conviction that the nefarious traffic might be a means of bringing the Negro to Christianity. (See Bibliography.)

THOMAS THOMPSON OF SALEM COUNTY

HIS CONNECTION with New Jersey was very brief, and his early life and education are obscure. Probably he was the Thomas Thompson mentioned in E. L. Goodwin's list of "Colonial Clergy in Virginia from 1607 to

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1785," as having been ordained by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1730. He became a Society missionary in South Carolina, serving Saint Bartholomew's Parish in 1734-43 and Saint George's Parish in 1744-6, when he resigned. He was not bountied until September 1, 1743.

In 1749 Thompson came to Salem to take the place of the deceased John Pierson. He was deeply dissatisfied there, complained that the parish provided no rectory and no support, and charged the wardens with deceiving the Society by reporting that they had obtained a house. He expected a wife from England, and had no home to shelter her in the winter. He therefore went to Philadelphia, but evidently with an uneasy conscience, as he returned for a time, and was reported to be constantly officiating to the general satisfaction, and teaching sound and pure doctrine.

But he did not stay long, and about 1751 moved to Chester, Pennsylvania, and ministered also at Saint John's, Concord. The neighboring clergy evidently had a rather low opinion of him, and reported to the Society that the mission had "suffered greatly" on account of his "bad character."

After that episode it was supposed that Thompson went to the West Indies, but he is found serving in 1762 as minister of Antrim Parish in Halifax County, Virginia. He evidently ministered there only a few months, and resigned because at his age he could not care for such a large parish. Nothing further is known about him.

43

WILLIAM THOMSON (C. 1735-1785)

WILLIAM THOMSON, Doctor of Divinity, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Thomson, a Presbyterian minister at Carlisle in Pennsylvania, and was born about 1735. He was sent to Oxford University, and while there joined the Church of England, then studied for the ministry and was ordained in 1759. The Society honored his application for a mission by assigning him to his native province to minister as an itinerant in York and Cumberland counties. During the next ten years he represented the Church in that unfriendly Scottish Presbyterian stronghold, ministering at Saint John's, Carlisle, Saint John's at York, and other places, including Huntington in Adams County.

His association with New Jersey began in Jonathan Odell's blunt advice to the Society that there should be a mission in Trenton, because there was no other between Burlington and New Brunswick. Thomson wanted to move there, and Saint Michael's parish had heard of his good reputation and in

February, 1768, requested to have him. The wardens, Micajah Howe and Daniel Coxe, pressed the Society to appoint him, and in 1769 he became missionary to Trenton and Maidenhead. John Andrews came from Lewes, Delaware, to take his mission in Pennsylvania.

Thomson arrived in June, met with "a kind reception," and was utterly dismayed by the widespread indifference because of a long vacancy in the pastorate.

He set to work with such abounding energy that the church was soon well filled on Sundays. Until 1773 he ministered at Trenton, Maidenhead, and Allentown, and is said to have been "universally esteemed." In 1771, with Daniel Coxe, he was elected to represent Saint Michael's as a trustee of the Trenton free school.

His name disappears from the parish records after August 12, 1773, because he became rector of Saint Mary Anne's Church, North Elk Parish, Cecil County, Maryland. He ministered there until 1781, and died in Maryland in 1785. One of the pleasant events of his ministry in Trenton was a visit to Burlington to join the Rev. Jonathan Odell in wedlock to Ann De Cou, sister of Isaac De Cou, who later became a vestryman of Saint Michael's.

44

AGUR TREADWELL (1734-1765)

THIS BELOVED AND LAMENTED PASTOR was the eldest son of Lieutenant Hezekiah and Mehetable (Minor) Treadwell, and was born in the old Church stronghold of Stratford, Connecticut, on December 16, 1734. Like many other young Puritans, he felt the pervasive influence of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and in 1760 he conformed to the Church of England.

About that time he went to Flushing, Long Island, to conduct a small private Latin school, and through the influence of Colonel John Aspinwall, a local magnate, became a layreader for the parish in the mission of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr. Aspinwall, a devout Episcopalian, chiefly paid for the repair and completion of the church, erected a steeple and gave the bell, and became the young scholar's kind patron. Under Treadwell's ministry the congregation greatly increased, and included many young converts from Quakerism.

Before long the Churchmen of Flushing and Newtown were talking about having Treadwell as their pastor, and encouraged him to take holy orders. Newtown offered him a house and a glebe, and the clergy suggested

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that the Society should appoint him as joint missionary with Seabury—an idea that did not appeal to the latter! Several New York clergymen warmly recommended him to the Society as a candidate for ordination, and in December of 1761 the congregation of Flushing and Newtown sent him to England. He was ordained probably in April, 1762, and on the 30th of that month was licensed to serve abroad.

Instead of settling on Long Island, to the bitter disappointment of the people Treadwell was appointed to the vacant mission of Trenton, Allentown, and Maidenhead, where he arrived late in 1762. Seabury's jealousy of him is indicated by a disagreeable incident early in the following year. On his way to visit friends and relatives in February, Treadwell met his old patron, Colonel Aspinwall, who invited him to his house and asked him to preach next Sunday at Saint George's, Flushing. Assured that Seabury's consent would not be necessary, he accordingly preached at Flushing and Newtown. Seabury took offense, and, hearing an exaggerated report that Treadwell had *broken into* Saint George's, wrote a hot complaint to the Society. Dr. Barclay, rector of Trinity Church in New York, informed the startled and alarmed young priest of the uproar he had unwittingly caused. To clear himself, he wrote to the Rev. Dr. William Smith, then in England, and asked the wardens to intercede with the Society for him.

Treadwell's anxiety and distress perhaps aggravated his "constant slow Fever" (tuberculosis) which by the fall of 1764 had rendered him incapable of parochial duties. Following the advice of doctors, and of his brethren who promised to supply in his absence, he took a voyage to the Barbadoes and Bermuda, hoping to secure relief in a milder climate. An hour before the ship sailed from New York, he dashed off a brief letter, informing the Society of his decision and of the increasing attendance at Saint Michael's and his other churches. He spent the winter of 1764-65 in Bermuda, and returned in April with his health improved "in some Measure." As the other missionaries had kept their word, the mission apparently had not declined. His appearance of recovery was illusory, he soon began to sink rapidly, and in August Campbell found him "far gone in a Consumptive disorder." He died on the 19th of that month, 1765.

The Society soon began to receive letters that showed how good a servant they had lost. The wardens of Saint Michael's praised his "truly Christian, amiable, and benevolent Character," and declared that not only his parish but the cause of religion in general had "lost, in him, a pious, unwearied, and zealous Advocate." Leonard Cutting wrote that he had been "universally respected by the serious of every Denomination," and that the people sincerely lamented their loss. Morton stated that the Society had lost a worthy missionary, the people of Trenton a "pious Father," and he "an

affectionate Friend." Campbell, then nearing the end of his own ministry, paid tribute to him as "conscientious and faithfull in the discharge of every branch of the Pastoral office; and much esteemed by the people among whom he lived."

The finest tribute came from his parishioners. Considering the expense of his voyage and his family, they paid up all their obligations to him, defrayed his funeral expenses, "as marks of regard for his memory & good Services," and suggested that the Society should grant the usual half year's salary to his widow. She thanked the Society for their bounty during his voyage, and as his expenses had used up much of her fortune, she hoped for a bounty and the six months' pay. Dr. Smith of Philadelphia seconded her plea, and the Society complied out of respect to one of its best missionaries.

45

EDWARD VAUGHAN
(Died, 1747)

THE WITTY AND "POLITICK" PARSON of old Saint John's, Elizabeth Town, came from a Welsh Episcopalian family. His father was rector of Wolves-Newton, Monmouth County, and Edward walked in the paternal footsteps. Before entering the Society's service, he ministered as a curate in Surrey, England, and was handsomely recommended by the clergy with whom he had been associated: John Evans, vicar of Ewell; Joseph Abell, rector of Fairleigh and vicar of Warlingham; Daniel Phillips, rector of Sanderstead; and John More, curate of Warlingham. About 1709 he responded to the Society's appeals for missionaries, being its second volunteer from the Diocese of Llandaff. He signed the Declaration of Uniformity on May 3, 1709, and was assigned to Elizabeth Town in the autumn, as successor to the ill-fated John Brooke. (*See above.*)

Although he would have preferred Jamaica on Long Island, the Society did not consent, and he finally married an endowed widow, acquired a house, and settled down to the longest pastorate in the history of the New Jersey colonial Church—thirty-eight years. For a short time he took charge of Saint Peter's in Perth Amboy, and for longer periods ministered to Trinity Church at Woodbridge (1709-22) and Saint James', Piscataway (1718-47). Twice, in 1722 and 1744, he obtained leave from the Society to visit England for a few months, to transact business, visit friends and relatives, and pay his respects to the Society.

Vaughan was a marked character, with a dash of the singularity and wit usually attributed to the Welsh. He bore his office with great dignity

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and perhaps some harmless pomp, and is said to have been "diligent and aggressive"—a description questioned by his smart young successor, Thomas B. Chandler. He was a likable parson, considered to be not less devout for being friendly towards Dissenters, including Jonathan Dickinson, pastor of the Presbyterian church. The two ministers died about the same time and exchanged notes in their last illness. Due to Vaughan's affability, Saint John's parish consisted largely of converts from the Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians.

His good nature was salted by a sharp wit. When Governor Jonathan Belcher settled in Elizabeth Town, he patronized the Presbyterian church and appointed several of its ministers as justices of the peace. Vaughan seemed to be unruffled, and rode his handsomely caparisoned gray horse as nobly as ever. On a Monday morning, after receiving twenty converts, he met two Dissenting ministers, who replied stiffly to his greeting and disapprovingly eyed his fine clothes and outfit. "Why, Parson," said they, "you are not like your Lord and Master, for he was content to ride upon an ass." "So would I be, brethren," quoth Vaughan, "but our Governor has made them all Justices of the Peace."

Vaughan's reports to the Society contain many flashes of his temperament, abound in quaint expressions, and contain vivid descriptions of contemporary life. They are in marked contrast to the usually formal style of such reports.

He died in the latter part of 1747, and bequeathed his house and his glebe of nine acres to the Society, for the permanent benefit of his successors. One of them, the Rev. John C. Rudd, in his history of the parish shows how fresh the memory of Parson Vaughan was, almost a century after his death:

"From the information I have received from one who recollected this valuable man, it would appear that he was happily constituted for the times in which he lived, and the sphere of his labours. He was sprightly and engaging as a companion; as a friend and neighbour, kind and liberal; and his public ministrations were marked by great solemnity and tenderness, especially the administration of the Holy Supper."

46

ROBERT WALKER

LITTLE INFORMATION seems to be available about his birth, early life, and education; but he might have been the Robert Walker who matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in 1695. He approached the Society with

good recommendations from Gideon Johnston, commissary of the Bishop of London for Carolina; Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia and vicar of Sutterton; James Auchmuty, chaplain to the Island of Minorca; and Andrew Agnew, rector of Tabbing in Essex. At first he was bountied as a schoolmaster in Barbadoes, March 10, 1714/15, but the Society changed its mind and appointed him as assistant missionary at Burlington, when it appeared that John Talbot could not continue. He was supposed to minister at Hopewell, and Bristol, Pennsylvania; and on April 8, 1715, gave bond to set out at once.

Walker had a fair voyage of five weeks from Torbay, and landed at Boston on October 9 in good health. He hastened to Burlington, and Talbot put him in charge of the parish and its missions during his absence, and allowed him to live in the house which he had furnished as a permanent rectory. Walker ministered to his three churches until 1718.

He apparently got along well with the people, but not with the colonial administration. Anyone associated with Talbot was intensely objectionable to Governor Robert Hunter, and Walker believed that Hunter's agents intercepted his letters. In 1717, he gave the Society definite evidence that his letters were stopped by the postmaster of Burlington, who was one of the governor's council. He also had money troubles, for two of his bills amounting to £25 were protested, and Edward Vaughan of Elizabeth Town sued him because one was drawn on him and Walker refused to pay the damages and charge of the protest.

Finally he and his wife became seriously ill—"reduced to mere skeletons by being always liable to the fever and Ague and Grips." He therefore requested permission to remove to another place or to come home in the following spring. However, as late as March 29, 1720, Walker's name is first on the list of fifteen clergymen and schoolmasters of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, who certified to the high character of John Talbot, and Walker styles himself, "Minister of Hopewell &c^a New Jersey."

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ROBERT WEYMAN (C. 1695-1737)

THIS COMPARATIVELY little known but most worthy missionary was one of many young Welshmen who heard the call to minister in the colonies. He was a son of William Weyman of Pembrokeshire, and at the age of nineteen, March 3, 1713/14, matriculated as a plebeian at Jesus College, Oxford

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University. In 1719, shortly after graduation, he applied to the Society for a mission, bringing recommendations from Roger Humphreys, A. M., of Jesus College and curate of Camberwell; Paul Batchelor, curate of Saint Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex; and several laymen. He was then a bachelor of twenty-four, and described as good-tempered, prudent, learned, sober and pious in conversation, and diligent in his ministry. These were the customary expressions in such letters, but in his case apparently were more than mere formalities.

Because he could preach fluently in Welsh, Weyman was the right man for the Welsh communities in the Schuylkill valley west of Philadelphia, and accordingly was appointed as missionary to that region. He was bountied for Pennsylvania on October 1, 1719, and remained in that mission until 1728, ministering at Oxford (his home), Radnor, Frankford, Bristol, Whitemarsh, Perkiomen, Great Valley, Conestoga, and Caernarvon or Bangor Church. For a short time in 1722-24 he served Spesutia Church in Saint George's Parish, Harford County, Maryland.

Several priests in Pennsylvania and New Jersey were eager to have Weyman appointed, in 1723, as pastor of Saint Andrew's parish, Staten Island. They cheerfully recommended him, and secured the backing of Pennsylvania's governor, Sir William Keith, who praised Weyman's services. But William Harrison of Hopewell stole a march on him and got there first, with the impetuous and testy support of New York's Governor Burnet, and by a call which Weyman's friends denounced as a trick of men who had no real interest in the Church.

Weyman remained where he was, excepting a voyage to England in 1728-9, because his aged parents wanted to see him before they died. He then petitioned the Society for a raise, in behalf of his large family, and because of his extensive services outside Oxford and Radnor. The Society thought it would be better to give him a richer parish, and therefore transferred him to Burlington and Bristol, where he served from 1730 until his death on November 28, 1737.

Weyman apparently was a devoted rather than a brilliant and highly popular pastor, and certainly was a relief to Burlington after the disgraceful escapades of Horwood. All witnesses of his ministry agreed that he was diligent, zealous, faithful, and beloved by his people. On the day before his death he wrote to the Society, praying for the blessing of God upon its members. Edward Vaughan, who watched at his death-bed, testified to his worth as a minister. His son, William, learned the printing business under William Bradford, and published the *New York Gazette*.

THOMAS WOOD

(1708-1778)

THE FIRST RESIDENT MISSIONARY at New Brunswick, New Jersey, was the son of Thomas Wood of Hardwick, Buckinghamshire, and was born in 1708. He matriculated at New College, Oxford University, on July 5, 1728, and received his bachelor's degree in 1732. He studied medicine and became a surgeon in the British army, but later took orders, and on September 29, 1749, was licensed by the Bishop of London for service abroad.

At that time the new mission of New Brunswick, recently founded by William Skinner, was clamoring for a pastor, and the Society sent him there with a strong recommendation from Governor George Clinton of New York, who particularly mentioned Wood's knowledge of medicine. He settled down at New Brunswick, with charge also of Saint John's, Elizabeth Town. The latter parish much disliked that arrangement and made haste to secure ordination for the young catechist and layreader, Thomas B. Chandler.

Wood was not entirely happy at New Brunswick, as he had a financial misfortune, he had no house and glebe as promised, and family expenses were outrunning his modest stipend. Governor Cornwallis wanted him in Nova Scotia as a surgeon for the troops, and as a missionary to the French, because he had lived in Paris for more than a year and could officiate in French almost as well as in English. If there happened to be no vacancy in Nova Scotia, he would be willing to take Saint John's, Newfoundland. He petitioned for Halifax in the autumn of 1751, with the recommendation of Governor Clinton to Governor Cornwallis, and the Society consented in the event of a vacancy.

It was proposed that the Rev. J. B. Moreau, a former French Roman Catholic priest who had conformed to the Anglican Church, should exchange missions with Wood, as he could preach in English, and the wardens and vestrymen liked him when he visited New Brunswick. Wood wanted to go with Moreau to Halifax until the Society should decide, and therefore engaged supplies for Christ Church, preached his farewell sermon on Sunday, July 26, and left for Nova Scotia on August 1, 1752. The people regretted to lose him, Moreau did not come after all, and no successor appeared until the arrival of Samuel Seabury, Jr., in 1754.

Wood took the place of the Rev. William Tutty as missionary, and was in charge of Saint Paul's, Halifax, where on February 17, 1761, he preached

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a funeral sermon for King George II. In 1753 he ministered at Annapolis, to the satisfaction of the chief officers of the garrison. The summer of 1755 found him visiting Lunenburg, officiating in English and giving Communion to twenty-four German settlers with the aid of Moreau. In 1762 and 1763, he ministered at Granville and Annapolis. In 1764, by consent of the vestry and with leave from Governor Wilmot, he left the Rev. Dr. John Breynton in charge of Halifax and took the parish of Annapolis.

At the latter place, Wood became deeply interested in the Micmac Indians and began to study their language. In 1766 he could minister to them in their own tongue, and sent to press the first volume of a grammar, with a translation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of the Prayer Book. In July of that year he read prayers in Micmac at Saint Paul's, Halifax, in the presence of some Indians, leading citizens, army and navy officers, and the governor.

By request of the governor, he made a long tour in 1769 through settlements on the Saint John's River, New Brunswick, Canada—the first S. P. G. missionary to visit that province. But his home and pastoral care continued to be Annapolis, until his death on December 14, 1778. His wife died in the same year.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PLACES SERVED BY MISSIONARIES

[For Locations, *see* Map, *frontispiece*]

- ACQUACKANONK: preaching station of Newark.
ALLAMUCHY: preaching station of New Brunswick.
ALLEN TOWN: parish, now extinct, near Trenton.
AMWELL: parish (now St. Andrew's, Lambertville) and school.
BARNEGAT: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
BERGEN COUNTY: preaching station of Sussex mission.
BETHLEHEM: preaching station of Trenton and New Brunswick.
BLACK RIVER (now CHESTER): preaching station of New Brunswick.
BORDENTOWN: preaching station of Trenton.
BURLINGTON: parish and school.
CAPE MAY: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
CHATHAM: preaching station of New Brunswick.
CHEESEQUAKE: preaching station of Perth Amboy.
CLARKSBORO (BERKELEY): parish.
CRANBURY: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
CROSSWICKS: preaching station of Trenton mission.
DELAWARE (KNOWLTON): parish.
EGG HARBOR: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
ELIZABETH: parish and school.
ENGLISHTOWN: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
FREEHOLD: parish.
GLOUCESTER: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
GREENWICH-IN-COHANSEY: parish, now extinct, near Salem.
GREENWICH, WARREN COUNTY: preaching station of Trenton and Sussex missions.
HACKENSACK: preaching station of Newark.
HACKETTSTOWN: preaching station of Sussex mission.
HOPEWELL: parish, now extinct, succeeded by St. Michael's, Trenton.
HORSENECK (CALDWELL): preaching station of Newark.
KINGWOOD (ALEXANDRIA): parish.
LONG-A-COMING: preaching station of Gloucester mission.

MAIDENHEAD: preaching station of Trenton mission.
MANAHAWKIN: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
MANASQUAN: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
MAURICE RIVER: preaching station of Salem mission.
MIDDLETOWN: parish.
MIDDLETOWN POINT: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
MORRISTOWN: preaching station of Elizabeth.
MOUNT HOLLY: parish.
MUSCONETCONG: preaching station of Amwell mission.
NEWARK: parish.
NEWARK MOUNTAIN (ORANGE): preaching station of Newark.
NEW BARBADOES NECK: preaching station of Newark.
NEW BRUNSWICK: parish and school.
NEWTON: parish.
OLD BOONE TOWN: parish, now extinct, and school, near Newark.
PENNSNECK: preaching station of Salem.
PENSUKIN CREEK: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
PEPPERCOTTEN (PAPAKATING): preaching station of Sussex mission.
PERTH AMBOY: parish and school.
PISCATAWAY: parish and school.
POMPTON: preaching station of Newark and Sussex missions.
PRINCETON: preaching station of Trenton mission.
RACCOON (SWEDESBORO): preaching station of Salem.
RAHWAY: preaching station of Elizabeth.
READINGTON: preaching station of Amwell mission.
ROXBURY: preaching station of Sussex mission.
SALEM: parish.
SECOND RIVER (BELLEVILLE): chapel and school.
SHARK RIVER: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
SHREWSBURY: parish and school.
SPOTSWOOD: parish.
SPRINGFIELD: preaching station of Burlington, and school.
TIMBER CREEK: preaching station of Gloucester mission.
TINTON FALLS: preaching station of Monmouth mission.
TOPONEMUS: parish, now extinct, succeeded by St. Peter's, Freehold.
TRENTON: parish.
TURKEY: preaching station of Elizabeth.
WATERFORD (COLESTOWN): parish, now extinct.
WESTFIELD: preaching station of Elizabeth.
WHIPPANY: preaching station of Elizabeth.
WOODBIDGE: parish.

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P a r t I

General Bibliography

NOTE: Several works referred to in the Notes are not repeated in the General Bibliography. For special periods, consult the bibliographical references in the Notes.

P a r t II

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BM — British Museum, *Catalogue of Printed Books*.

BN — Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

CH — *A Catalogue of Books... forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*.

E — Evans, *American Bibliography*.

H — Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*.

HI — Hill, *Books... printed at Newark*.

K — Kirby, *George Keith*.

M — Morsch, *Check List of New Jersey Imprints*, 1784-1800.

S — Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana*.

SM — Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*.

TR — Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints*, 1751-1800.

UC — National Union Catalog, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

W — Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, 1686-1776.

comp. — compiler

ed. — edition

edit. — editor

p. — page; pp. — pages.

v. — volume(s)

One long dash ——— same author

Two long dashes ——— ——— same author and title

SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

SYMBOLS FOR LOCATIONS, NATIONAL UNION CATALOG LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

- An-C-Wl v A Acadia University, Wolfville, N. S.
 AU University of Alabama
- CCCR Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif.
 CSMH Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
 CtHi Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
 CtHWatk Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.
 CrY Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 CU University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- DeWi Wilmington Institute Free Library, Wilmington, Del.
 DLC Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
 DSC Supreme Council of the Thirty-third Degree, Washington, D. C.
- GEU Emory University, Emory U., Ga.
- ICN Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
 ICU University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 InU Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
 IU University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Ill.
- MA Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
 MB Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
 MBA American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Mass.
 MBAt Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
 MBC Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
 MBFM Massachusetts Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., Boston, Mass.
 MdBP Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.
 MdHS Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
 MeB Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
 MH Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 MH-A Harvard University, Arnold Arboretum.
 MHi Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
 Mi State Library of Michigan, Lansing, Mich.
 MiAlbC Albion College, Albion, Mich.
 MiD-B Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich. — Burton Historical Collection.
 MiU University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 MiU-C University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library.
 MnHi Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
 MnU University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 MShM Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 MWA American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
 MWiW-C Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. — Chapin Library.
- N New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.
 NBuG Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.
 NcD Duke University, Durham, N. C.
 NcU University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Nh New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N. H.
 NHi New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.
 NIC Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 NjEli Elizabeth Free Public Library, Elizabeth, N. J.
 NjHi New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.
 NjN Newark Public Library, Newark, N. J.
 NjNbS Gardner Sage Memorial Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
 NjP Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 NjPT Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

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- NJR Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, N. J.
 NN New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.
 NNC Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 NNG General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
 NNFM Grand Lodge of New York, F. & A. M., New York, N. Y.
 NNUT Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
 NNUT-Mc Union Theological Seminary, New York — McAlpin Collection.
 NPV Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 NWM U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

 OCl Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, O.
 OCW Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
 OCWHi Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.
 OO Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
 OU Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
 OWoC College of Wooster, Wooster, O.
 OOxM Miami University, Oxford, O.

 P State Library and Museum, Harrisburg, Pa.
 PBL Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
 PBm Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 PHC Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
 PHi Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PMA Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
 PPAmP American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PPIU University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 PPL Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PPL-R Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch
 PPLT Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PPM Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PPP Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PPPrHi Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PSC Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
 PSC-Hi Swarthmore College, Friends' Historical Library.
 PU University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 PWW Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

 RP Providence Public Library, Providence, R. I.
 RPB Brown University (John Hay Library), Providence, R. I.
 RPJCB John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

 TU University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
 TxU University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

 Vi Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.
 ViU University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
 ViW College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

TITLES

ARNOLD, Jonathan:

1. Boston: *The following Piece was Printed by William Bradford in New-York, November 17, 1739.* And is Inserted at the Desire of a Rev. Gentleman of this Town. *To the Inhabitants of New-York.* My Dear Brethren ... [Warning against the Rev. George Whitefield]. Your Souls Assured Friend, and Humble Servant, Jonathan Arnold. *Itinerant Missionary.* In: *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Numb. [1862]. From Thursday November 22, to Friday November 30, 1739, p. 2. Photostat, Rare Books Division, Library of Congress.

F. B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, I, p. 277. Hereafter cited as "Dexter."

BEACH, Abraham:

2. *The Profitable Hearer of the Word of God.* [A sermon on Luke viii,

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18]. *In*: The American Preacher... Elizabeth-Town, N. J., Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1791-93, III, pp. 135-146. Dexter, II, pp. 448-449. Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors... 1890, I, p. 145. Hereafter cited as "Allibone."

This is the only located work by Beach. Dexter, *loc. cit.*, lists the following: (1) Discourse before a masonic lodge; (2) One or more discourses before Conventions of the Church; (3) Discourse on the Death of the Rev. T. B. Chandler (Y.C. 1745), 1790. Also in Allibone, I, p. 145. No other references to these works have been located. See Part I, General Bibliography, for published letters by Beach.

CHANDLER, Thomas Bradbury:

3. An Address from the Clergy of New-York and New-Jersey, to the Episcopalians in Virginia; occasioned by some late Transactions in that Colony relative to an American Episcopate. New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-square, 1771. (4) 58 pp. Half-title: An Address to the Episcopalians in Virginia. Signed by the committee: Samuel Auchmuty, D. D. [and 7 others]. Attributed to Myles Cooper by Evans and Sabin. E12021 S16585 UC CSmH MB MBAt MH MiU-C PPL-R RPJCB ViU

4. ——— The American Querist: or, Some Questions proposed relative to the Present Disputes between Great Britain, and her American Colonies. By a North-American. [New York:] Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year 1774. (4) 31 pp. BM E13220 UC DLC MBAt MdBp MH MiU-C MWA NN OCIWHi OWoC PPAmP PPL-R RPJCB

First issued secretly by Rivington in 1774, without the name of the author, printer, or publisher. Also attributed to Myles Cooper. For evidence of authorship, see Vance, C. H., "Myles Cooper," *Columbia University Quarterly*, v. 22 (no. 3, Sept. 1930) pp. 275-276.

——— 10th [i.e., 2nd] ed. New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774. (4) 31 pp. BM E13221 S16586 UC CrY MBAt MH MiU(Film) MnH RPJCB ViU

At foot of title page: "This pamphlet, on the 8th day of September last, was, in full convale of the Sons of Liberty in New-York, committed to the flames by the hands of their common executioner; as it contains some queries they cannot, and others they will not answer." Although Rivington called this reprint the tenth edition, no intermediate editions are known.

——— 11th ed. New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774. 31 pp. S16586 DLC ICN

See Waters, Willard O., *comp.*: American Imprints, 1648-1797, in the Huntington Library, Supplementing Evans' *American Bibliography*. In *Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 3, Feb. 1933, pp. 1-95.

——— Boston: Re-printed by Mills and Hicks, and sold at their Printing-Office in School-street, 1774. 32 pp. E13222 S16586 UC CrY MBAt MH MHi MWA PMA RPJCB

——— London: T. Cadell, 1775. 55 pp. BM S16586 PHi RPJCB

5. ——— An Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of the Church of England in America. New-York: Printed by James Parker, at the New-Printing-Office, in Beaver Street, 1767. (1) 127 pp. BM E10578 S11873 UC CSmH CtHi CrY DLC ICN MB MBAt MH MWA MiU-(Film) MiU-C MnU MWiW-C PHi PPAmP PPL-R PPM PPPrHi RP RPJCB

Reprinted, Providence, R. I., 1934. 127 pp. ICN

——— 2nd ed., corrected by the Author... New-York: Printed; London: Reprinted for John and Francis Rivington, at the Bible and Crown (no. 62) in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1769. (1) 118 pp. S11873 UC CSmH DLC MB MH NN NPV PBL ViU

An Appendix, A Discussion of a Demonstration of the Uninterrupted Succession... of the first English Bishops, Being an Extract from Mr. [Thomas] Ward's second Canto of his England's Reformation: pp. 110-118.

——— Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1767. H2286

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6. ——— The Appeal Defended; or, the Proposed American Episcopate Vindicated... In Answer to the Objections and Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncey and Others. New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square, 1769. (1) 268 pp. E11203 S11874 UC CSmH CtHWatk CtY DLC ICN InU BMAt MBC MH MiU-C MWA NBuG NN NPV Phi PPAmP PPL-R PPP RPJCB Vi

Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1769. H2429
7. ——— The Appeal farther Defended; in Answer to the Farther Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncey. New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at his Book-Store and Printing-Office in Hanover-Square, 1771. (1) 240 pp. E12007 S11875 UC CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MBAt MH MiU-C MWA MWiW-C NcD NN Phi PPAmP PPL-R RPJCB Vi

8. ——— An Appendix to the American Edition of the Life of Archbishop Secker: [By Beilby Porteus] containing His Grace's Letter to the Revd. Mr. Macclanechan, on the Irregularity of his Conduct; with an Introductory Narrative. New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, at his Book-Store and Printing-Office, at the Bible and Crown in Hanover-Square, 1774. 28 p. E13191 S11877 UC MB MH MiU-C MWA NjP PPL-R RPJCB

New York, 1774. 28 pp. A variant. Fine paper issue: watermarked with Strassbourg arms [&] LVG E13192(variant) UC MH

9. ——— Candid Remarks on Dr. Witherspoon's Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica and the Other West-India Islands... by T. B. C. Philadelphia, William Goddard, 1772. 59 pp. UC Phi

10. ——— Catalogue of Books for Sale by Mrs. Chandler, in Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey: being the Library of the late Rev. Dr. Chandler, deceased. The prices affixed are in specie. Elizabeth-Town, Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1790. 42 pp. E22399 M110 UC NjEli NN

11. ——— A Free Examination of the Critical Commentary on Archbishop Secker's Letter to Mr. Walpole; to which is added, by Way of Appendix, a Copy of Bishop Sherlock's Memorial. New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square, 1774. 122 (2) pp. E13193 S11878 UC CSmH CtY DLC ICN MH MiU-C MWA NHi NN Phi PPL-R RPJCB

Reprinted, New York, 1934.

——— New York, 1774. 122 pp. A variant. Fine paper issue: paper watermarked with Strassbourg arms [&] LVG E13193(variant) UC MH

12. ——— A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions: in which the Necessary Consequences of violently opposing the King's Troops, and of a General Non-Importation are fairly stated... New-York, Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year 1774. 55 (1) pp. E13224 S16587 UC CtY DLC MBAt MH MiU-C MWiW-C NjP PHC Phi PPAmP PPL PPL-R

Also attributed to Myles Cooper. See note in No. 4, above.

——— America: [New York:] Printed [by James Rivington] for the Purchasers, 1774. [Price one shilling sterling]. 55 pp. E13225 S16687 UC CtY DLC MB MBAt MH MiU-C MWA NIC NjP OClWHi OWoC Phi PMA PPL-R RPJCB ViU

London, Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart, 1774. 56 pp. S16587 UC CtY DLC MB MH MnH NN RPJCB

New-York, Printed: Dublin, Reprinted by Mary Hay, 1775. 56 pp. S16587 UC CSmH ICN ICU RP RPJCB

——— Carefully abridged from the Original... New York: Printed in the Year 1774. 24 pp. E13226 S16588 UC DLC MiU-C PPL-R PU

13. ——— The Life of Samuel Johnson, D. D., the First President of King's College, in New-York, containing many Interesting Anecdotes; a General View of the State of Religion and Learning in Connecticut during the Former Part of the Last Century; and an Account of the Institution and Rise of Yale

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College, Connecticut; and of King's (now Columbia) College, New-York. To which is added, an Appendix, containing many Original Letters, never before published, from Bishop Berkeley, Archbishop Secker, Bishop Lowth and Others, to Dr. Johnson. New-York, Printed by T. & J. Swords, 1805. 208 pp. BM S11879 UC AU CCCR DLC MB MWA MiU NIC NN OClW PPAmP PHi PPP PU ViU

————— New York, Printed by T. & J. Swords; London, Reprinted for C. and J. Rivington, 1824. 209 pp. S11879 UC CtY DLC NjNbS NN PPPrHi ViU

14. ——— A Sermon preached before the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England in America; at their Anniversary Meeting on October 2d, 1771, at Perth Amboy. To which is annexed a Brief Abstract of their Proceedings... Sold for the Benefit of the Fund. Burlington: Printed by Isaac Collins. [1771]. 76 pp. Dedicated to Governor William Franklin. E12008 S11880 UC DLC MWA NjHi NjP NN PHi PPL PPL-R PPM PU RPJCB

Reprinted, 29 pp., in Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen of the P. E. Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Five Sermons. Philadelphia, 1880. UC

15. ——— The Strictures on the Friendly Address examined, and a Refutation of its Principles attempted. Addressed to the People of America. [New York:] Printed in the Year 1775. 14 pp. BM E13863 S11881 DLC NHi PPL PPL-R

————— New-London: Printed by Timothy Green, 1775. 16 pp. E13864

————— Philadelphia: 1775. 14 pp. E13865 H3181 S11881 UC

16. ——— What think ye of Congress Now? Or, an Enquiry, how far the Americans are bound to abide by, and execute the Decisions of, the late Congress? New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775. 48 (4) pp. Second title: A Plan of a Proposed Union between Great-Britain and the Colonies... which was produced by one of the Delegates from Pennsylvania, in Congress, as mentioned in the preceding work (by Joseph Galloway): 4 pp. at end. Also attributed to Myles Cooper. See note in No. 4 above. CH1117 E13866 S11882, 16590 UC CtY DLC ICN MBAt MH MiAlbC MiU-C MHi MeB MShM MWA MWiW-C NN OWoC PHC PHi PMA PPAmP PPL-R RPJCB ViU

————— New-York, Printed by J. Rivington. London: Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart, under the Royal Exchange, 1775. 90 pp. S11882, 16591 UC MB MH MnH MWA ViW

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A bibliography of Chandler's works is given in Dexter, II, pp. 26-28. Many of his private letters are in print: over 20 (1749-81), in whole or in part, in Samuel Adams Clark, *History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth-Town, New Jersey*, 1857. Other important ones are in E. E. Beardsley's biographies of the Rev. Samuel Johnson and Bishop Samuel Seabury; and in Bishop William Stevens Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*. (See Part I, General Bibliography.)

Chandler is sometimes said to have been the author or one of the authors of the "Memorial" from the Convention of New Jersey to the General Convention, May 1786, given in Bishop William White's *Memoirs of the P. E. Church*, 2d ed., pp. 298-300. This is refuted by James Parker of Perth Amboy in *Memorial of the Centennial of the Church in the State of New Jersey* (New York, Thomas Whittaker, 1885) pp. 51-57, and reprinted as an appendix to the *Journal of the Diocese of New Jersey, 1885*, wherein he produces documentary evidence that it was written by his ancestor of the same name and John De Hart.

CRAIG, George:

See LOCKE, Richard, no. 71.

EVANS, Evan:

See KEITH, George, no. 64.

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EVANS, Nathaniel:

17. A Dialogue on Peace, an Entertainment, given by the Senior Class at the Anniversary Commencement, held at Nassau-Hall September 28th, 1763. Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford. 1763. 27 pp. E9386 UC DLC

18. ——— An Exercise, containing a Dialogue [by Rev. Nathaniel Evans] and Ode on Peace [by Dr. Paul Jackson]. Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 17, 1763... Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart, at the Bible-in-Heart, in Second-street. 1763. 8 pp. E9484 UC PU

19. ——— The Love of the World Incompatible with the Love of God; a Discourse preached upon I John II, 15, 16, 17. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller. 1766. 22 pp. E10294 H2211 UC ICN MB NPV PHC RPJCB

Printed also in his *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1772. (See below, No. 21) A card in UC, printed at the Boston Public Library, Dec. 23, 1915, bears an imprint: "Haddonfield, 1766." This is an error. Haddonfield, N. J. was Evans' residence.

20. ——— Ode, on the late Glorious Successes of His Majesty's Arms, and Present Greatness of the English Nation. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by William Dunlap, 1762. 14 pp. E9113 H1802 S23178 UC MB MHi PPL-R

21. ——— Poems on Several Occasions, with some Other Compositions. By Nathaniel Evans, A. M., late Missionary (Appointed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel) for Gloucester County, in New-Jersey; and Chaplain to the Lord Viscount Kilmorey, of the Kingdom of Ireland. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, in Market-street. 1772. 160, 24 (2) pp. BM E12386 H2770 S23179 UC CtY DLC DeWi ICN IU MB MBAt MH MHi MdBp MiU-C MnU MWA NBuG NjP NPV OCi PBL PHI PPiU PMA PPL-R PSC PU RPJCB

The preface, signed by William Smith, contains a brief biographical sketch of the author. "List of subscribers": pp. xi-xxviii. "The Love of the World Incompatible with the Love of God: a Discourse." (24 pp. at end) Addressed "To the members of the congregation of Gloucester." A note in Sabin, v. 6, p. 273: "The *Laura* who composed some of these poems was the famous Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson (Miss Graeme). The list of 989 subscribers includes Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey; Gov. Eden, of Maryland; Hugh Gaine, Joseph Galloway, D. Duché, Gen. Wayne, Wm. Paca, Isaac Hunt, Oliver Goldsmith, etc. The biographical sketch was edited by the Rev. William Smith."

The volume was advertised as follows:

22. Now in the Press and Speedily will be Published by John Dunlap... all the Poetical Writing and some other Pieces, of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, A. M. . . . [Philadelphia: John Dunlap. 1771]. 2 pp., folio. H2686 UC

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GODFREY, Thomas, Jr.:

23. Juvenile Poems on Various Subjects. With the Prince of Parthia, a Tragedy... to which is prefixed some Account of the Author and his Writings. [By Nathaniel Evans. Signed: "N. Evans"]. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller, in Second-street. 1765. 223 pp. E9983 S27658 UC See Allibone, I, p. 565. CSmH CtY DLC ICU MB MBAt MH MiU(Film) MiU-C MWA MWiW-C NBuG NcU NjP NN OU PHC PHI PPiU PPL-R PU RPB TxU

GRIFFITH, David:

24. Passive Obedience considered: in a Sermon preached at Williamsburg, December 31st, 1775. By the Reverend David Griffith, Rector of Shelburne Parish, Virginia. Published at the Request of the General Convention. Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie. [1776]. [26] pp. E14793 S28823 UC CSmH DLC ICN NjP PPL-R

Reprinted in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, v. 17 (no. 2, June 1948) pp. 184-199.

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25. ——— Letters from Rev. David Griffith, M. D.; pp. [63]-80. *In* Powell, Robert C., *edit.* A Biographical Sketch of Col. Leven Powell, including his Correspondence during the Revolutionary War. Alexandria, Va., G. H. Ramey & son, 1877. 104 pp. 100 copies printed for private circulation. UC DLC Vi ViU

26. ——— Letters of the Rev. David Griffith to Col. Leven Powell, 1776-1778. *In* John P. Branch Historical Papers, of Randolph-Macon College. [v. 1, no. 1], June 1901, pp. 39-53. MB MiU Nh NjP OCl PHI Vi ViU

KEITH, George:

The following works comprise only those from the year 1700, when Keith became a priest of the Church. No pagination or other location has been found for some titles listed only in the British Museum *Catalogue* and Kirby's *George Keith*.

27. An Account how G. K. became a Quaker, and a Preacher amongst them. [London, 1710?] BM

28. ——— An Account of an Occasional Conference between G. Keith and T. Upshare at Colchester, Jan. 1, 1700/01, together with ... Observations on T. Upshare's Concessions and Answers, and a Postscript... and some Passages collected out of a Printed Epistle of G. Fox, call'd A General Epistle, &c. Printed in ... 1662, and some Observations on the Same. London, 1701. BM K

29. ——— An Account of the Quakers Politicks, discovering Some Material Passages as to their Government never before published; as also Something extracted from several Letters of Robert Bridgeman to George Keith, the Originals of all which I have by me... London, Printed by W. Redmayne for B. Aylmer [etc.] 1700. 39 [1] pp. BM K UC CtY DLC

30. ——— An Advertisement... to be present in Turners Hall. London, 1701. K

31. ——— An Answer to Mr. Samuëll Willard (One of the Ministers at Boston in New-England) his Reply to my Printed Sheet, called, A Dangerous and Hurtful Opinion maintained by him, viz. That the Fall of Adam, and all the Sins of Men necessarily come to pass by Virtue of Gods Decree, and his Determining both of the Will of Adam, and of all other Men to sin... Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New-York, 1704. (4) 41 pp. CH813 E1160 K S37179 SM UC DLC MH MiU-C NHi NN RPJCB

Kirby lists a London printing of 1704.

32. ——— An Answer to 17 Queries sent to G. Keith by the Quarterly Meeting of the People called Quakers at Oxford; Signed by the Order and on the Behalf of the Said Meeting Tho. Nicholls. To which is Prefixed a Letter to the Quakers, with 13 Queries given in at their Quarterly Meeting at Oxford Octob. 1. 1700. To which their Answer is now again desired by George Keith, M. A. Oxford, Printed at the Theater for Anthony Peisley. 1701. 30 pp. BM K UC CtY MH NNUT PHC

33. ——— Bristol Quakerism exposed, shewing the Fallacy... and Error of B. Cool, the Quakers' Chief Preacher at Bristol, and of his Followers and Abettors there, discovered in his and their Book, falsely called "Sophistry Detected; or, an Answer to G. K.'s Synopsis," etc. London, 1700. BM K

34. ——— A Dangerous and Hurtful Opinion maintained by Samuel Willard. New York: Printed by William Bradford [ca. 1704]. S37189

35. ——— A Discourse on Prayer and Devotions, Publick and Private; Shewing what we ought to pray for, and what not. With the Fundamental Truths of Christianity briefly hinted at. Recommended to Christians of all Opinions. By Robert Barkley. London, C. Wilson, 1704. 128 pp. BM UC PHC

Preface by R. B. [i. e., Robert Barclay]. Also published under title: The Fundamental Truths of Christianity. [Part 2], Concerning Prayer, has separate title page.

36. ——— The Doctrine of the Holy Apostles & Prophets the Foundation of the Church of Christ, as it was delivered in a Sermon at Her

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Majesties Chappel, at Boston in New-England, the 14th of June 1702... Boston. Printed for Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop. 1702. (2) 17 pp. E1052 K S37190 SM UC DLC MB MWA NN PHC RPJCB ViU

37. ——— G. Keith's Complaint against the Quakers: or an Answer to the Quakers Complaint against G. K., etc. London, 1700. BM

38. ——— George Keith's Fifth Narrative, of his Proceedings at Turners-hall; detecting the Quakers Errors. The 4th. of June, 1701... London: Printed for B. Aylmer, and C. Brome, 1701. (4) 68 pp. BM K S37191 SM UC CtY MB MH NN RPJCB

39. ——— George Keith's Fourth Narrative, of his Proceedings at Turners-hall. Divided into Three Parts: Detecting the Quakers Gross Errors, Vile Heresies, and Anti-christian Principles, oppugning the Fundamentals of Christianity, by Clear and Evident Proofs (in above two hundred and Fifty Quotations) faithfully taken out of their Books... To which is prefix'd, the Attestation of five Ministers of the Church of England, to the Truth of the Said Quotations; and a Postscript [*sic*]. London, B. Aylmer, 1700. (6) 116 [4] pp. BM K S37191 UC CtY DLC MH NN NNUT-Mc PHC RPJCB

40. ——— George Keith's Judgment, concerning Tythes and Hat Honour, &c. Taken out of his Observations upon Mr. H. M.'s Remarks, upon his Book of Immediate Revelation, 4th Observation. Which is Suitable to the Foregoing Treatise. [London ? ca. 1709]. 4 pp. UC MH

UC states: "Passages from an unpublished (?) work written by Keith in the 1680's, here printed ironically by John Whiting after Keith's ordination in the Church of England."

41. ——— Geography and Navigation Compleated; being a new Theory and Method whereby the True Longitude of any Place in the World may be found: ... London: Printed for B. Aylmer, 1709. 19 pp. BM K UC NN RPJCB

42. ——— The Great Necessity & Use of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism & the Lords Supper, delivered in a Sermon [on I Cor. xii, 13] preached at Trinity-Church in New-York, the 28th of November, 1703... Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New-York, 1704. 24 pp. BM CH814 E1161 S37197 UC DLC MH MWA RPJCB

43. ——— Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North America. London, Printed by Joseph Downing for Brab. Aylmer, at the Three-Pigeons over-against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, 1706. 92 pp. BM CH827 K S37199 UC DLC MH MiU (Film) MiU-C MWA MWiW-C Nh NNUT PPL RPJCB ViU

Reprinted in Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, Collections, 1851, v. 1, p. 1-54. MnH NcU NN Also in Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, v. 20 (no. 4, Dec. 1951) pp. 343-487.

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50. ——— The Necessity of Faith; and of the Revealed Word of God; to be the Foundation of all Divine and Saving Faith; in a Sermon [on Hebrews xi. 6] preach'd at the Lecture in Lewis, ... Sussex. London, 1707. BM K UC PHC RPJCB

51. ——— News out of Sussex. London, 1707 ? K

52. ——— The Notes of the True Church with the Application of them to the Church of England, and the Great Sin of Separation from Her. Delivered in a Sermon preached at Trinity Church in New-York, before the Administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper. The 7th of November, 1703. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New-York, 1704. (7) 20 pp. BM CH815 E1162 K S37204 UC DLC MWA NHi NN PHC RPJCB

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Note in Wroth, A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776, p. 164: The circumstances attending the delivery of this sermon and its publication in Annapolis are found in Keith, A Journal of Travels... London, 1706, p. 66. Reprinted, N. Y., 1851, *in*: Colls. of the P. E. Hist. Soc., p. 39, and p. 52, titles of ten treatises by Keith, "wrote and Published in Print, in North America... in the years 1702, and 1703, to 1704."

55. ——— The Quakers' Creed. London, 1700. UC PSC-Hi

56. ——— The Quakers Proved Apostates and Heathens. [London, 1700]. UC RPJCB

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58. ——— A Reply to Mr. Increase Mather's Printed Remarks on a Sermon preached by G. K. at Her Majesty's Chappel in Boston, the 14th of June, 1702. In Vindication of the six Good Rules in Divinity there Delivered Which he hath attempted (though very feebly and unsuccessfully) to refute. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Bible in New York. 35 pp. CH805 E1109 S37213 SM UC DLC ICN NN ViU

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31 pp. K UC MWA

60. ———— A Serious Call to the Quakers, inviting them to return to Christianity, to which is added a True Copy of the Last Will and Testament of that Grand Imposter G. Fox, *etc.* London, 1700. BM K

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——— 2d ed. London, 1700. 32 pp. UC DLC NN
NNUT-Mc PHC PPL RPJCB

63. ———— Some Brief Remarks upon a late Book, entituled, "George Keith once more brought to the Test," &c. Having the Name of Caleb Pusey at the end of the Preface, and C. P. at the end of the Book. [New York; Printed by William Bradford, 1704]. 20 pp. E1163 K S37216 UC
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64. ———— and Evan Evans. Some of the Many False, Scandalous, Blaspemous [*sic.*] & Self-Contradictory Assertions of William Davis, faithfully collected out of his Book, printed Anno 1700 entituled, Jesus the Crucified Man... [New York: Printed by William Bradford, 1703]. 12 pp. E1111 K
S37218 SM UC DLC NN

——— Philadelphia, Reynier Jansen, 1703. H94 PHi

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The last two pages contain a list of "Pamphlets relating to the present Controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies." The authorship of this, and three tracts "by A. Farmer," or "A. W. Farmer" (A Westchester farmer) is variously attributed to Samuel Seabury, or to Isaac Wilkins, or to both jointly, and to others. Seabury's authorship is now generally acknowledged.

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102. ——— The Churchman's Apology. *In*: Connecticut Gazette, New London, No. 1636, Mar. 19, 1795. Partly reprinted in: W. De Loss Love, Jr., *The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England*, Boston and New York, 1895, pp. 351-353. This anonymous article was a defense of a refusal to celebrate a public thanksgiving day in Lent. The original draft and a copy of the Connecticut Gazette are in the Seabury papers. *See* note, Love, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

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Note on p. [2] signed: B. G. Noble, [i.e., Birdseye Glover Noble, 1791-1848, ed.] Sabin states that a new edition was published later, edited by the Rev. Harry Croswell, D. D., of New Haven. Printed also in The Gospel Advocate, (Boston) v. 2 (April, 1822) pp. 106-17.

115. ——— Free Thoughts, on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774... By a Farmer... [New York:] Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year 1774. 24 pp. CH112 E13602 S78574 UC CtY DLC ICN MBAt MH MiU-C MnU MWiW-C NHi NN PHC PHI PPL-R RPJCB ViU

——— New-York, Printed: London Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart, at the Royal Exchange. 1775. 50 pp. Signed: A. W. Farmer, p. 48. S78575 UC CtY DLC MBAt MH NHi NN RPJCB

116. ——— Letters of a Westchester Farmer (1774-1775) by the Reverend Samuel Seabury (1729-1796). Edited with an Introductory Essay by

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Clarence H. Vance. White Plains, N. Y., Published for Westchester County by the Westchester County Historical Society, 1930. 162 pp. (Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society, v. VIII). Includes facsimiles of the original title-pages of the pamphlets. UC DLC MiU OO OU TU ViU

117. ——— The Psalter or Psalms of David. Pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches. With the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily throughout the Year. New London, 1795. See Dexter, II, p. 187.

118. ——— St. Peter's Exhortation to fear God and honor the King, explained and inculcated; in a Discourse addressed to His Majesty's Provincial Troops, in Camp at King's-Bridge, on Sunday the 28th Sept. 1777. Published at the Desire of His Excellency Major General Tryon. New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, at the Bible and Crown in Hanover-Square. [1777]. 23 pp. E15596 S78576 UC CtY MBAt PPAmP

119. ——— A Sermon delivered before the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, in Trinity Church; at their Anniversary Meeting on Easter Tuesday March 25, 1788. Boston: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, 1788. (4) 24, 6 pp. E21452 S78577 UC CSmH CtY DLC MA MeB MH MiU-C MWA PPL-R RPJCB

120. ——— A Sermon [from Hebr. xiii:1] preached before the Grand Lodge, and Other Lodges of Ancient Free-Masons, in New-York, at St. Paul's Chapel, on the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist, 1782. New York: Printed by Robertsons, Mills and Hicks, 1783. 23 pp. E18180 S78578 UC CSmH CtY MBFM NHi NNFM NNUT

121. ——— A Sermon, preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, before the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen... at their Anniversary Meeting... October 7th, 1789... Now first printed... Philadelphia, Sherman & Co., 1880. 11 pp. UC In: Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Five Sermons. Philadelphia, 1880. NN PHi PPL-R PU

122. ——— Unpublished Letters of Bishop Samuel Seabury and Bishop John Skinner. Hartford, Connecticut, Church Missions Publishing Company. [1933]. [8] pp. Also inserted in: G. T. Linsley, Bishop Seabury... Hartford, Conn., [1933]. UC CSmH DLC

123. ——— A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies: Including a Mode of Determining their Present Disputes, finally and effectually; and of Preventing all Future Contentions. In a Letter, to the Author of A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of their Enemies. By A. W. Farmer. Author of Free Thoughts, &c. New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774. 37 (2) pp. Dated on p. 37: December 24, 1774. E13603 S78580 UC CtY DLC ICN MB MBAt MH MiU(Film) MiU-C MWA MWiW-C NN OCl WHi PPL-R RPJCB ViU

——— New-York, Printed: London, Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart, 1775. (4) 90 pp. S78581 UC DLC MiU-C MWA NN RPJCB

124. ——— A Whip for the American Whig. [By Timothy Tickle, pseud. 1768]. In: A Collection of Tracts from the Late Newspapers, &c. Containing particularly The American Whig, A Whip for the American Whig, with some other Pieces, on the Subject of the Residence of Protestant Bishops in the American Colonies, and in Answer to the Writers who opposed it, &c. New-York: Printed by J. Holt, at the Exchange, 1768-69. 2 v. E10857, 11212 S14394, 14395 UC CSmH CtY DLC ICN MiD-B MiU-C PHi PPL-R PPPrHi RPJCB

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A bibliography of Seabury's published works is given in Dexter, II, pp. 184-188. An incomplete theological treatise, consisting of a polemical arraignment of Calvinism and written probably before the Revolution, was printed for the first time from the original manuscript, in The American Church Monthly, (New York, 1858) v. 3, pp. 321-33, 401-414. A large amount of his

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125. *The Charter of the Kingdom of Christ, Explain'd in two Hundred Conclusions and Corollaries, from the Last Words of Our Blessed Lord to his Disciples: being a Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Bishop of Bangor and his Disciples. To which are added the Sentiments of the Present Oriental Church hereupon*... With a Postscript to Mr. F. de la Pillonniere. London: J. Morphew, 1717. 64 pp. BM

126. ——— *De Rebus Liturgicis Oratio pro Gradu Doctoratus in S. S. Theologia, Habita in Sacello Collegii Regii Universitatis Aberdonensis, in Festo S. Epiphaniae, A. D. 1714. A Io: Sharp Ecclesiae Anglicanae apud Americanos Presbytero*... Abredeis: Excudebant Successores I. Forbesii, Anno Domini 1714. 16 pp. UC MH NN

127. ——— *Rev. John Sharpe's Proposals, etc. [for Erecting a School, Library and Chapel at New York].* March: 1713. *In: New York Historical Society, Collections*, 1880. Publication Fund Series. New York, 1881. [v. 13], pp. [339]-363. "Printed from a careful copy of the original manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library, London." "A catalogue of books belonging to John Sharpe intended to be given as a foundation of a publick library at New York": pp. 359-363. UC DLC MiU-C OCl PBm PHi

128. ——— *A Sermon [on Job xiv:14] preached at Trinity Church in New-York in America, August 13, 1706, at the Funeral of the Right Honourable Katharine Lady Cornbury*... Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Bible in New-York, 1706. 20 pp. BM E1280 S79839 UC NN (Sharpe's own copy) NNC

——— *London: Printed and Sold by H. Hills, in Black-fryars, near the Water-side. For the Benefit of the Poor [1706 ?]* 16 pp. BM S79840 UC CSmH DLC MH MiU-C NN PHi PPM RPJCB

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TALBOT, John, and Daniel Leeds:

129. *The Great Mistery of Fox-Craft Discovered, and the Quaker Plainness & Sincerity Demonstrated; First, to their Great Apostle George Fox; Secondly, in their late Subscribing the Oath or Act of Abjuration, Introduced with two Letter [sic] written by George Fox to Coll. Lewis Morris, Deceased, exactly Spell'd and Pointed as in the Originals, which are now to be seen in the Library at Burlington in New Jersey, and will be Proved (by the Likeness of the Hand, &c.) to be the Handwriting of the Quaker's Learned Fox, if Denied. To which is added, a Postscript, with Some Remarks on the Quakers Almanack for this Year 1705.* [New York: Printed by William Bradford, 1705]. 16 pp. E1235 S39817 DLC ICN MB MiU NN OCl

Reprinted, Tarrytown, N. Y., W. Abbott, 1923. *In The Magazine of History, with notes and queries.* Extra number no. 96 (v. 24, no. 4) pp. [21]-39. DLC PHC

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Letters by Talbot have been published in George Morgan Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*... Trenton, N. J., 1876. 2d ed., 1885. Also in Edgar Legare Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, John Talbot, 1645-1727, Philadelphia, 1938.

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130. *An Account of two Missionary Voyages by the Appointment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The one to New Jersey in North America, the other from America to the Coast of Guiney.* London, Printed for Benj. Dod, at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane, near St. Paul's. 1758. (4) 87 (1) pp. S95529 UC CSmH CtY DLC InU MB MBAt MH MHi MiU MWI\W-C NjP NN NNC NNG NNHist NNUT PPHi RPJCB WHi

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Reprinted in facsimile with introduction and notes. London, published for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937. 87 pp. (DLC) The last page is an advertisement of "A Discourse Relating to the Present Times" by the same author. Allibone lists also an edition of 1759. A German translation of the New Jersey voyage is included in J. T. Kohler's *Sammlung neuer Reisebeschreibungen*, v. 1, pt. 2, 1769, pp. 545-564. An abridgement of the second part was printed in *Memoirs of an English Missionary to the Coast of Guinea*, London, 1788. (See below, No. 134.)

131. ——— The African Trade for Negro-Slaves shewn to be Consistent with Principles of Humanity, and with the Laws of revealed Religion. By Tho. Thompson, M. A. Sometime Fellow of C. C. C. Canterbury, printed; and sold by Baldwin, in London. [1772]. BM S95530 UC

132. ——— A Discourse relating to the Present Times, etc. London, 1757. BM S95529, note.

133. ——— A Letter from New Jersey, in America, giving some Account and Description of that Province. By a Gentleman, late of Christ's College, Cambridge. London, Prin[t]ed for M. Cooper in Pater-noster-row, 1756. 26 pp. Signed "T. T." S95531 UC CSmH DLC MB NN PPHi

134. ——— Memoirs of an English Missionary to the Coast of Guinea. London, 1788. S95529, note. UC MH

WOOD, Thomas:

135. A Sermon [on I Cor. 15:55] occasioned by the Death of the Honorable Mrs. Abigail Belcher, Consort of Jonathan Belcher, Esq.; late Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief, and His Majesty's Present Chief Justice of his Province of Nova-Scotia; delivered at St. Paul's Church at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, October 13th, 1771... Halifax, Nova-Scotia: Printed by A. Henry, 1771. (2) 17, 5 pp. S105073 TR162 UC DLC

At end, p. 1-3, Extract from the *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, No. 59, October 15, 1771 [account of the funeral of Mrs. Belcher on Oct. 9, 1771]; pp. 4-5, Monumental Threnody sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Belcher.

Tremaine, p. 76, states: "Wood acquired some knowledge of Micmac, and in 1766 sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, MSS containing a grammar, a dictionary, and prayers in that dialect. These were probably the work of Abbé Maillard, long a Catholic missionary among the Micmacs, states Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac, N. B., who has Wood's MMS. They have never been published."

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

The Background

1. Austin Scott, "The Influence of the Proprietors in Founding the State," *cit. in* Nelson R. Burr, "The Religious History of New Jersey Before 1702," Part II, in *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.* (Oct. 1938) p. 261.
2. Burr, *op cit.*, pp. 261-62.
3. Burr, pp. 262-63.
4. Burr, p. 263.
5. Burr, p. 256.
6. Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Protestant Episcopal*, p. 11; Burr (July, Oct. 1938) *passim*.
7. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 11; Burr *passim*.
8. "The Memorial of Col. Morris Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys, 1700," in *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 4 (1849-50) pp. 118-121.
9. *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, Vol. 1, 1670-1730.
10. Burr (Oct. 1938) *passim*, and *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, Vol. 1, 1670-1730.
11. "The Memorial of Col. Morris Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys, 1700" pp. 119-20.
12. *Ibid.*, pp 120-21.
13. Burr (Oct. 1938) p. 258.

CHAPTER TWO

The Day of Small Things

1. Burr, (Oct. 1938) p. 251.
2. Burr, (Oct. 1938) pp. 251, 253. David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, p. 202.
3. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 9. Burr, pp. 252-53.
- 4 Burr, pp. 251-52. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 9 and footnote. Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, John Talbot, p. 5. *Docs. Rel. to the Col. Hist. of the State of N. J.*, V, xxiii; *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, Vol. 1, 1670-1730, pp. 253-54. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, pp. 413, 415, 527, 610, 613, 630, 655, 731; V, 326, 354. George Keith, *Journal*, *passim*. Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 57, footnote.
5. *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, Vol. 1, 1670-1730, pp. 253-255. Humphreys, pp. 57-58. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *Abstract of Proceedings, 1715*, pp. 40-41
6. Humphreys, p. 57.
7. W. Northey Jones, *History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy*, pp. 13-14. Humphreys, p. 195. See also Appendix A.
8. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Humphreys, p. 195.

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9. Jones, pp. 17-19.
10. Jones, pp. 19-21. Humphreys, pp. 195-96. Morris, "Memorial Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys, 1700," p. 119.
11. Jones, pp. 21-22. George Morgan Hills, *Memorial of the Centennial of the Organization of the Church in the State of New Jersey*, 1885, p. 46.
12. Jones, p. 22. *Eccles. Recs. of the State of New York*, II, p. 1320.
13. Jones, pp. 22-25. William Stevens Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, p. 226, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 151. Perry, *Historical Collections, Virginia*, pp. 142, 150, 163.
14. Burr (Oct. 1938) p. 253.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50. See Chapter Four.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

CHAPTER THREE

Come Over and Help Us! *The Founding of the "Venerable Society"*

1. Hist. Recs. Survey, p.13.
2. Humphreys, pp. 1-2.
3. Humphreys, pp. 2-3. Burr (July, Oct. 1938) *passim*.
4. Humphreys, pp. 3-4.
5. Charles F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, p. 1.
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16. Humphreys, pp. 12-14.
17. Pascoe, I, pp. 4-6.
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19. Pascoe, I, p. 6.
20. Pascoe, I, pp. 6-7. Humphreys, pp. 14-19.
21. Humphreys, pp. 353-54.
22. Pascoe, I, p. 8.
23. Humphreys, pp. 354-55.
24. Pascoe, I, p. 7. Humphreys, pp. 347-53.
25. Humphreys, pp. 66-69.
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30. Humphreys, pp. 20-24.
31. Humphreys, pp. 21, 23. Pascoe, I, p. 7 and footnote.
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CHAPTER FOUR

The Apostles: Keith and Talbot

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2. Pennington, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.
3. Ethyn W. Kirby, *George Keith*, pp. 49-51.
4. Kirby, pp. 49-51.
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7. *Ibid.*, Chapters V-VIII, to p. 120.
8. Pennington, pp. 20-21, 105, 170, 172, 176. Kirby, pp. 121, 141.
9. Kirby, pp. 121-23.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.
11. Kirby, p. 125. Pennington, p. 24. Humphreys, pp. 74, 76-77.
12. Kirby, pp. 125-26. Pennington, p. 24. For Talbot, see Appendix B.
13. Kirby, pp. 126-27. Pennington, pp. 24-25.
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16. Kirby, pp. 135, 138. Pennington, p. 170. Keith, *Journal*, pp. 50-51.
17. Pennington, pp. 170-71. Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52. Kirby, p. 139.
18. Pennington, pp. 171-72. Keith, pp. 52-54. Kirby, pp. 138-39.
19. Pennington, pp. 172-73. Keith, pp. 54-55, Kirby, p. 140.
20. Kirby, pp. 135-36. Pennington, pp. 173-74. Keith, p. 55.
21. Pennington, pp. 174-76. Keith, pp. 55-57.
22. Pennington, pp. 176-77. Keith, pp. 57-59, 62.
23. Pennington, pp. 177-79. Keith, pp. 73-75. Kirby, pp. 141-43.
24. Pennington, pp. 179-81. Keith, pp. 76, 78.
25. Pennington, p. 181. Keith, pp. 78-79.
26. Pennington, pp. 179, 181. Keith, pp. 76, 80. Kirby, pp. 140, 146.
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CHAPTER FIVE

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2. Humphreys, pp. 182-83. Also, for Burlington, see Appendix A.
3. Humphreys, pp. 56, 182. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1705, p. 27; 1706, p. 63. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 14. For Talbot, see above, Chapter Four, and Appendix B.
4. Humphreys, pp. 56, 183. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 14. Pennington, p. 89. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1706, pp. 63-64.
5. Humphreys, pp. 183-84. Pascoe, I, p. 56, note.
6. Humphreys, p. 183. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 14. Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington*, pp. 601-02. *Colls. of the P. E. Hist. Soc.*, 1851, p. 71.
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10. Humphreys, p. 185. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1726, p. 36; 1729, p. 43; 1730, p. 89; 1732, p. 57.
11. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1738-39, pp. 51-52.
12. *Ibid.*, 1738-39, pp. 52-53.
13. Humphreys, p. 186. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1704, p. 12; 1705, p. 27; 1706, p. 65; 1716, p. 26. For Hopewell and Maidenhead, *see also* Appendix A.
14. The Rev. John May was ordained for Virginia, January 4, 1709/10, and received the King's Bounty on January 9, 1709/10. *See Historical Magazine* . . . , XVI(1947), 335.
15. Humphreys, pp. 186-87. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1720, p. 50; 1721, p. 41.
16. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1734, pp. 54-55, letter from Howie, April 27, 1734; also p. 64.
17. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1735, p. 46, letter of Nov. 14, 1735; 1737-38, pp. 44-45, letter of Mar. 9, 1736-37.
18. *Ibid.*, 1738-39, p. 57, letter of Mar. 10, 1737; 1739-40, p. 53, letter of Sept. 29, 1739.
19. *Ibid.*, 1723, pp. 41-43. Humphreys, pp. 58-60, 187. For Salem, *see also* Appendix A.
20. Humphreys, pp. 187-88. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1725, pp. 37-38; 1726, p. 40; 1727, p. 41; 1729, p. 43.
21. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1734, pp. 55-56, letter of August 6, 1734; 1735, p. 45; 1738-39, p. 53. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 160.
22. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1705, p. 27; 1706, pp. 32, 34, Humphreys, pp. 188-90.
23. Humphreys, pp. 188-89. For Elizabeth Town, *see also*, Appendix A.
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25. Humphreys, pp. 190-92. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1710-11, p. 41; 1712-13, p. 51.
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29. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1712-13, pp. 72-73; 1739-40, pp. 52-53.
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31. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1713-14, pp. 41, 43, letter of March 17, 1712.
32. *Ibid.*, 1721, pp. 39-40. Humphreys, p. 197.
33. Humphreys, p. 198. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1723, p. 48; 1724, p. 42; 1725, p. 38; 1726, p. 41; 1730, p. 93; 1733, p. 46, letter of Nov. 15, 1732; 1737-38, p. 41, letter of Nov. 26, 1736.
34. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1728, pp. 37-38. Also, for Monmouth County, *see above*, Chapter Two and Appendix A.

34. *Ibid.*, 1733, pp. 45-46, letter of Skinner, Nov. 15, 1732, and p. 52.
35. *Ibid.*, 1734, p. 56, letter of October 20, 1734; 1738-39, p. 50.
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37. S.P.G. *Proceedings, 1739-40*, p. 41, list of missionaries. Hist. Recs. Survey, pp. 24-28. Humphreys, p. 199, enumerates seven churches in 1728. See Appendix A, Historical Sketches of Colonial Parishes.

CHAPTER SIX

Conformity and Conversion The Great Awakening

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3. Theodore F. Chambers, *Early Germans of New Jersey*, pp. 16-18.
4. Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. *Trans. of the Moravian Hist. Soc.*, I, pp. 90-93, 95. David Cranz, *Ancient and Modern Hist. of the Brethren*, pp. 62-63. John T. Hamilton, *Hist. of the Moravian Church*, pp. 2-5.
5. John Whitehead, *The Passaic Valley*, I, pp. 165, 260, 271, 273, 376-77, 386. *Tercentenary Studies*, pp. 187, 190-93, 213, 228-29. William W. Scott, "The Founding of Passaic," in *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 3rd Ser., p. 13. David D. Demarest, *Reformed Ch. in Amer.*, p. 161. *Eccles. Recs. of the State of New York*, II, pp. 1051, 1067, 1073. Abraham Messler, *Memorial Sermons*, p. 162. *Amer. Ch. Hist.*, VIII, p. 133.
6. N. J. *Comp. of Cen.*, p. 7. *Terc. Stud.*, pp. 211-13, 258. Demarest, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. *Eccles. Recs.*, II, pp. 1076-79; III, p. 2085. *Amer. Ch. Hist.*, VIII, pp. 127-28. *Readington Ch. Hist.*, p. 17.
7. *Readington Ch. Hist.*, p. 9. *175th Anniv., Ref. Ch. Readington*, p. 12. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, pp. 2121, 2141, 2257, 2292. *Terc. Stud.*, pp. 214-15, 217, 230. Messler, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
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19. Whitefield to Bishop of London, on board the *Savannah* bound from Charleston to Boston, Sept. 8, 1740, Fulham MSS, S. Car., No. 130.
20. Whitefield to Society, Nov. 30, 1740. Secretary Philip Bearcroft to Whitefield, on clergy, June 27, 1741.
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29. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, No. 46, Jn^o. Rodgers to Whitefield, St. Georges, July 4, 1757, quoting letter from William Tennent, Junior, May 30, 1757. No. 47, William Shippen to Whitefield, Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1758 and P. S. Vol. 1, No. 40, Rev. Nehemiah Greenman to Whitefield, West Jersey, Salem County, Pilesgrove, May 20, 1765.
30. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1740, pp. 33-34, Monday, Nov. 12, 1739. Tyerman, I, p. 328.
31. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 3, 1740; June 5, 1741; Oct. or Nov. 12, 1751; July 30, 1764.
32. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Sept. 26, 1743; Dec. 26, 1746; June 26, 1747.
33. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1740, pp. 34-35, Tuesday Nov. 13, 1739. See *above*, "Christ Church, New Brunswick," Appendix A.
34. *Ibid.*, 1740, pp. 36-37, Thursday, Nov. 15, 1739.

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35. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39, Friday, Nov. 16; Sunday, Nov. 18, 1739. Tyerman, I, pp. 328-29, 335.
36. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 4, 1740. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1740, p. 40, Monday, Nov. 19, 1739. Tyerman, I, p. 329.
37. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1740, pp. 45-47, Nov. 23-25, 1739. *Journal*, 1741, pp. 18-19, Tuesday, Apr. 15, 1740. Tyerman, I, p. 336.
38. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1741, pp. 22-23, Sunday, Apr. 20, 1740. Maxson, pp. 58-59.
39. Whitefield, *Journal*, 1741, p. 29, Monday, April 28, 1740.
40. *Journal*, 1741, p. 34, Monday, May 5, 1740.
41. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1741; Dec. 7, 1742; May 4, 1742; May 27, 1743.
42. Whitefield, *Works*, I, pp. 167-68, Letter CLXXX, To Mr. M----. New Brunswick, Apr. 28, 1740.
43. *N. J. Arch., Newsp. Ext.*, II, 1740-50, p. 49, *The Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 18, 1740. Tyerman, II, p. 141. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1735-44, lists of missionaries.
44. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Nov. 1, 1740; Mar. 25, 1742; and Trenton, Nov. 10, 1743.
45. McClenachan to Archbishop of Canterbury, Boston, Nov. 25, 1755; Aug. 23, 1760, received, n. d., Lambeth MSS, 1123 II, No. 195. Memorandum by Secretary Philip Bearcroft, Sept. or Oct., 1760, *ibid.*, 1123 II, No. 200.
46. S.P.G. *Proceedings*, 1763, pp. 68-69, Campbell to Secretary, Dec. 26, 1761; June 25, 1762.
47. Wardens and Vestry to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 23, 1749.
48. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1764; Feb. 12, 1765. S.P.G. *Proceedings*, 1765, pp. 73-74.
49. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1765.
50. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1770.
51. Whitefield, *Works*, III, p. 423, Letter MCCCCLX, to Mr. R---K---n, Philadelphia, May 24, 1770.
52. Milne to Secretary, New York, June 18, 1744.
53. Maxson, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.
54. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1739-40, p. 41; *ibid.*, 1770, p. 13; lists of missionaries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Between the Storms: 1740-1775

1. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1740-41, p. 49; 1741-42, pp. 37-38, 49; 1742-43, pp. 38, 48-49; 1745, p. 47; 1747, p. 60.
2. *Ibid.*, 1744, p. 12.
3. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, pp. 48-49; 1753, pp. 49-50, letter, May 8, 1752; 1760, p. 52, letter, June 20, 1759. Letters from missionaries, cited from the *Proceedings*, have been checked with S. P. G. Transcripts, Library of Congress. For Burlington, *see also*, Appendix A, *above*.
4. *Ibid.*, 1764, pp. 83-84, letters, Jan. 4, June 25, 1763.

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5. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, p. 48, letter, May 8, 1742; 1764, p. 83, letter, Jan. 4, 1763; 1765, pp. 75-76, letters, Dec. 26, 1763; July 30, 1764. For Mount Holly, *see also* Appendix A.
6. *Ibid.*, 1768, p. 56, letters from Evans, Dec. 12, 1766; Apr. 20, 1767; 1770, p. 29, letter from Odell.
7. *Ibid.*, 1774, pp. 34-35; 1775, p. 38.
8. *Ibid.*, 1752, p. 42. Hist. Recs. Survey, pp. 26, 147. For Gloucester and Waterford, *see also* Appendix A.
9. *Ibid.*, 1765, p. 76, letter from Campbell, July 30, 1764; 1766, pp. 12-13, and 1767, p. 61, letters from Evans, Feb. 25, Dec. 12, 1766.
10. *Ibid.*, 1768, pp. 55-56, letters from Evans, Dec. 12, 1766; Apr. 20, 1767.
11. *Ibid.*, 1769, pp. 13-14; 1770, p. 29, letters from the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia.
12. *Ibid.*, 1771, pp. 12, 27-28; 1772, pp. 24-25; 1773, pp. 13-14; 1774, pp. 13-14.
13. Hist. Recs. Survey, p. 154. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1774, p. 35, letter from Blackwell.
14. S.P.G. *Proceedings*, 1775, p. 38; 1776, pp. 28-29; 1777, pp. 39-40.
15. *Ibid.*, 1745, p. 50; 1749, pp. 46-47; also, for listing: 1746, p. 36; 1747, p. 49; 1748, p. 37; 1749, p. 36.
16. *Ibid.*, 1750, p. 40; 1752, pp. 33, 41-42; 1753, p. 31; 1754, pp. 42-43; 1755, pp. 38-39.
17. *Ibid.*, 1754, pp. 42-43, and 55-56, letter of Houdin, Nov. 4, 1753. For Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington, *see also* Appendix A.
18. *Ibid.*, 1760, pp. 50-51, 87.
19. *Ibid.*, 1762, pp. 55-56, letter from Morton, July 1, 1761.
20. *Ibid.*, 1763, pp. 69-70, letters, Jan. 1 and June 30, 1762.
21. *Ibid.*, 1766, pp. 12-13, list of missionaries; 1768, pp. 39-40, same; 1769, pp. 13-14, same; 1770, pp. 28-29, letters from Frazer.
22. *Ibid.*, 1771, p. 28; 1774, p. 37, letters from Frazer.
23. *Ibid.*, 1771, pp. 12, 27, letters from Chandler. For the congregations in Sussex County, *see also* Appendix A.
24. *Ibid.*, 1772, p. 24, letter from Ogden.
25. *Ibid.*, 1773, p. 29; 1774, pp. 13-14, 37-38.
26. *Ibid.*, 1775, pp. 39-40.
27. *Ibid.*, 1763, pp. 35-36; 1764, p. 49, and pp. 85-87, letter from Treadwell, June 28, 1763, and from Trenton Churchwardens to Society, Sept. 24, 1763. *See also* Appendix A.
28. *Ibid.*, 1766, pp. 12-13, and p. 31, letter from Treadwell, June 25, 1765; 1767, p. 62, letter from Reading, Sept. 5, 1766; 1769, pp. 13-14, and p. 27, letter from Odell, July 5, 1768; pp. 28-29, letters from Dr. Smith, Oct. 22, 1768, and letter from Trenton mission.
29. *Ibid.*, 1770, p. 13, and p. 28, letter from Thomson, Sept. 25, 1769; p. 29, letters from Dr. Smith; 1773, p. 30, letter from Thomson; 1774, p. 37; 1775, p. 39.
30. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, p. 49; 1745, p. 48; 1753, p. 49, letter from Skinner, July 9, 1752; 1755, p. 51; 1759, p. 64, and p. 66, letter from Cooke, Oct. 26, 1758. For Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, *see also* Appendix A.

31. *Ibid.*, 1760, pp. 49-50; 1761, p. 52, letter from Churchwardens and Vestry, Sept. 15, 1760, and pp. 62-63, letter from Carter, New Providence, Bahama Islands, Oct. 20, 1760; 1762, pp. 65-66, letter from Governor Shirley.

32. *Ibid.*, 1762, p. 46; 1763, pp. 53-56, letter from Davies, Apr. 13, 1762; from Palmer, Apr. 13, 1762; from Johnson, Apr. 25, 1762.

33. *Ibid.*, 1763, pp. 35-36; 1764, p. 49; and pp. 82-83, letter from McKean, Sept. 16, 1763; 1765, p. 41.

34. *Ibid.*, 1765, pp. 74-75, letter from McKean, Apr. 16, 1764, letter from James Parker, Sept. 22, 1764.

35. *Ibid.*, 1768, pp. 54-55, letter from McKean, Apr. 27, 1767, and from Chandler, Dec. 4, 1767; also pp. 39-40.

36. *Ibid.*, 1770, pp. 13, 27; 1771, pp. 12, 27; 1774, p. 34.

37. *Ibid.*, 1747, p. 60; 1748, p. 36; 1749, pp. 35-36; 1750, p. 39; 1752, pp. 32, 40-41, letter from Chandler, Nov. 11, 1751. For Elizabeth Town and Woodbridge, *see also* Appendix A.

38. *Ibid.*, 1755, p. 51; 1757, pp. 50-51, letter from Chandler, Apr. 10, 1756.

39. *Ibid.*, 1762, pp. 54-55, letter from Chandler, Apr. 6, 1761; 1763, pp. 67-68, letters from Chandler, Jan. 5 and July 5, 1762.

40. *Ibid.*, 1764, p. 82, letter from Chandler, Jan. 24, 1763; 1765, pp. 73-74, letters from Chandler, July 5, 1763, Jan. 5 and July 5, 1764; 1766, p. 29, letter from Chandler, July 5, 1765.

41. *Ibid.*, 1771, p. 26; 1773, p. 29; 1774, p. 34; 1775, p. 37.

42. *Ibid.*, 1771, p. 26.

43. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, p. 49; 1745, p. 47; 1746, pp. 52-53. For New Brunswick and Piscataway, *see also* Appendix A.

44. *Ibid.*, 1749, pp. 35-36, 46; 1750, p. 50; 1754, p. 46, letters from Breynton, Oct. 22, 1753, from Wood, Sept. 3, 1753; certificate from chief officers of garrison at Annapolis, N. S., Sept. 3, 1753.

45. *Ibid.*, 1754, pp. 42-43, 57; 1755, pp. 50-51, letter from Seabury, Oct. 10, 1754.

46. *Ibid.*, 1758, pp. 32-33, 42, 44.

47. *Ibid.*, 1759, pp. 64-65, letter from church at New Brunswick, Dec. 20, 1757; from McKean, Jan. 8, 1758, Apr. 10, 1758; 1761, p. 52, letter from McKean, May 7, 1760.

48. *Ibid.*, 1762, pp. 56-57, letter from McKean, Oct. 5, 1761.

49. *Ibid.*, 1764, pp. 49, 80, letters from Watkins, July 30, Nov. 2, 1763; pp. 82-83, letter from McKean, Sept. 16, 1763; pp. 84-85, joint letter from New Jersey clergy, Dec. 5, 1762.

50. *Ibid.*, 1765, pp. 77-78, letter from Cutting, Oct. 3, 1764.

51. *Ibid.*, 1766, p. 25, and p. 30, letter from Cutting, Apr. 29, 1765; 1767, pp. 61-62, letters from Cutting, Nov. 26, 1765, July 26, 1766.

52. *Ibid.*, 1768, pp. 39-40; 1769, pp. 13-14, 28; 1773, p. 29, letter from Beach; 1774, p. 37; 1775, p. 39.

53. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, p. 49; 1745, p. 47; 1759, p. 65, letters from McKean, Jan. 8, Apr. 10, 1758. For Spotswood and Freehold, *see also* Appendix A.

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54. *Ibid.*, 1761, p. 52, letter from McKean, May 7, 1760; 1762, pp. 56-57, letter from McKean, Oct. 5, 1761; 1766, pp. 28-29, letters from Chandler, Feb. 4, 12, Apr. 11, July 5, Sept. 18, 1765.

55. *Ibid.*, 1766, pp. 30-31, letter from Cutting, Apr. 29, 1765; 1767, pp. 40-41; 1768, pp. 39-40; 1769, p. 27, letter from Abraham Beach; 1773, p. 30, letter from Ayers.

56. *Ibid.*, 1745, p. 48; 1746, p. 36. For Monmouth County churches, see also Appendix A.

57. *Ibid.*, 1746, pp. 51-52, letters from Thompson, Nov. 11, 1745, May 30, 1746; letter from the Wardens and Vestry of Saint Peter's, Freehold.

58. *Ibid.*, 1748, p. 45; 1750, pp. 50-52, letter from Thompson, Nov. 10, 1750; 1752, p. 41.

59. *Ibid.*, 1753, p. 49, letter from Cooke, June 26, 1752; 1757, p. 50, letter from Cooke, Oct. 30, 1756; 1759, p. 66, letter from Cooke, Oct. 26, 1758.

60. *Ibid.*, 1765, pp. 76-77, letters from Cooke, Nov. 14, 1763, Oct. 11, 1764; 1766, pp. 28-29; 1767, pp. 40-41.

61. *Ibid.*, 1770, p. 13, and pp. 27-28, letter from Cooke, Apr. 12, 1769.

62. *Ibid.*, 1774, p. 36; 1775, p. 38; 1776, p. 44.

63. *Ibid.*, 1737-38, pp. 37-38, letter from John Beach, Sept. 8, 1736; 1743-44, p. 46, letter from Isaac Browne, Brookhaven, L. I.; 1744, p. 49. For Newark and Second River, see also Appendix A.

64. *Ibid.*, 1745, pp. 38, 47-48; 1782, p. 36.

65. *Ibid.*, 1750, p. 50, letter from Browne, Nov. 1, 1750; 1753, pp. 48-49, letter from Browne, Mar. 25, 1752.

66. *Ibid.*, 1764, p. 84, letters from Browne, Oct. 6, 1762, Apr. 6, 1763; 1766, pp. 29-30, letter from Browne, Oct. 6, 1764; 1767, p. 61, letters from Browne, Jan. 6, Apr. 7, Oct. 6, 1766.

67. *Ibid.*, 1774, p. 36; 1775, pp. 38-39.

68. *Ibid.*, 1766, p. 29, letter from Browne, Oct. 6, 1764; 1767, p. 62, letters from Cutting, Nov. 26, 1765, July 26, 1766.

69. *Ibid.*, 1742-43, p. 49; 1744, p. 12.

70. *Ibid.*, 1745, p. 47; 1747, p. 60; 1755, p. 51; 1758, p. 44; 1768, p. 15, in annual sermon to the Society by the Bishop of Lincoln, footnote, *cit. Appeal*, p. 35.

71. *Ibid.*, 1775, pp. 12-13, list of missionaries with salaries. Hist. Recs. Survey, Place and Church Name Index, pp. 413-29.

72. *Ibid.*, 1740-41—1775, lists of missionaries with their salaries; 1775, p. 37, report from Thomas B. Chandler, Elizabeth Town.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Missionary Life

1. S.P.G. Transcripts, Library of Congress. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1722.

2. *Ibid.* Ellis to Secretary, June 4, 1712. The letters hereafter cited are all in the S. P. G. Transcripts, unless otherwise indicated.

3. Bishop Compton to Society's committee, Fulham, Apr. 28, 1707. Walker to Bishop of London, Portsmouth, May 12, 1707. J. Evans and

Walker to Bishop of London, on board the *Ruby*, Spithead, Aug. 30, 1707. Walker to Secretary, "The Angel and Crown," Portsmouth, Sept. 18, 1707. Walker to Secretary, Portsmouth, ashore. Moore, Oct. 24, 1704. Talbot, Oct. 24, 1704.

4. Haliday to Secretary, Gosport, Nov. 1, 1710. Petition, Holbrooke to Society, read Feb. 21, 1723-24. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1765. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Mar. 7, 1722-23.

5. Vaughan to Mr. Shute, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 12, 1709. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 27, 1751. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, Feb. 26, 1763. Wood to Secretary, Rhode Island, Jan. 25, 1749-50; New Brunswick, June 25, 1750.

6. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, July 26, 1766.

7. Moore to Secretary, New York, Oct. 24, 1704.

8. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 2, 1768. Ogden to Secretary, New York, Jan. 2, 1774. Cutting to Secretary, New York, May 16, 1764.

9. Haliday to Secretary, Virginia, Mar. 14, 1710-11.

10. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 27, 1751. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, June 26, 1769. Pantton to Secretary, New York, Nov. 18, 1773. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 13, 1768. Evans to Bishop of London, Haddonfield, Feb. 24, 1766.

11. Vestry of Burlington to Society, Burlington, Apr. 2, 1704. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Jan. 27, 1747-48. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Aug. 26, 1752. Wardens and Vestrymen to Society, New Brunswick, Oct. 9, 1764. Wardens and Vestrymen of Piscataway to Society, n. d., read Jan. 14, 1765. Wardens and Vestry to Society, Shrewsbury, June 14, 1768. Coxe and Barnes to Secretary, Trenton, Sept. 24, 1763. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, Feb. 26, 1763. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Feb. 25, 1766.

12. Talbot, Burlington, Sept. 4, 1703, Apr. 2, 1704. Jeremiah Basse, Sept. 2, 1709. Petition to Commissary William Vesey, May 17, 1734. Brooke, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 11, 1706. Ogden to Secretary, July 8, 1771. Convention, New York, May 21, 1767, signed by I. Browne and S. Seabury. Address by the clergy, Perth Amboy, Oct. 4, 1765. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1705, p. 27; 1706, p. 13; 1716, p. 17; 1723, pp. 41-43; 1733, p. 45; 1765, p. 76; 1768, p. 15, note.

13. Peter Kemble and others to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 28, 1749. Clinton to Society, Fort George, N. Y., May 15, 1749. Jno. Breynton and others, Louisburg, June 3, 1749.

14. Brooke to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 23, 1705.

15. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 9, 1745.

16. Peter Kemble to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 2, 1745. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 24, 1746.

17. Robert Hunter to Secretary, New York, May 7, 1711.

18. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 28, 1774.

19. Bearcroft to Chandler, London, Aug. 1, 1753. Chandler to Bishop of London, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 21, 1767, Fulham MSS, New York, Rhode Island, &c., No. 12.

20. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1765.

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21. Bonds, dated Apr. 23, 1764, S. P. G. Transcripts, L. C.
22. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767.
23. Bond in Campbell's hand, Mar. 26, 1764, signed by four men and two witnesses. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, July 30, 1764. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 12, 1767.
24. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 4, 1709, Sept. 2, 1715. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 25, 1750. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 10, 1754, July 5, 1765.
25. Isaac Browne to Secretary, Brookhaven, L. I., Feb. 16, 1744-45. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1745, p. 47. Newark Wardens and Vestry to Society, Jan. 28, 1747-48. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Mar. 25, 1749; Apr. 6, 1776.
26. Milne to Secretary, New York, June 18, 1744. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 27, 1751.
27. Clergy of New Jersey to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 11, 1765. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1766, p. 29. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Apr. 23, 1767. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 27, 1767. Chandler and Cooke to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 16, 1767, for convention of New Jersey and New York clergy. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Oct. 19, 1768. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Sept. 29, 1769.
28. Petition of Episcopal Inhabitants in Waterford and adjacent places in Gloucester County, West Jersey, read Sept. 20, 1765. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Feb. 25, 1766. Griffith to Secretary, New York, Feb. 8, 1771. Jacob Duché to Bishop of London, Philadelphia, Mar. 9, 1772.
29. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 8, 1738, June 5, 1741. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 17, 1775.
30. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 5, 1770. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771; Sussex County, May 25, 1775. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1774, p. 38; 1775, p. 40.
31. Vaughan to Secretary, Piscataway, June 4, 1717. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 9, 1717; Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717.
32. Vaughan to Secretary, New York, Oct. 12, 1721. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, July 14, 1730.
33. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 9, 1741, Jan. 27, 1751-52. Josiah Hardy to Bishop of London, Perth Amboy, July 30, 1762. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 17, 1763; Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764, Dec. 2, 1765. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 75.
34. Bearcroft to Skinner, June 23, 1743. Skinner to Secretary, Nov. 22, 1743.
35. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1746, p. 52; 1749, p. 46; 1765, p. 78. Copy of letter, Kemble to John Moore of New York, New Brunswick, Feb. 6, 1746-47. Kemble *et al* to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 28, 1749. Henry Barclay to Secretary, New York, May 12, 1749. Wood to Secretary, June 25, 1750; Jan. 1, 1750-51. Secretary Bearcroft to Wood, June 7, 1751. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 6, 1751. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 5, 1761. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764; July 11, 1765.
36. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727; Aug. 19, 1730. Secretary Bearcroft to Wardens, London, June 13, 1748. Thompson to

Secretary, Salem, June 10, 1749. Bearcroft to Wardens and Vestry of Salem, London, Mar. 29, 1750. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 11, 1750. Wardens, Wm. Fraser and Neill Stewart to Secretary, Apr. 23, 1751.

37. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1760, p. 51; 1762, p. 55. Petition of Churchmen of Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington to Society, n. p., n. d. [ca. 1759]. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, July 1, 1761, and n.d., 1762 or 1763. Wardens of Kingwood, Amwell and Musconetcong to Secretary, New Jersey, Apr. 20, 1767. Chandler and Cooke for convention of New York and New Jersey, Oct. 16, 1767. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, July 23, 1775.

38. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1764, p. 87. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 28, 1763; Sept. 24, 1763; June 25, 1765. Panton to Secretary, Trenton, July 1, 1775.

39. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 2, 1764; May 2, 1765; July 2, 1765. Preston, Perth Amboy, Feb. 19, 1770; Apr. 2, 1774.

40. Secretary to Robert Hunter, May 25, 1716.

41. Moore, Burlington, July 17, 1707. Secretary Bearcroft to Browne, London, Nov. 18, 1745. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728; Mar. 24, 1728-29; to Commissary Vesey, Burlington, Oct. 10, 1729. Weyman to Secretary, Burlington, Mar. 10, 1734-35; Dec. 8, 1738. Committee of Wardens and Vestry of Burlington and Mount Holly, Burlington, June 17, 1767. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, July 5, 1768.

42. Haliday to Secretary, Dec. 9, 1712; Perth Amboy, Sept. 20, 1715; Elizabeth Town, Feb. 26, 1716-17; Perth Amboy, Oct. 9, 1717; Jan. 7, 1717-18; to Bishop of London, Perth Amboy, Aug. 16, 1718.

43. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1724; May 22, 1741; July 5, 1749. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 10, 1769; Mar. 19, 1771.

44. Members of congregation to clergy in New Jersey, Piscataway, Sept. 4, 1761. James Parker to Secretary, Woodbridge, Sept. 22, 1764. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Mar. 19, 1771.

45. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1774, p. 37.

46. Morton to Secretary, Kingwood, Nov. 10, 1763. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, July 30, 1764.

47. New Jersey clergy to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 27, 1765.

48. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Aug. 1, 1752.

48A. Browne to Secretary, Newark, June 25, 1749. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Sept. 16, 1763; Dec. 2, 1765.

49. Walker, Burlington, Sept. 10, 1717.

50. Moore to Secretary, Burlington, July 17, 1707; Fort Anne, New York, Aug. 27, 1707.

51. David Humphreys to Weyman, London, May 18, 1733. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 24, 1751; Oct. or Nov. 12, 1751. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Jan. 6, 1768.

52. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. Horwood to Secretary, Mar. 24, 1728-29.

53. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 9, 1741. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 5, 1770. Clergy of New Jersey to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 25, 1765. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 10, 1768. Secretary to Vaughan, Dec. 18, 1713.

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54. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Vaughan to Mr. Shute, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 12, 1709. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 10, 1754.

55. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 3, 1728; May 22, 1741. Lindsay to Secretary, Delaware Falls, Mar. 7, 1744. Locke to Secretary, Pennsylvania, Oct. 14, 16, 1746.

56. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 17, 1775. Walker's Account with Mr. James Hudson, Dec. 26, 1719.

57. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 20, 1759; June 26, 1761; Dec. 26, 1761; June 25, 1762. Clergy to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 27, 1765. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, July 11, 1765.

58. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, July 26, 1766.

59. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1749, p. 46. Barclay to Secretary, New York, May 12, 1749. Milne to Secretary, New York, June 18, 1744. Haliday to Secretary, 1711-12.

60. John Smyth and Samuel Sarjant to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 16, 1769.

61. Anonymous to Bishop of London, New Jersey, Dec. 10, 1764. Fulham MSS, New York, Rhode Island, &c., No. 17.

62. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 17, 1775.

63. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 27, 1739; May 12, 1742. Wardens and Vestry to Secretary, Mount Holly, July 29, 1765.

64. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711; Dec. 9, 1712. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 18, 1733. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 10, 1754. Vesey and Vaughan to Secretary, Newark, Dec. 9, 1736. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1764. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 77.

65. Petition of Churchmen of Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington to Society, n. p., n. d. [ca. 1759]. Wardens of Kingwood, Amwell, and Musconetcong to Secretary, New Jersey, Apr. 20, 1767. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, May 9, 1769.

66. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. Ayers to Secretary, Spotswood, Mar. 25, 1769. James Parker to Secretary, Woodbridge, Sept. 22, 1764. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 75.

67. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727; Aug. 19, 1730. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1725, p. 37. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Aug. 26, 1735; June 26, 1741. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1735, p. 45. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 11, 1750.

68. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 27, 1739. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 7, 1760. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1761, pp. 52-53.

69. *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Ser., Vol. 23; *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, 1670-1730, pp. 29, 71, 325, 371. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, June 6, 1746. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, July 21, 1769. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1742-43, pp. 48-49; 1753, p. 50; 1770, p. 29.

70. *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, p. 4. Campbell to Secretary, Burling-

ton, Nov. 2, 1742. Secretary Bearcroft to Campbell, July 12, 1743. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 26, 1744.

71. *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, pp. 175, 460, 512. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1742.

72. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1712/13, pp. 72-73. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, May 29, 1739. Secretary Bearcroft to Walter Donagan, London, June 21, 1748. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1739-40, p. 52. Chandler to Secretary, Oct. 12, 1753.

73. *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, p. 44. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1715, p. 40; 1733, p. 46.

74. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1720, p. 50. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 25, 1765. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, Sept. 25, 1769.

75. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1750, p. 50; 1770, p. 29; 1771, p. 27; 1775, p. 40; 1706, pp. 88-89.

76. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Feb. 22, 1769; Nov. 27, 1771. Secretary Bearcroft to Cooke, London, Aug. 1, 1753.

77. *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, p. 375.

78. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727. *Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, p. 127.

79. Text of charter of Christ Church, New Brunswick, in S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1762, p. 56. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 5, 1761; Oct. 8, 1762. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 26, 1763. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 75; 1775, p. 40.

80. Treadwell to Secretary, June 25, 1765. Wardens, Daniel Coxe and Micajah Howe, to Secretary, Trenton, Oct. 6, 1765.

81. Talbot to Secretary, n. d. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767.

82. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, May 29, 1739. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 5, 1761. Lindsay to Secretary, Bristol, Sept. 1739.

83. Clergy of New York and New Jersey to the Society, New York, Oct. 17, 1704. Bishop of London to Secretary Chamberlayne, Fulham, Dec. 7, 1709.

84. Haliday to Society, Elizabeth Town, June 4, 1716; Aug. 1, 1717; Perth Amboy, Sept. 17, 1718.

85. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 4, 1710. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1768.

86. Morris, May 30, 1709. Bass to Secretary, Burlington, Sept. 2, 1709.

87. Jeremiah Bass, Oct. 6, 1715. Talbot to Bishop of London, Burlington, Oct. 21, 1715, Fulham MSS, Pennsylvania, No. 74; to Bishop of London, Burlington, July 2, 1725? Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 112. Minister and Wardens to Secretary, Burlington, June 2, 1746.

88. Talbot to Secretary, Burlington, Aug. 31, 1713. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Nov. 2, 1742.

89. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, June 6, 1746.

90. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1752.

91. Cornbury to various parties: Report on Church in New Jersey, Nov. 6, 1704; on mission of G. Keith, Mar. 21, 1704; on Thoroughgood

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92. Hunter, letters, Nov. 14, 1710-July 16, 1716, particularly: May 7, 1711; Dec. 5, 1712; Oct. 9, 1713; S. P. G. to Hunter; also May 25, 1716; July 16, 1716. Clerical convention at New York, Hunter's speech, with reply of clergy, Feb. 27, 1712-13.

93. Moore, Burlington, Oct. 24, 1704. Talbot to Keith, New York, Oct. 20, 1704.

94. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1722, p. 43. Skinner to Secretary, May 22, 1724, P. S.

95. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol, Nov. 1, 1740. Robert Carter to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 22, 1760. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1759, pp. 64, 78. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 6, 1761. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1762, p. 54. Josiah Hardy to Bishop of London, Perth Amboy, July 30, 1762. Andrew Johnston and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 21, 1762. Hardy to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 26, 1762. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 5, 1762.

96. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Apr. 20, 1767. William Franklin to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 10, 1772. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1771, p. 45, and 1773, p. 29.

97. Seabury to Society, S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 13, p. 100.

98. Harrison to Secretary, Hopewell, Nov. 3, 1722; Mar. 28, 1723. Staten Island, n. d., received Aug. 27, 1723. Petition to Society, Sept. 15, 1727.

99. Lindsay to Secretary, Bristol, Penna., Nov. 14, 1735; Bristol, Mar. 10, 1737, Sept. 29, 1739. Ogden to Secretary, Sussex County, Oct. 25, 1776.

100. Talbot to Keith, New York, Oct. 20, 1705?

101. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 4, 1709. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 10, 1754; Jan. 5, 1762.

102. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 9, 1712; Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717; Perth Amboy, Oct. 9, 1717.

103. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 3, 1728; Oct. 7, 1734; Dec. 9, 1741; May 27, 1743; July 15, 1747; July 5, 1749. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1733, p. 45, letter of Nov. 15, 1732.

104. Lewis Johnston and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Feb. 20, 1763. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 1, 1750-51; Dec. 6, 1751. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, July 26, 1766.

105. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1765; Oct. 6, 1770.

106. Horwood to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 28, 1727.

107. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 21, 1741.

108. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 7, 1726; Jan. 27, 1751-52. Browne, Mar. 25, 1752. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1753, p. 49. McKean, Jan. 8, 1758. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1759 p. 65. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 15, 1766. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1755, p. 51.

109. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 20, 1765.

110. Letter from Rowland Ellis, ca. 1716. Weyman to Secretary, Burlington, July 12, 1732. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1732, p. 57. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 20, 1759.

111. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1740. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, July 15, 1747; July 9, 1752. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, May 1, 1752, P. S.; July 5, 1760; Jan. 5, 1762.

112. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Feb. 12, 1728-29. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 26, 1761.

113. Walker, Sept. 10, 1717. Browne in S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1766, p. 30. Holbrooke to Secretary, Oct. 23, 1724. Pierson to Vesey, Salem, May 10, 1739. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 11, 1750.

114. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Sept. 2, 1715; Elizabeth Town, Dec. 21, 1741. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 27, 1743. McKean to Secretary, Apr. 15, 1761; Oct. 5, 1761; Perth Amboy, Apr. 27, 1767.

115. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 9, 1745; Nov. 6, 1746; June 26, 1761; Dec. 26, 1761; Dec. 8, 1738; May 26, 1744; June 25, 1763; S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1764, p. 83; Dec. 26, 1763; July 30, 1764.

116. Mary Weyman to Society, Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1739. Mary Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 15, 1769. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, June 9, 1768; Dec. 31, 1768; Apr. 6, 1769; July 21, 1769; June 15, 1770.

117. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 29, 1765.

118. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 31, 1768. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1761; Oct. 6, 1765. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 6, 1761.

119. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, July 23, 1775.

120. Campbell to Secretary, June 18, 1744. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 30, 1746. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 15, 1744; May 27, 1746.

121. Rowland Ellis, Burlington, Oct. 8, 1715; Nov. 3, 1715. Robert Walker, Burlington, Sept. 10, 1717. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 8, 1715; New York, Aug. 12, 1724. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 12, 1742.

122. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1770.

123. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, Jan. 1, 1762. Browne to Secretary, Newark, June 4, 1770. Beach, New Brunswick, Feb. 22, 1769.

124. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1762.

125. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, May 2, 1771.

126. Vaughan to Secretary, Dec. 4, 1710. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 9, 1712. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, June 9, 1768.

127. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Sept. 2, 1715. Holbrooke to Secretary, June 16, 1727. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, July 26, 1766. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Mar. 25, 1742. Andrew Johnston and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 21, 1762. Chandler to Bishop of London, Oct. 21, 1767, and P. S., Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 12. Griffith to Secretary, Feb. 8, 1771.

128. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, July 5, Oct. 16, Nov. 2, 1749.

129. Secretary to Mr. Bartow *et al.*, Apr. 29, 1712, sent also to Talbot and to Vaughan.

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1. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol, Nov. 1, 1740.
2. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1738-39, p. 53, Pierson to Secretary, Nov. 7, 1737; Salem, June 26, 1741. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1774, p. 35.
3. Houdin to Secretary, Trenton, Oct. 16, 1751. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 30, 1744; Dec. 26, 1746.
4. Haliday to Secretary, Piscataway, Mar. 14, 1711-12.
5. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 78; Nov. 26, 1765. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Nov. 20, 1769; Nov. 22, 1770; Nov. 27, 1771.
6. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 29, 1765, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1766, p. 30. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, Sept. 26, 1765. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 27, 1743. Forbes to Secretary, Monmouth County, Oct. 20, 1734.
7. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1724-75, inclusive. Weyman to Secretary, Burlington, Mar. 10, 1734-35; Nov. 9, 1736. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 9, 1745; June 6, 1746; May 24, 1751; June 25, 1762, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1763, p. 69; June 25, 1763, in 1764, p. 84; July 30, 1764, in 1765, p. 76. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, May 4, 1727; Feb. 12, 1728-29. Blackwell to Secretary, Gloucester, Nov. 20, 1773; Apr. 25, 1774; June 26, 1775.
8. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Sept. 12, 1711; Oct. 6, 1731, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1731, p. 51; Dec. 16, 1734, 1734, p. 55. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 15, 1732, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1733, p. 46. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1737-38, p. 41, Nov. 26, 1736; 1745, p. 45. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 5, 1760; Oct. 11, 1764, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 77.
9. Morton to Secretary, Jan. 1, June 30, 1762, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1763, pp. 69-70. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, May 9, 1769. Ogden in S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1775, p. 40. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1760; Apr. 6, 1770. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767.
10. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Jan. 6, 1768; July 5, 1768; Feb. 22, 1772.
11. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1760, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1762, p. 55; July 5, 1762; Jan. 5, 1764.
12. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 15, 1761. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764; Apr. 29, 1765. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1774, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1775, pp. 38-39. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766; Jan. 20, 1767. Griffith to Secretary, New York, Feb. 8, 1771. Lindsay to Secretary, Delaware Falls near Trenton, Mar. 7, 1744-45.
13. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 7, 1726, Jan. 9, 1750. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Mar. 25, 1742. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, July 10, 1765. Ayers to Secretary, Spotswood, Mar. 25, 1769. Holbrooke, in S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1725, p. 38. Thos. Thompson

to Secretary, Salem, Mar. 28, 1750. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, May 2, 1771; Jan. 15, 1772.

14. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, July 1, 1761, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1762, p. 56.

15. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 6, 1761, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1762, p. 55. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Mar. 26, 1770; Sept. 29, 1770. Thos. Thompson to Secretary, Freehold, S. P. G. Trans., Ser. B, 14, fol. 163, p. 209. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1746, p. 51, May 30, 1746. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Sept. 12, 1711. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1764.

16 Morton to Secretary, Amwell, June 30, 1762, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1763, p. 70; Kingwood, Apr. 18, 1764. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Feb. 19, 1770. Locke to Secretary, Burlington, Lancaster, Oct. 16, 1746.

17. Horwood to Vesey, Burlington, Oct. 10, 1729. Weyman to Vesey, Burlington, Aug. 12, 1736. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 8, 1738; May 3, 1740; June 5, 1741; Nov. 2, 1742; June 6, 1746; Nov. 6, 1746.

18. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, June 16, 1738. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, June 26, 1761. Richard Peters to Bishop of London, Liverpool, Nov. 30, 1764, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., No. 16.

19. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1752. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, May 4, 1727. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1762. For the English Deist, Anthony Collins, *see Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), VI, 691-692.

20. Pierson to Commissary Vesey, Salem, May 10, 1739; to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1740.

21. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Jan. 6, 1760. Lindsay to Secretary, Delaware Falls near Trenton, Mar. 7, 1744-45. Haliday to Secretary, Piscataway, Mar. 14, 1711-12.

22. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711; Dec. 9, 1712.

23. Haliday to Secretary, Mar. 17, 1712, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1713-14, p. 44. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 28, 1711-12. Chandler to Secretary, Nov. 6, 1752; Oct. 12, 1753; Jan. 5, 1762. Beach to Secretary, Feb. 22, 1769.

24. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1742; May 27, 1743. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 26, 1747; Nov. 5, 1748; May 27, 1749; May 1, 1752; July 5, 1765; Jan. 15, 1766; Oct. 12, 1767. Secretary Bearcroft to Walter Dongan, London, June 21, 1748. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 5, 1770; July 8, 1771. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1750, p. 50; 1752, p. 40; 1766, p. 29; 1771, p. 27; 1772, p. 24; 1774, p. 34.

25. Talbot to Secretary, n. d. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 8, 1738. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1760, p. 52, June 20, 1759. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 74; Dec. 1, 1758, S. P. G. *Journal*, Vol. 14, pp. 165-166; Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 6, 1751. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764; July 26, 1766. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Nov. 20, 1769. Thompson to Secretary, May 30, 1746, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1746, p. 51; May 12, 1748. Cook to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 27, 1751. Ayers to

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26. Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., &c. No. 152.

27. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, July 9, 1750. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Oct. 1, 1770. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, June 10, 1749. Griffith to Secretary, New York, Feb. 8, 1771.

28. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1764; June 24, 1771. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Mar. 25, 1750. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Nov. 6, 1770.

29. Secretary Bearcroft to Campbell, July 12, 1743. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, Apr. 21, 1750. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol, Mar. 25, 1742; Trenton, Nov. 10, 1743. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 28, 1763; Apr. 9, 1764; June 25, 1765. Ayers to Secretary, Spotswood, Michaelmas, 1768; Freehold, Mar. 26, 1770. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 13, 1768. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Sept. 25, 1750; Oct. 6, 1760; Oct. 6, 1764; June 10, 1767; Sept. 1, 1768. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 28, 1711-12. Secretary to Vaughan, Nov. 6, 1712. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 12, 1739; Dec. 17, 1743. Secretary to Vaughan, May 21, 1744. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711. Secretary David Humphreys to Skinner, July 1, 1725. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 7, 1726.

30. Talbot, Burlington, Sept. 4, 1703; Apr. 2, 1704; Oct. 20, 1704. Ellis, Burlington, Apr. 19, 1716; Apr. 12, 1717; May 15, 1717; July 10, 1718. Brooke, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 23, 1705; Oct. 11, 1706. Wardens to Bishop of London, Burlington, Sept. 4, 1703. Vestry to Bishop of London, Burlington, Apr. 4, 1704. Sharpe, Dec. 4, 1710. Conventions, Oct. 17, 1704; Nov. 12, 1705. Lewis Morris, July 12, 1703. Jeremiah Basse, 1710. Talbot to Keith, New York, Oct. 20, 1705.

31. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Apr. 20, 1767. Blackwell to Secretary, Gloucester, Nov. 20, 1773; Apr. 25, 1774. Pierson to Society, Salem, Aug. 26, 1735. Morton to Secretary, Kingwood, Apr. 20, 1763. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Nov. 20, 1769; May 27, 1774. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1765. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 4, 1709. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 14, 1744. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 6, 1751.

32. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Nov. 6, 1746. Secretary to Houdin, London, Aug. 1, 1753. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 6, 1769. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Feb. 22, 1769.

33. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 12, 1742; Apr. 9, 1745; Nov. 2, 1745; June 6, 1746; June 22, 1747. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Jan. 6, 1768. Weyman to Secretary, Burlington, Mar. 10, 1734-35. Holbrooke to Secretary, Sept. 28, 1726. Secretary Bearcroft to Dr. Jenney, and to Lindsay, May 28, 1744. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1742; May 27, 1743; Jan. 27, 1751-52.

34. Vaughan to Bishop of London, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 20, 1732-

33. Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 56. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 6, 1761; Jan. 24, 1763; July 5, 1763; Jan. 15, 1766; Mar. 27, 1769; Jan. 5, 1770; July 5, 1762.

35. "Thomas Bray (1658-1730) Founder of Missionary Enterprise," in *Hist. Mag. of the P. E. Church*, XII (1943), 187-214. Samuel Clyde McCulloch, "A Plea for Further Missionary Activity in Colonial America—Dr. Thomas Bray's Missionalia," in *ibid.*, XV (1946), 232-45. Same, "The Importance of Dr. Thomas Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis," in *ibid.*, XV (1946), 50-59.

36. List in Lambeth MSS, Vol. 941, No. 73.

37. John Sharpe to Secretary, New York, Dec. 4, 1710.

38. Horwood to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 28, 1727; Apr. 22, 1728; Mar. 24, 1728-29; Mar. 12, 1729-30. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Secretary Bearcroft to Walter Dongan, London, June 21, 1748. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 25, 1750. P. S. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 5, 1748; Oct. 12, 1753. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711; Dec. 9, 1712. Parker to ----, Woodbridge, May, 1761.

39. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 4, 1740. Secretary Bearcroft to I. Browne, London, Nov. 18, 1745. Browne to Secretary, Newark, June 25, 1747; June 25, 1749. Seabury, Oct. 10, 1754. *S. P. G. Journal*, meeting, Feb. 17, 1764. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 15, 1761. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 13, 1768; June 24, 1768; Oct. 10, 1768; May 27, 1774. *S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 17, pp. 489-90. Apr. 15, 1768; Vol. 20, p. 190, n. d.; 368-70, May 19, 1775. Thompson to Secretary, Trenton, Sept. 25, 1769; Oct. 25, 1770. Holbrooke to Secretary, Nov. 17, 1727. Secretary Bearcroft to Mrs. Ann Pierson, London, June 13, 1748.

40. Bearcroft to Lindsay, London, May 28, 1747. Locke to Secretary, Pennsylvania, Oct. 14, 1746; Trenton, Apr. 13, 1747. Craig to Secretary, Lancaster, June 16, 1752; Nov. 8, 1752. Bearcroft to Craig, London, July 1, 1753. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 20, 1768. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771.

41. Brooke to Secretary, Oct. 11, 1706.

42. Vaughan to Secretary, New York, Oct. 12, 1721; Elizabeth Town, Feb. 28, 1711-12. Secretary to Vaughan, and to Townley, Nov. 6, 1712.

43. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1760. Andrew Johnston and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 21, 1762. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Jan. 4, 1763. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, July 23, 1775.

44. Churchwardens to Bishop of London, Burlington, Sept. 4, 1703. Vestry to Society, Burlington, Apr. 4, 1704. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728.

45. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 12, 1742; Apr. 9, 1745; Nov. 2, 1745; June 25, 1763. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767; July 21, 1769; June 15, 1770.

46. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 12, 1742; Oct. 16, 1749; Nov. 2, 1749; Dec. 20, 1759; June 25, 1763. John Schuyler and George Lurting to Secretary, Sept. 23, 1743. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Sept. 30, 1743; Dec. 17, 1743.

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47. Governor Cornbury, Nov. 6, 1704. Brooke to Secretary, Nov. 23, 1705; Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Cornbury to Secretary, New York, Nov. 29, 1707. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Sept. 12, 1711. Haliday to Society, Elizabeth Town, June 4, 1716; to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 20, 1749; Jan. 5, 1762; Jan. 24, 1763; Jan. 28, 1774.

48. Brooke to Secretary, Nov. 23, 1705; Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711; Piscataway, Mar. 14, 1711-12. Vaughan to Secretary, New York, Oct. 12, 1717; Oct. 12, 1721. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 17, 1763; Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764; Nov. 2, 1764.

49. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 22, 1743; Oct. 29, 1744. Vesey to Secretary, New York, Jan. 7, 1745. Peter Kemble to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 2, 1745. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 1, 1750-51. Seabury to Secretary, Oct. 10, 1754. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 7, 1760. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Nov. 27, 1771; Dec. 1, 1772.

50. Lindsay to Secretary, Delaware Falls, Nov. 10, 1745. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 28, 1763. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, Sept. 25, 1769. Cornbury, Nov. 6, 1704. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Sept. 28, 1726; Nov. 17, 1727. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Aug. 26, 1735. Holbrooke to Secretary, Northampton, Va., Aug. 30, 1736. Jacob Duché to Bishop of London, Philadelphia, Mar. 9, 1772.

51. Browne to Secretary, Newark, June 4, 1770; Oct. 6, 1773; Apr. 6, 1774; Apr. 6, 1775.

52. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711; Burlington, May 11, 1713; Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 8, 1715; Piscataway, July 18, 1717. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1724. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Dec. 1, 1772.

53. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 28, 1711-12; Perth Amboy, Sept. 28, 1716. Haliday to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Mar. 7, 1722. James Parker to ---, Woodbridge, May, 1761.

54. Brooke, Oct. 11, 1706. Haliday to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Aug. 1, 1717. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Mar. 25, 1771.

55. Petition of Churchmen of Amwell, Kingwood and Readington to Society, n. p., n. d., [ca. 1759]. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 20, 1768; Sept. 28, 1769; Nov. 6, 1770; New York, Oct. 8, 1773.

56. Ogden to Secretary, Newton, July 8, 1771. Cornbury, Nov. 6, 1704. Locke to Secretary, Trenton, Apr. 13, 1747. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, Feb. 26, 1763; June 28, 1763. Thomson to Secretary, Trenton, Jan. 15, 1772.

57. Cornbury, Nov. 6, 1704. Lewis Morris to Secretary, New York, May 30, 1709. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, July 14, 1730. Vaughan to Bishop of London, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 27, 1732-33, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., &c. No. 55. Thompson to Secretary, New York, May 12, 1748.

Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Nov. 14, 1763; Apr. 12, 1769; April 12, 1774.

58. Vaughan to Secretary, Piscataway, July 18, 1717. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Apr. 12, 1774.

59. Brooke to Lord Archbishop of York, Elizabeth Town, Nov. 23, 1705. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1724. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Aug. 5, 1711. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1742. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 25, 1765. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 6, 1761. Browne, Cooke, Chandler, McKean, Cutting, to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 11, 1765.

60. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Sept. 12, 1711. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Sept. 30, 1771. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 7, 1760. Ogden to Secretary, Sussex County, Oct. 25, 1775. Talbot to Secretary, n. d.

61. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 20, 1759.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Wardens of Burlington to Bishop of London, Sept. 4, 1703. Vestry to same, Apr. 4, 1704. Secretary Bearcroft to Campbell, July 12, 1743. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 26, 1744; Nov. 2, 1745. Bearcroft to Campbell, June 10, 1745; Mar. 25, 1745. Minister and Wardens to Secretary, Burlington, June 2, 1746. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 17, 1743. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 2, 1765. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Feb. 22, 1769.

64. Several missionaries to Society, New York, Nov. 12, 1705.

65. Basse to Secretary, Burlington, Sept. 2, 1709. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1716, p. 11.

66. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 26, 1744. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, June 28, 1771. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 7, 1742. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1744, pp. 49-50.

67. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 5, 1762.

68. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 27, 1767.

CHAPTER TEN

The Church and the People

1. Cornbury to Secretary, New York, Nov. 6, 1704. Basse to Secretary, Burlington, Sept. 2, 1709, 1710? Secretary to Vaughan, Nov. 6, 1712. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 6, 1731; to Bishop of London, Elizabeth Town, Feb. 20, 1732-33, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 56; to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 16, 1734. William Vesey, "A List of Churches in N. York & N. Jersey 1745," New York, Nov. 27, 1745.

2. Copy of a Circular Letter to the Clergy of New York and New Jersey, New York, Apr. 2, 1739. S. P. G. Trans., Ser. B 7, pt. 1. Secretary Bearcroft to Skinner, June 7, 1751.

3. Haliday to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, June 4, Nov. 8, 1716.

4. Parochial report, Oct. 2, 1724, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., 171. Notitia attached to letter, Skinner to Secretary, Dec. 7, 1742; Jan. 7, 1751-52. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764.

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5. Reports with letters, Elizabeth Town, May 29, 1739; Dec. 17, 1743; Dec. 30, 1746. Wood to Secretary, June 25, 1750.

6. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, Oct. 2, 1767.

7. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. *Notitia parochialis*, Salem, Mar. 26, 1742, signed by Wm. Fraser and Phil. Chetwood, Wardens.

8. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Sept. 1739. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771. Anonymous to the Bishop of London, Dec. 10, 1764. Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., etc., No. 17.

9. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 9, 1717. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 1, 1750-51.

10. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 26, 1761; Jan. 4, 1763, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1764, p. 83. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 15, 1761; Oct. 5, 1761, *Journal*, Vol. 15, p. 193. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, June 24, 1768, Feb. 12, 1765, Vol. 24, pp. 243-44. Blackwell, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1775, p. 38. Lindsay to Secretary, Trenton, on Delaware, Nov. 10, 1743.

11. Andrew Johnston and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 21, 1762. Locke to Secretary, Pennsylvania, Oct. 14, 1746. Treadwell to Secretary, Trenton, June 28, 1763. Thomson to Secretary, June 26, 1769. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 28, 1774.

12. Wardens and Vestry to Society, New Brunswick, Nov. 18, 1766. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 13, 1768.

13. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1741; May 4, 1742. Morton to Secretary, Amwell, July 1, 1761. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 8, 1762. Church Wardens and Vestry of Piscataway to Society, read Jan. 14, 1765.

14. Treadwell to Secretary, New York, Sept. 29, 1764; Trenton, June 25, 1765. Thomson to Secretary, Sept. 25, 1769. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Apr. 20, 1767. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Mar. 26, 1742.

15. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Mar. 27, 1769.

16. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 20, 1768. Forbes to Secretary, Monmouth County, Oct. 20, 1734.

17. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1741. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 29, 1765. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 2, 1765. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Apr. 8, 1768; Apr. 12, 1774.

18. Ayers to Secretary, Spotswood, Mar. 25, 1769. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 27, 1743.

19. Pierson to Vesey, Salem, May 10, 1739. Lindsay to Secretary, Bristol, Sept. 1739. Campbell to Secretary, *Notitia Parochialis*, 1744.

20. Evans to Bishop of London, Haddonfield, Feb. 24, 1766. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766, Apr. 20, 1767.

21. Basse, letters, especially Sept. 2, 1709, 1710; Dec. 17, 1711; Aug. 20, 1713; Oct. 6, 1715; July 16, 1716; June 25, 1720. Morris, letters, to Mr. Arch Deacon Beveridge, East Jersey, Sept. 3, 1702, extract, Perry, *Hist. Colls., Mass.*, pp. 72-73. Also to S. P. G. and others, July 12, 1703; June, 1704, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., &c., No. 152. May 30, 1709; Jan. 1,

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1711; Nov. 6, 1712. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 3, 1740; June 5, 1741; May 26, 1744.

22. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol on Delaware, Sept. 1739. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 17, 1743. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 23, 1771; Mar. 14, 1772. McKean to Secretary, Apr. 15, 1761; July 15, 1766.

23. Talbot, letter, Burlington, n. d. Lindsay to Secretary, Delaware Falls, Nov. 10, 1745.

24. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Sept. 16, 1763; Nov. 2, 1764; July 15, 1766; Apr. 27, 1767. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Feb. 19, 1770. Parker to Secretary, Woodbridge, Sept. 22, 1764. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1764, pp. 82-83.

25. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 26, 1747; Jan. 5, 1770.

26. Haliday to Secretary, Piscataway, Mar. 14, 1711-12.

27. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Apr. 20, 1767.

28. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1772. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 26, 1761.

29. Haliday to Secretary, Piscataway, Mar. 14, 1711-12. Secretary to Haliday, Nov. 6, 1712.

30. Haliday to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 9, 1712; to Society, Elizabeth Town, June 4, 1716.

31. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Mar. 26, 1742; Mar. 26, 1744.

32. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1761. Vaughan and Skinner to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, June 16, 1738, *notitia parochialis* attached, Nov. 1738-May 1739. *Notitia* attached to letter by Skinner, May 27, 1743.

33. Haliday to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, June 4, 1716.

34. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Nov. 1, 1740. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 5, 1762. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Mar. 19, 1771. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771.

35. Church Wardens and Vestry to Secretary, Mount Holly, July 29, 1765.

36. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Nov. 26, 1765; July 26, 1766.

37. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 8, 1715. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 7, 1734. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 7, 1760; Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764; May 2, 1765.

38. Minister and Wardens to Secretary, Burlington, June 10, 1746. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, May 24, 1751; June 26, 1761. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, July 5, 1768. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Mar. 27, 1769.

39. Hunter to Secretary, New York, Oct. 2, 1716. S.P.G. *Proceedings*, 1716, p. 11. William Franklin to Secretary, Burlington, Apr. 10, 1772.

40. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1757, p. 47. Campbell, *notitia parochialis*, 1744. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1770. Chandler to Secretary,

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Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1770; June 24, 1771, S. P. G. Trans., L. C., Ser. B, Vol. 24, pp. 300-13.

41. Lambeth MSS, Vol. 941, No. 72, "1st draught."

42. Ellis, letter, Burlington, Oct. 8, 1715. Horwood to Secretary, Apr. 22, 1728.

43. Campbell, *notitia parochialis*, 1744. Letters to Secretary, Burlington, June 6, 1746; June 26 and Dec. 26, 1761; June 25, 1762; Dec. 26, 1763; July 30, 1764; Apr. 20, 1765. Odell to Secretary, Burlington, July 5, 1768; June 15, 1770; Feb. 9, 1771; Feb. 22, 1772; Jan. 14, 1774.

44. *Abstracts of Proceedings 1712/13-1775*, inclusive; and S. P. G. Trans., L. C., *passim*. Statistics from letter and *notitiae parochiales*.

45. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 7, 1726. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Oct. 30, 1750, S. P. G. Trans., L. C., Ser. B, Vol. 18, pp. 328-29. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1764; Apr. 6, 1770.

46. Thompson to Secretary, Nov. 11, 1745; May 30, 1746. Cooke to Secretary, Nov. 29, 1765; Apr. 23, 1767; Oct. 10, 1771. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Sept. 30, 1771; Sept. 29, 1772; Apr. 18, 1774. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Sept. 1739; Delaware Falls, Nov. 10, 1745.

47. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 16, 1764. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Oct. 6, 1752.

48. Ogden to Secretary, Sussex County, Feb. 24, 1782. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Feb. 22, 1769; Nov. 27, 1771. Parochial reports, June 24, 1768-Oct. 1, 1782.

49. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Sept. 26, 1743; Oct. 30, 1744.

50. See Appendix B, Biographical Sketches of the Clergy.

51. Burlington Vestry to Bishop of London, Apr. 4, 1704. Petition of Roger Kenison and others to Society, Perth Amboy, May 15, 1713. Samuel Nevill and others to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Jan. 26, 1762.

52. Peter Kemble and others to Secretary, New Brunswick, Apr. 28, 1749. Wardens and Vestry to Secretary, New Brunswick, Aug. 26, 1762. Wardens and Vestry to Society, read Oct. 24, 1763. Charter of Christ Church, 1761.

53. Petition to Rev. William Vesey, Wardens and Vestry of St. Peter's, Freehold, Dec. 18, 1741. Church members to Vesey, Shrewsbury, Mar. 1, 1741-42. Wardens and Vestrymen to Secretary, Spotswood and Freehold, New Jersey, July 4, 1768.

54. Petition, Churchmen of Amwell, Kingwood, and Readington to Society, n. p., n. d., [1759]. Testimonial for Andrew Morton, Hunterdon County, Nov. 2, 1762.

55. Petition to Society from parishioners, Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1734. Certificate for Rev. Erik Unander, n. d.

56. Morris to Secretary, June, 1704, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., &c., No. 152; also Jan. 1, 1711. S. P. G. *Proceedings, 1712-13*, p. 53.

57. Kemble to John Moore, New Brunswick, Mar. 2, 1746-47.

58. Vaughan to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Dec. 17, 1743; Feb. 11,

1744-45. Wardens and Vestry to Society, Newark, Jan. 28, 1747-48. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Sept. 25, 1750; Oct. 6, 1752.

59. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Nov. 21, 1750. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1750, p. 50. Secretary Bearcroft to Browne, June ? 1751. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Apr. 6, 1762.

60. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Sept. 28, 1769, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1770, pp. 28-29; Nov. 6, 1770. Ogden to Secretary, New-Town, July 8, 1771.

61. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, Apr. 5, 1759. S. P. G. *Trans.*, L. C., Ser. B, Vol. 14, p. 215.

62. Petition, Tranberg and Windrufwa to Society, London, Feb. 17, 1725-26, endorsed by the Swedish Envoy, Sparre.

63. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727, P. S. Members of St. John's, John Pierson, and Archibald Cummings to Society, Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1734. Certificate, Peter Tranberg to Secretary, Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1734.

64. Wardens and Vestrymen of Salem, certificate, n. d. [1760] for Unander. Petition, Rev. Erik Unander to Society, Sept. 19, 1760. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1761, pp. 53-54.

65. Episcopal inhabitants of Gloucester County, petition for a missionary, Gloucester, n. d. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1768, p. 56.

66. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Aug. 6, 1734. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1734, p. 56. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 30, 1744; June 26, 1746; Dec. 26, 1746. Thompson to Secretary, Salem, June 10, 1749; Mar. 28, 1750.

67. Talbot to Keith, New York, Oct. 20, 1704.

68. Talbot, Sept. 17, 1717. Weyman, July 26, 1732. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Nov. 2, 1742; May 26, 1744; Apr. 20, 1765.

69. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Oct. 23, 1724; Sept. 28, 1726; May 4, 1727. Pierson to Secretary, Nov. 17, 1740.

70. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Jan. 4, 1763. Evans to Secretary, Haddonfield, Dec. 12, 1766. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1768, p. 56.

71. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1740. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 29, 1744, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1745, p. 47. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Mar. 25, 1749; Apr. 6, 1762. Wood to Secretary, New Brunswick, June 25, 1750. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Oct. 27, 1761.

72. Lewis Morris to Secretary, June, 1704, Fulham MSS, N. Y., R. I., &c., No. 152.

73. Vaughan to Secretary, Piscataway, July 18, 1717.

74. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 78. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, July 5, 1749. Lindsay to Secretary, Trenton, Nov. 10, 1743. Morton to Secretary, June 30, 1762, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1763, p. 70; Kingwood, Nov. 10, 1763. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, May 9, 1769.

75. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1771, p. 27.

76. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, June 26, 1741. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727.

77. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol upon Delaware, Mar. 25, 1742,

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notitia parochialis. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1762, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1763, p. 68.

78. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1762.

79. Haliday to Rev. Jacob Henderson, New Castle, [Del.] 1713. John Smyth, Sam^l Sarjant, Cort^d Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 29, 1768. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 3, 1728.

80. Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Newark and Second River to Society, Newark, Jan. 28, 1747-48. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Mar. 25, 1729; Oct. 6, 1752.

81. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 22, 1724. James Parker to Secretary, Woodbridge, Sept. 22, 1764.

82. Inhabitants of Amwell to Edward Vaughan, New Jersey, June 20, 1732. Lindsay to Secretary, New Bristol on Delaware, Sept. 1739.

83. Morton to Secretary, Kingwood, June 22, 1764. Frazer to Secretary, Amwell, Oct. 20, 1768.

84. Holbrooke to Secretary, Salem, Nov. 17, 1727. Pierson to Secretary, Salem, Sept. 26, 1743.

85. Chandler to Secretary, Elizabeth Town, July 5, 1764.

86. Morton to Secretary, Kingwood, Apr. 20, 1763. Brooke to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Oct. 11, 1706. Vaughan to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Dec. 4, 1709; Elizabeth Town, Dec. 4, 1710. John Smyth and Sam^l Sarjant to Secretary, Perth Amboy, June 16, 1769.

87. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1746, p. 52. Copy of letter, Peter Kemble to John Moore, New York, Feb. 6, 1746-47. Wardens to Secretary, New Brunswick, Aug. 26, 1752. Seabury to Secretary, Oct. 10, 1754, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1755, p. 50. McKean to Secretary, New Brunswick, May 7, 1760, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1761, p. 52. Church Wardens and Vestry to Society, read Oct. 24, 1763.

88. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Apr. 27, 1767.

89. Skinner to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Nov. 22, 1736. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, June 26, 1752, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1753, p. 49; Oct. 26, 1758, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1759, p. 66.

90. Church Wardens and Vestry of New Brunswick to Society, read Oct. 24, 1763. See Appendix B, Biographical Sketches of the Clergy.

91. Campbell to Secretary, Burlington, Dec. 26, 1761; June 25, 1763, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1764, p. 83; Apr. 20, 1765. Browne to Secretary, Newark, Sept. 25, 1750. McKean to Secretary, Perth Amboy, May 2, 1765. Preston to Secretary, Perth Amboy, Feb. 19, 1770, S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1771, p. 27; Mar. 10, 1772.

92. Cutting to Secretary, New Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1764. S. P. G. *Proceedings*, 1765, p. 77; Apr. 29, 1765, S. P. G. *Proc.*, 1766, p. 30; Nov. 26, 1765, *ibid.*, 1767, p. 61. Beach to Secretary, New Brunswick, Jan. 13, 1768; Nov. 27, 1771, S. P. G. *Proc.*, 1773, p. 29; May 27, 1774, *ibid.*, 1775, p. 39.

93. Ayers to Secretary, Freehold, Sept. 29, 1769; Mar. 26, 1770. Cooke to Secretary, Shrewsbury, Oct. 1, 1770.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

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 - 9 Walter H. Stowe, "The Christian Knowledge Society and the Revival of the Church in New Jersey," MS, p.11; W. H. Stowe, "Immigration and the Growth of the Episcopal Church," in *Historical Magazine* . . . , XI(1942), pp.330-361; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940, "Population, 1st Series, Number of Inhabitants, U. S. Summary," Tables 3, 4, and 8.
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 - 11 For statistics, see Tables I and II at the end of the Epilogue.
 - 12 For other statistics, see Tables I and II at the end of the Epilogue.
 - 13 See Tables I and II at the end of the Epilogue. In 1930, Newark had sixty per cent more communicants than New Jersey. Since then the gap has been closing, so that, as of 1950, it had only twenty-five per cent more communicants. The civil population of the Diocese of New Jersey is now growing very rapidly.
 - 14 *Living Church Annual*, 1915, p.89.
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 - 22 See Tables II and III at the end of the Epilogue. Table II has the statistics for the year 1951, and Table III for the year 1950.
- [NOTE: The general outline of this Epilogue follows that of Walter H. Stowe, *A Short History of the Church in New Jersey* (1935), a typed copy of which was placed in the cornerstone of Trinity Cathedral, Trenton; also, Hamilton Schuyler, *An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of New Jersey*. (See the Bibliography).]

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NOTE: To avoid confusion with page numbers, all *dates* are printed in *italics*.
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
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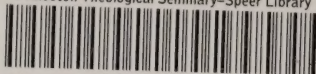
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